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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. XI.

CONTAINING

THE LIVES OF SAMUEL NEALE;—MARY NEALE;—JOHN BURNYEAT;—CATHARINE PHILLIPS;—
MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM CROUCH;—LETTERS, &c. OF EARLY FRIENDS;—MEMOIRS OF ELIZA-
BETH COLLINS;—THOMAS ALDAM;—WILLIAM AMES;—AND SAMUEL FISHER.

PHILADELPHIA:

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FOR THE EDITORS.

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SOME ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
LIFE AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS

OF  
SAMUEL NEALE,

WHO DIED AT CORK, IN IRELAND, IN THE YEAR 1792.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF;

TOGETHER WITH LETTERS ADDRESSED TO HIS FRIENDS.

---

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

It is hoped that the extracts contained in this little volume, taken from journals and other manuscripts of our late friend, may if seriously perused, be found instructive. Although written in great simplicity, yet it is evident they proceeded from a mind under the influence of divine love, so operating as to preserve in humble dependence upon its holy efficacy, and producing the language of, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."

They are published with the view of preserving and rendering useful such parts of his writings, as were thought most likely to impress the reader with a sense of the goodness of the Most High towards the workmanship of his hands; and to draw into a consideration of the operation of His grace, "that bringeth salvation, and hath appeared unto all men," which as co-operated with, is found to be a convincing, converting, efficacious principle; of which the example before us is a striking instance. This grace is the appointed means whereby all may be brought out of darkness, into marvellous light; and unto the saving knowledge of "the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent."

Seeing the advantage of an early and entire surrender to heavenly visitation, (whether it be more powerful, as in this instance, or as a "seed," "the least of all seeds," which if suffered to grow, would gradually produce a change

equally happy) let a wise choice be made; and the danger of protracting the essentially necessary work of the soul's salvation averted; that whether in youth, mature age, or advanced life, the affecting language may not impress the mind, "the harvest is past, the summer is ended, and I am not saved."

"The memory of the just is blessed," and the relation of their experiences may encourage the Christian traveller steadily to persevere in faith and patience to the end; that so his termination here may be peaceful, and his change glorious.

It was the intention of our late valued friend, John Barclay, that the lives of Samuel and Mary Neale, should form a part of the "Select Series" of Friends' writings, which he commenced and carried through several volumes. But he did not live to accomplish it; and his brother, the late A. Rawlinson Barclay, being desirous of carrying out his views, undertook the task of procuring such additional materials as were accessible, and preparing the volume for the press. Considerable additions to Samuel Neale's Journal have been introduced from his original manuscripts and his unpublished letters, and many valuable letters of Mary Peisley, have also been inserted in her life. The value and interest of both journals have thus been materially enhanced, and they will be found to convey much solid religious instruction to the serious and attentive reader.

## THE LIFE OF SAMUEL NEALE.

### CHAPTER I.

*His education—early life—powerful visitation of divine love—and conversion—his appearance in the ministry.*

I WAS born in the city of Dublin, the 9th day of the ninth month, 1729. My parents were Thomas and Martha Neale, who removed shortly afterwards into the compass of Edenderry monthly meeting. About the sixth year of my age, my mother died; soon after, my father removed to America, and left me, with a brother and two sisters, under the care and guardianship of my uncle and grandmother; who were very tender of us, gave us such schooling as that neighbourhood afforded, and took care of our morals and conduct. In a few years my grandmother died, and left us under the care of our uncle; who removed to Christians-town, in the county of Kildare. My grandfather had purchased an estate, which he left to me, if I should survive my father, which accordingly came to pass, he dying when I was about seventeen years of age.

In my early years, though deprived of my parents, the Lord my God was near, and took me up, and at times moved upon my spirit and melted my heart, before I well knew what it was that affected me. When very young and capable of reading the Scriptures, and other writings tending to instruct me in that which was good and profitable, I felt my spirit tendered; and I enjoyed a sweetness of mind that made me very sedate and grave, and often the tears would run down my cheeks. In these seasons I felt myself very comfortable; and had a belief that I was seen by the all-wise Creator, who knew all things; but such impressions soon wore off, and the levity of my natural disposition got into dominion, when amongst my play-fellows.

Thus I went on for some time; when I was attacked by the small-pox: it reduced me very low, and few thought I should recover. In this disorder, I thought I was not fit to die, and therefore entered into covenant, that if the Lord would bring me through, I would be more careful of my words and actions than ever I had been before. I still remember some of the prospects I had when lying on that sick bed: but it pleased infinite Goodness to raise me up. I was then about my twelfth year; and after this, though I often remembered my covenant, yet my natural propensity

to youthful follies and amusements prevailed much, and stifled the good resolutions I had formed; so that, not keeping to the sense that was awakened in my mind, I too much forgot the visitations with which I had been favoured from the gracious Hand of merciful help: and not being enough restrained, I took liberties in hunting, coursing, and shooting, whereby I was introduced into unprofitable company, which often lays a foundation for repentance. As I grew in years my passion for these amusements increased, so that I was hurried on, as with a torrent, into irregularities that lead to the chambers of death.

Thus I continued till my father's death, which as already mentioned, was about my seventeenth year; near which time I had a dawn of sense given me, that my life was very unprofitably spent. I knew but little of business, and was desirous of being placed in some line of life, by which I might be enabled, in addition to my income, to live respectably amongst men, and follow some occupation, so as to be kept out of idleness: in consequence whereof, when about eighteen years of age, I was placed with a merchant in Dublin, a very sensible humane man, to serve him till I should be twenty-one. In this situation I was as much, or more exposed than before; for having money of my own, I contracted acquaintance with many young people in that city, very injurious to my growth in that which was good. Being remarkably active and strong, and excelling most in a variety of bodily exercises, it made me vain; and emulation prompted me to endanger my health, by abusing the strength with which Providence had endued me for better purposes.

In this time of servitude I got intimate with several young men in the college, I believe some of the most moral that were there; and I took liberties inconsistent with the principles in which I was educated. We sometimes frequented the play-house, and after these amusements, when on my return home, O! the anxiety and remorse that covered my mind and overwhelmed my spirit!

I was then willing to covenant to be more careful in future, and avoid what now seemed so distressing: but when those seasons of diversion approached, I felt my inclination to arise with redoubled strength, and my passion for gratifying it, like an irresistible torrent, insurmountable: so I went, like a man bereft of understanding. When all was over, I was



ready to accuse myself as one of the weakest of mortals, and to deplore my unsteadiness and want of resolution.

Thus I continued for a considerable part of the three years I spent in Dublin, sinning, and deploring my weakness and the commission of those things that afterwards stung like a serpent and bit like an adder. At particular times when sitting in meetings, I was sensible of the virtue of Truth, and was very much brought down and humbled in my mind: but my associates would cry out, "This is a religious fit,—come let us take a coach and go to the Park, Black-rock, or some such place, and drive it away." Thus the convictions of the good Spirit were counteracted by those who were not subject to its government, but were agents to him, who rules in the children of disobedience, and keeps in bondage and darkness.

I remember in an afternoon meeting a valuable Friend was concerned to speak in a prophetic line,—that the Lord would visit the youth, and pour forth of his spirit upon them, and raise up Samuels for himself. I thought she looked steadily towards me, and her words made a deep impression on me. But endeavours were used that same evening to eradicate these impressions, which through weakness and frailty were but too successful; so that I feared I should never be able to stand my ground, and was almost persuaded to give over striving. But my gracious and good Lord still followed me with his loving-kindness, and at times created a hope that I might overcome the enemies of my own house: and in time, blessed be his holy Name, I felt strength to resist their wiles and insinuations;—but alas! I had many combats.

I well remember a remarkable dream, which had a very great effect upon me:—I thought the enemy of all good came and attacked me violently, that we wrestled a considerable time, and I was in great conflict; he brought me to my knees, but still could not throw me down, and after much struggling he vanished. I awoke, and my shirt was as if dipped in water, from the agony of this conflict. Though I was young, it made a great impression on me, and since that time I have seen my dream fulfilled. But for the interposition of the Lord's mercies, I should have been long since overthrown, and become a cast-away:—great are His mercies,—He still continues to be long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth to poor rebellious man; striving by His good Spirit to draw him from sin and iniquity, and calling him as out of Egyptian darkness and bondage, to come into the glorious liberty of being his son;—as is expressed in sacred writ, "Out of Egypt have I called my son." Though this alludes to our blessed Lord's coming out of Egypt, when his life was sought

by Herod, it also may be applicable to mankind in general, in sin and in their natural state, which may be justly styled Egyptian darkness and bondage;—to whom the call is, by the Spirit of our Lord Jesus, to come out of this sinful state, witness the new birth, and be baptized by His pure spiritual baptism, that of the Holy Ghost and fire; which purges the floor of the heart, brings into newness of life, and makes it a temple where acceptable prayer is offered up, by the power and excellent working of the pure Truth, which prepares every acceptable sacrifice, in our devotion and religious exercises during our pilgrimage through this world.

Thus I went on, between hope and fear, the remainder of my apprenticeship; my frailties often precipitating me to the verge of ruin.

During this time I had a visitation from the Most High, by a fever and ague, which brought me very low; my former covenant appeared fresh in my remembrance, and I was now afraid to ask, because before I did not perform. I continued for some time in a low condition, until infinite Goodness restored me once more to health, to try my fidelity; but, to my shame and confusion, I ran into greater evils than ever: thus ungrateful and hardhearted, I could fully subscribe to that declaration, "The heart of man is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked:"—I seemed running the full length of my chain.

My conviction and remorse were at times strong; but company and the levity of my temper quenched these convictions, and I went on towards destruction, in rebellion and disobedience against the divine Monitor, which, in boundless mercy, still followed me.

I continued in this state until I was my own master; when, intending to pay a visit in Munster, to form acquaintances and follow some business, I prepared for my journey, equipped like a young man of the world, had a livery servant, and set forward in good spirits on my expedition. As I passed along, I called at Pad-dock, where Mary Peisley lived, to inquire after her health and that of the family: my uncle Samuel Neale accompanied me. We made some little stay there, and I found myself delighted with their instructive conversation: it sunk into my mind beyond what was common; and when we left the place, I remarked how pleasing such company and conversation were, compared with what was generally to be met with.

I pursued my journey to Limerick, where I stayed some days with my relation John Tavernier: here I fell into very dissipated company, old acquaintances that I had in Dublin. From thence I proceeded to Cork, and on the road felt my mind impressed with solid reflections, which I have since thought preparatory to what soon

followed; for I was conscious that my weakness and frailties were great, my time running swiftly away, and I was irresolute with respect to standing against temptation and the allurements of sin, and sin-pleasing pleasures. In this disposition I reached Cork, and there mingled with my old acquaintances and got new ones.

I remember being at a play one evening, up late that night, and lying pretty long next morning, which was first-day, an acquaintance asked me to go to meeting, and at the same time informed me there were strangers to be there, telling me who they were: I said I would, for at my worst state I generally attended meetings. So to meeting I went, and it was a memorable one to me: for in it my state was so opened to that highly favoured instrument in the Lord's hand, Catherine Payton (who with my beloved friend Mary Peisley were visiting the churches,) that all I had done seemed to have been unfolded to her in a wonderful manner. I was as one smitten to the ground, dissolved in tears, and without spirit. This was a visitation from the Most High, beyond all others that I had as yet witnessed: I was so wrought upon by the power and Spirit of the holy Jesus, that like Saul, I was ready to cry out; "Lord, what wouldest thou have me to do?" I was almost ashamed to be seen, being so bedewed with tears, and slunk away from the meeting, to get into a private place. I joined company with a religious young man, and forsook my gay companions and associates, who beheld me with astonishment. The change was very rapid, and my doubts and fears respecting myself were very great, so that I could not trust myself in my former company, lest my innumerable frailties should prove too powerful for all my good resolutions. So I abode still and quiet, and kept near these messengers of glad tidings to me. I went with them to Bandon and Kinsale; and the same powerful dispensation of divine virtue followed me, breaking in upon me, and tendering my spirit in a wonderful manner, in public meetings as well as in private opportunities; which drew the attention and observation of many. When I returned to Cork, I kept as private as I well could, and resolved to quit all my worldly pursuits, and follow the gentle leadings of that heavenly Light, which showed me the vanity of worldly glory, and that the pleasures of sin are but as for a moment.

Our beloved friends intended for the province meeting at Limerick, and took Kilcommon meeting in their way, whither they went: I also went; and a considerable degree of concern grew in my mind, both by day and by night. Their company was precious to me, their conduct and conversation strengthening; and the inward manifestations of heavenly goodness vouchsafed, were my crown and rejoicing. My eyes were

measurably opened to behold my insignificancy, rebellion and backsliding: I saw the perverseness of my nature, and that in me, as man, there dwelt no good thing. I thought I saw that if I missed the present opportunity of coming as out of Babylon, I was lost for ever: I was come to the length of my chain, my measure was full, and if I did not embrace the present offer, ruin and destruction would be my portion. These sights of my condition stimulated me to exert myself in watchfulness and care, to pursue with ardeney the sense that opened in my own mind, and to feel after the spring and virtue that I witnessed there, which far exceeded every gratification that I knew before in this life. My hunger and thirst after righteousness were great: I delighted much in reading and retirement; worldly things had no charms for me at this season, when the new creation began to dawn: although, at times, I felt that the mount of Esau was on fire, and the consuming thereof hard to bear, yet it was necessary, in order that I might witness a new heaven and a new earth, wherein alone righteousness can dwell.

I went with these Friends to many meetings, and still heavenly good attended me, which encouraged me to persevere and resolve to be steadfast. I was very comfortable in this good company, and in that of valuable Friends where I came: but the time drew near when I must be separated from them; and though it was a very heavy trial upon me to leave those Friends, who as instruments, were exceedingly helpful and beneficial to me in my weak state, yet I concluded to return; and accordingly took leave of my beloved fellow-travellers, and turned my face towards home, which was then in Dublin.

This was about the middle of the summer of 1751, and in the twenty-second year of my age. I journeyed homeward in great heaviness; fear seized on me, lest I should not be able to stand my ground amongst my intimates and acquaintances, professors and profane; being well known in that great and populous city, and having had many proofs of my own unsteadiness and forgetfulness, when heretofore favoured with the tendering convictions of Truth on my mind. At times I had thoughts of leaving the kingdom, and residing in England, near some valuable experienced Friends, where I might be safer than amongst my acquaintances in my own country, who so often allured and drew me from the paths of purity, into the pursuit of lying vanities. Thus I reasoned with flesh and blood: but I was instructed to see, that He who visited me, was able to preserve me, if I would but be subject and obedient to His wholesome instruction; and that where I had dishonoured Him by my inconsistencies, there, by my fidelity to the law He writes in the heart, I might honour and confess Him before men. These intima-



tions quieted my mind, and I resolved to meet ridicule, reviling, and even persecution itself, for the sake of Him, whom I was resolved to follow, as I felt strength.

In this state of mind I returned to Dublin, and kept pretty quiet, attended meetings and mingled with a few select Friends. In this my weak state I frequently went through bye-ways and lanes, to avoid my old acquaintances, feeling the cross heavy, as many young people educated in our Society do, when I met them and spoke the plain language: this is much to be regretted, for it was the language spoken by our blessed Lord and his disciples, by the patriarchs and prophets, and our principles strictly enjoin us to speak it to all men; but alas! many are unfaithful, which makes them unfruitful in works of righteousness.

This brings to my remembrance a passage in my experience, which may be of some use when I shall be no more. When I was with my old master T. S. as an apprentice, he had occasion to pay rent to the Bishop of Clogher for one of his correspondents: I was sent with the money, and addressed the Bishop, not as though I was one called a Quaker. He took but little notice of me; I thought he treated me rather with contempt: it stung me to think I had played the coward, and was ashamed to address him as a Quaker; I therefore entered into an engagement that if ever I went again, I would address him in the plain language. The season came that I was to go, and I was warned in my mind to remember my engagement. I went in some degree of fear; he was just stepping into his coach to go into the country: when I addressed him as a Quaker, he very politely received me, and treated me as if I had been his equal. When I had done my business, I returned with a pleasure far transcending any thing I had felt before, for such an act of obedience: I thought I could leap as an hart, I felt such inward joy, satisfaction, and consolation. So that I would have the beloved youth mind their Guide, and not dishonour that of God in them; for as we are faithful in a little, we shall be made rulers over more; and we shall have more of the praise even of men, by keeping to our religious principles, and be in higher esteem by those in authority, as our forefathers were.

I stayed in Dublin amongst my friends, attending meetings constantly, and sometimes met a select number at Samuel Judd's, where I was often refreshed and comforted; the Lord was pleased to be with me, contriving my spirit and humbling me under His mighty hand. The mount of Esau was still on fire, which at times was very affecting and hard to be borne; and were it not for the Divine hand that sustained, I could not have abode the fierceness of the furnace: but it is a gradual work and must be

accomplished; the kingdom of sin and Satan must be destroyed, before the kingdom of the holy Jesus becomes established in the hearts of men. The house of Saul grew weaker and weaker, and the house of David stronger and stronger, until it became established: so, in a religious sense, conversion is a gradual work; the sinful nature declines through the efficacy of the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire, which purges the floor of the heart, and makes it a fit temple for the Spirit of the Son of God to dwell in. This causes a strong combat, a severe conflict, in which the poor creature suffers deep probation and tribulation; but it is the way to virtue and glory, and is the heavenly preparer of paths to walk in acceptably to God: who, gradually carrying on His own work in the midst of suffering, visits by His life-giving presence to animate, cheer, and enable the drooping soul to hold on its way. By this invisible and glorious work the day of redemption draws nigh, and the poor pilgrim goes from strength to strength, and from one degree of experience to another, rejoicing in the Lord Jehovah, the God of the spirits of all flesh, until the work be completed; then the poor traveller can say,—“It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy:” it is He that works, both to will and to do of His good pleasure, by His holy Spirit; as the temple is clean and is kept in that state, which is only to be done, as we take heed to the power and Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Captain of our salvation, watching and praying that we enter not into temptation: then, and not till then, will the temple of our heart be clean.

After I had spent some time in Dublin, my dear friend Garratt Van Hassen, having an inclination to go to Mountmellick, to see Friends there-away in their families, I felt an inclination to accompany him, of which he seemed glad. When there, he was joined by James Gough, and they invited me to sit with them in the families they visited. I was sensible of divine good in most of the families, and had some openings similar to those spoken of by them in their religious communications, which was a strength to my mind. I remember in one family there was nothing said, no openings in ministry, and in that family my mind was much shut up, I felt no openings of light or comfort; which made me believe I had something of a sense such as these worthy Friends had, and this was some encouragement to me in my infant state. I kept on with them in the service until they had concluded; in general I was favoured in spirit, being often tendered and contrited before the Lord Almighty, and, I hope, strengthened in living experience. On our return we called at Christians-town, and stayed a few nights there, where I met with a remarkable occurrence: I

had been used in former times to walk out with my gun and dog; it was a retired way of amusing myself, in which I thought there was no harm: and reasoning after this manner, though I was very thoughtful about leading a new life, yet I now went out as formerly. I remember I shot a brace of woodcocks, and on my return home it rained, and I went to shelter myself by a stack of corn; when it struck my mind as an impropriety, thus to waste my time in this way of amusement, so I returned rather heavy-hearted. Dear Garratt and I lodged together; and next morning he asked me if I was awake, I told him I was; 'I have something to say to thee,' said he; I bid him say on. 'It has been,' said he, 'as if an angel had spoken to me, to bid thee put away thy gun; I believe it is proper that thou shouldst put away that amusement.' To this purport he spoke; and that same night I dreamed that it was said to me, intelligibly in my sleep, that if I would be a son of righteousness, I must put away my gun, and such amusements: it made a deep impression on my mind, and I concluded to give up every thing of the kind, and take up my daily cross, and follow the leadings of the Lamb, who takes away the sins of the world.

We returned to Dublin soon after; and I stayed there, attending meetings, and keeping as much as I well could in solitude; until dear Joseph Tomey, feeling a concern to visit a few meetings in the country, I was made willing to accompany him. In this journey, I was under a deep exercise of mind, and great strugglings between flesh and spirit, which none fully knew but the good Spirit that searcheth all things, and comprehendeth all states and conditions. We went to Ballitore, and into the county of Carlow. Joseph was clothed with great authority in his ministry; and was made a nursing father to me in this little journey by day and by night, for we lay much awake, in great tenderness and contrition of spirit; so that I may indeed say, I watered my pillow with my tears. I felt something like a fire in my breast that glowed with uncommon heat: it gradually increased, and was shut up there, till we came to Mountrath meeting; where, as I sat, I felt a great concern to say a few words, which deeply affected my whole frame, and made me tremble exceedingly. After much reasoning I yielded obedience, which gave me great ease; my peace flowed abundantly, and I seemed quite in another state. My companion had an excellent opportunity to preach the gospel to the people, and the meeting ended in a very solemn frame. This was the 16th of the twelfth month, 1751. My beloved friend Mary Peisley was present at this awful dedication of the temple of my heart, and I believe had great sympathy with me, being deeply

experienced in the way and working of Truth, and an eminent instrument in the Lord's hand for promoting truth and righteousness amongst men. After this I kept very still and quiet, was much inward with the Spirit in my own heart, and delighted in reading and meditation.

We went from Mountrath to Edenderry, and were there at a marriage: there were several people at it besides Friends. I went in much fear to this meeting, but I was helped to bear my testimony, and my companion had an excellent open season amongst them. We went from Edenderry to Dublin, where I had much reasoning with flesh and blood, such as, what would the people think or say of such an one as I, who had been a gay young man, a libertine and a persecutor of the holy Jesus in his spiritual appearance, to appear now as a preacher of righteousness. When the meeting day came, my fears increased, and in this state I went to meeting; it was on a first-day, there was a very large gathering, amongst whom were divers of my associates and old companions. I was concerned to bear my testimony, which I did in great fear and trembling: the subject was Paul's conversion;—"Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" It was spoken in great brokenness,—I did not say much, but it had an extraordinary reach over the meeting; many present wept aloud, and for a considerable space of time. After meeting I endeavoured to get away unperceived, though one man (not of our Society) caught me in his arms and embraced me. Thus was I sustained and strengthened in my setting out in the work of the ministry; and had an evidence that the people were much reached, and powerfully affected that day. Afterwards I waded through divers exercises, and felt deep baptisms attend me for my further purification, and on account of the people, whose states I must feel, if I ministered aright.

## CHAPTER II.

*Joins William Brown from America, in a visit to some parts of England, Holland, and Germany—visits the West of England—attends the yearly meeting in London.*

[Twelfth month, 1751.]—ABOUT this time dear William Brown arrived from America, a faithful minister and an experienced elder, who wanted a companion. I was spoken to on the subject; and after receiving the advice of my friends, and feeling my way open, I agreed to go with him; this I hope proved a blessing to me.

[During his stay in Dublin, preparing for his journey, he laboured faithfully in the vineyard.] He remarks:—



There seemed an open door: the change in me awakened the minds of several of the youth, who were greatly struck with it; and indeed it was a day of visitation to many.

We left Dublin in the first month, 1752, and visited the several meetings of Friends through this nation, both in the particular and province meetings, as they occurred in our way; holding meetings also in divers places, where there were none of our Society resident. We had to experience that the God of our forefathers manifests himself to be near those, whom he commissions and sends forth as sheep among wolves; and that it is not the wise of this world by whom he speaks; but those who are anointed with the holy unction. The divine power was over the spirits of many of the people, which confirmed me in the belief, that the Lord will send his servants, to invite those that are as in the highways and hedges to the supper of the Lamb. At the last meeting we attended in this journey, we were made partakers of the healing, sweetening virtue of Truth; and we were mercifully sustained throughout, by the invisible omnipotent Arm, that never fails those who trust in it.

#### SAMUEL NEALE TO A FRIEND.

Dated near Widelow, 13th of  
Third month, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Though I am at times borne up by the renewings of divine assistance, yet am I at seasons as empty and as mere a nothing, as though I never knew any good; and it is rare that I meet such refreshing showers of celestial sweets, as I did when in thy company; which makes me ready to conclude it was only an earnest for me to enter into service, and that I must now work for my bread. Well, I verily believe, but for a little faith that I find as a stay to my mind in these moments, I should almost faint; and then the words of the prophet sometimes animate me when in this situation, which are, "Though the youth may faint and be weary, and the young men utterly fall, yet they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength."—These words are often repeated in our solemn assemblies, but how little is the sense of them understood by many of our professors; the god of this world doth blind their eyes, and delusion chains them with many infatuations. Well, I have to say, let us wait for divine refreshment, as humbly craving at the footstool of our God; let others do what they will, we will by divine aid serve our God; who is strength in weakness, and a present help in every needful time,—binding up the broken-hearted, and proclaiming liberty to the captives. I have to magnify his holy name, and with adoration acknowledge his manifold mercies to my soul, who by such an

undeserved condescension plucked me as a brand out of the fire: O! how worthy is He to be waited upon!

—— I know not, my dear friend, how it is with thee; but I would have thee to be resigned, and be patient in tribulation, having hope as an anchor to the soul; and when thou art as the desert, springs will be opened, the blossoms shall appear in bloom, and sadness will be removed. But, indeed, we cannot expect to be free from suffering here, for it is by suffering we are to reign with Christ, who was made perfect through sufferings. Therefore I commend to thee what I do to my own soul, which is patience in tribulation; that when we glory let it be only in the cross of Christ.

Thy real friend in the ever blessed Truth,

SAMUEL NEALE.

Returning to Dublin, we attended the national meeting in the fifth month: after which, having obtained the concurrence of my friends, we embarked for England; arrived at Liverpool on the 10th, and on the 15th of the month we reached London.

We had several precious opportunities during our stay there, though my spirit was deeply baptized, under a sense of my own unworthiness; also on account of the liberties taken by many, who make a high and holy profession. In this yearly meeting my spirit was much humbled within me—the heart-tendering power and virtue of Truth broke in upon me; and I thought if I spent such a season every year of my life it would be truly profitable. The meetings for discipline, as well as those for worship, were very consolatory: my spirit was much broken and contrited before the Most High, and I walked in great fear.

[In a letter to his friend, Richard Shackleton, dated about this time from London, he writes:] As for my part, my dear friend, I find nothing else is like to do for me, but the most solemn attention, and the deepest looking after that I am capable of, to know how to act for my own peace of mind and the honour of Him, who has called me out of darkness into a measure of his marvellous light; to give me a sense and relish of the enjoyments of supreme love, and his gracious condescension in visiting my soul when I was captivated with the delusions which would inevitably have terminated in eternal misery. May a sense of this matchless mercy and loving-kindness rivet my affections, and fix my desires after the continuation of this love; which, indeed, has warmed my heart with strong desires for Jerusalem's cause, and showed me the beauty that there is in a life given up to the 'service of our God; who has done more for me than I am capable, by the thousandth part, to give the

least idea of. Well, what can I do? nothing I am sure that is good, or in any ways contributive to the good cause, only as I am actuated by the emotions of the Spirit of Truth; which, when enabled, I have to beg it may be my greatest care and diligent concern to adhere to; lest I be deceived by the insinuations of my unwearied adversary, or an inherent disposition in the nature of poor fallen man, to be in action for the applause of his fellow-creatures. I honestly confess, for my part, that except I am in the most attentive manner watching over the roivings of my mind, I find I am surrounded with dangers, which, when in Truth's arising, I obviously see to be destructive to my own good or happiness; and this danger that so besets me is, a desire of being what my good Master does not think proper to have me to be, which is, in being ambitious to be great in the cause I am engaged in, which I see has its rise in self, a monster that is an enemy to many souls; and a destructive one too. Oh! when we come to experience a will entirely resigned to be what our God would have us to be, it is then we are made vessels, or instruments of honour, fitted to act as He, the Lord of the harvest may see meet to employ us, whether it be to reap, to sow, to thresh, or oversee that the work is going on to his glory.

Many worthies there are here from all quarters: the meeting of ministers was an instructive season to all present, especially to the little ones. In the meetings of discipline, in my apprehension, there does not seem that unanimity and concord as might be wished for in such a solemn assembly; there being men of great capacity, who, instead of waiting for the forming power to give ability, speak with precipitancy, as if jealous lest some other should take up the time. However, the Master and God of order has many that are watchful on Zion's walls, lest the adversary should make an inroad, who, like the good prophet of old, will sit on their tower, and be instant in season to speak against any invasions the enemy would be making, to disturb or render fruitless the labour that is bestowed.

[He proceeds to give an account of his journey, in company with William Brown, through some parts of England, Holland and Germany; from which the following extracts are taken.]

On the 29th of fifth month, we got well to dear John Griffith's, at Chelmsford, and next day being first-day, we were at two favoured meetings there. On the 31st, we reached John Kendall's, at Colchester, and stayed their yearly meeting, where the presence of the good Shepherd was witnessed; the meeting lasted three days, and ended with heavenly sweetness.

On the 6th of sixth month, we set out for the

yearly meeting at Woodbridge, and during the time thereof, we were frequently overshadowed by the goodness and glory of our God, and the testimony of Truth went forth in good authority and power.

On the 3rd of seventh month, we went on board a sloop at Yarmouth, and through the goodness of a gracious God, landed on the 5th at Rotterdam. On the 8th, we got to Amsterdam: were at meeting there; and blessed be the name of the Lord our God, we were owned by His living presence. In this city we stayed for some time, visiting the families of Friends; exhorting them, as Truth opened our way, and gave us tongue and utterance. I was very thankful in feeling what I did amongst them: my spirit was much united to some states there, and though I could not converse with them, yet there was an union and fellowship in spirit, that had a language unknown to mere worldly minded men. From hence we proceeded to Osnaburgh, &c., and on the 23rd of eighth month, we went on board the packet-boat at Helvoetsluys, and through the continued condescension of the invisible Arm of power, arrived safe at Harwich on the 24th.

[From Amsterdam he wrote to his friend Richard Shackleton, under date of 17th of seventh month, from which the following is extracted:]

——— The hand and judgments of the Lord are to be laid upon every of his vessels and instruments in his house, for their being fitted and formed according to the will and wisdom of Him, who must have polished stones in his building, shaped by judgment to bring forth righteousness, and to live a righteous life. It is my sense, that the more crooked grained and stubborn by nature we are, and exalted by our own pride of heart, the more chipping and planing we want, and the harder are we to be brought to that nothingness which initiates us into the body, and makes us members of Christ. He, whose eye is over the workmanship of His hands, and who knows the secrets of the hearts, the most hidden thoughts being manifest unto Him, sees what will humble, and fit us best for His use. I believe this was the cause of His hiding from me His presence so much in that great city, London, and left me so insensible of good; in order that I might see how little man's knowledge or wisdom is, when there is a veil drawn between him and true wisdom:—This was then my error, dear friend—the natural man arose, self grew great and was exalted, being clothed with a disguise that indeed deluded, by exciting suggestions injurious to peace, and far from true humility; it set itself up, and gloried as it were in its own shame, by whispering with a mixture of serpentine venom, how I had been



plucked out of the mire and dirt, and set among the foremost in the household of faith; and if all this was done in so short time, how much more would I experience. And here cursed self would exalt itself above the pure seed, that was then oppressed with this strong man armed, and strengthened by the whispers of the infernal leader of his host, who is always engaged to lead the mind captive. But as the all-merciful Judge sees meet to forgive and blot out our iniquities, when we turn to Him with unfeigned repentance, so I have witnessed; glory for ever be attributed to Him. If we watch with a single eye, there is a shining of that light within, which discovers every speck and spot of uncleanness, and judges and mortifies it:—and thus looking to Him, who was the guide of his people of old by a cloud and a pillar of fire, which is figurative of our spiritual travels in this our day, they were to move as the cloud moved, and stand as it rested on the tabernacle; here was the eye to be fixed on the sure Guide. It is just so with us in the spiritual travel; as the eye is fixed on the gift within, and waits for instruction, it is to be found; but while we are unsteady and impatient, the enemy works and draws the mind aside. Thus does the mystery of iniquity work, till it is made to flee with the brightness and coming of Him who slays with the Spirit of His mouth.

After I left London, I felt the animating love of my God re-kindle in my bosom, which, with the company of many worthy Friends, was more than I was deserving of. I looked on myself with shame, for having been so long a neglecter of the mercies offered to me, and a trampler on that precious blood spilt for my redemption. When my companion had a view of this country, I had some small hopes that I might return home, and was in a strait for some time, not knowing what I should have to do or could do in a country where they spoke by an interpreter; and besides, there was a young man under a concern to go, which when I mentioned to my companion seemed to affect him more than I could think. I continued waiting to know my duty, till I found every arising scruple give way. Accordingly I set off from Norwich, in company with about thirty valuable religious Friends, who came about twenty-two miles to Yarmouth; where we had a heavenly meeting, as a confirmation of the notice and regard of that Power, who is superior to every power, in whom is fulness and glory for ever. We took shipping and arrived at Rotterdam, the 5th instant, came to this city the 8th, and here have continued; have had several meetings and visited all the families. There is not that conformity of dress in the professors here, which is peculiar to the simplicity of the gospel; I hope

the labour bestowed upon them, as it comes from the fountain of all good, will so operate with the gift in them, as to bring them to a sense of their error. They say it is a stiffness amongst them, that is peculiar to the Dutch: but Truth is the same here as in England, has the same efficacy and force to break every hard heart, and bring into subjection every thing that would resist against its motions; and it is my companion's and my belief, if they do not in this conform, Truth will not flourish here; for disobedience thereto fits them for the conversation and love of the world, which is at enmity with God, hinders them from bearing the cross, and becoming truly circumcised. But all we can do is, to discharge ourselves, and leave the effects.

We intend by divine assistance to go to Osna-burgh next week, about four days' journey from hence, near which city there has lately appeared a conviction of our principles; and from thence go to North Holland, which when accomplished, we hope to be free of this country, and return to England. Hoping these lines may be taken as a token of my friendship and unforgetfulness of you, being written in the aboundings of that love which fills a heart that wishes you prosperity in every sense;

I am, thy very affectionate friend,

SAMUEL NEALE.

TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

London, 17th Ninth month, 1752.

DEAR FRIEND,—Thy very acceptable letter of the 5th instant, I duly received, and I can truly say it was satisfactory as well as consolatory to me, being in a low dejected moment of my pilgrimage. But the goodness of that merciful Lord, who in his wisdom sees meet to leave us at times in a stripped state, to show us our weakness, poverty and infirmities, will not tarry longer than He gives faith and patience to bear us up, from sinking below the proper depth, in the sands of uncertainty and unbelief. I know my spirit in a particular manner has to magnify his everlasting loving-kindness; and to say, good is the Lord, in manifesting his mercy to the most rebellious; indeed, He is long-suffering, great in mercy, and wonderful in power. Oh! may His glittering sword be unsheathed, and seen by those that are in the unrepenting paths of idolatry and iniquity; that by its brightness and the just and awful threats thereof when in the hand of judgment, they may flee to mercy, and be pruned from all their branches of error and folly. Indeed, dear friend, I sometimes think, when I cast an eye on the iniquity that seems spreading its power and dominion in the most obvious manner, on these nations professing Christianity, that our

great and merciful God will send some of his righteous judgments, as in days of old, when rebellion reigned in the camp of Israel, to destroy those trampers on the precious blood, spilt for the redemption of the children of men. A certain truth it is,—He will not always strive with men; for if the judgment of the Most High was poured on the unrepenting and iniquitous, in a time that only pointed out the gospel dispensation, how much more guilty are those who with the tongue confess and profess to believe the sacred truths, left on record, of the sufferings of our holy Pattern and High Priest; and act in direct opposition and contradiction thereto, and indeed, bear in reality the very same hearts and dispositions of those who judged Him to the cruel death of the cross. What but love alone would strive with them! therefore when I reflect on the unrighteousness of priests and people, and the growth thereof, I am ready to conclude, some trying calamity will be the consequence of their rebellion and infidelity, and to believe the man and child is born that will see it. My spirit in fervency craves that our Society may be aroused from their beds of ease, and remember the church of old that was neither cold nor hot, and had a name of being rich and full, and knew not that she was naked, and poor, and blind, and miserable, &c. The Lord our God, I am sure, is not wanting on his part; but is putting his word in the heart and in the mouth, of his poor vessels, causing them to give it forth in fear and trembling; so that our Society is without excuse.

But to return to that part wherein I mentioned my lowness:—this great city and the state of its inhabitants, cause me pain and anxiety of mind; and an ardent desire in the right time to be relieved from such exercising seasons, is my portion now, and was when here at the yearly meeting; and now both body and mind are affected. My companion often blames me, with many others, and even Samuel Fothergill cautioned me against appearing low and dejected: I cannot come to that strength or experience, when oppression reigns, to have a cheerful countenance, and a veiled heart, when clothed with sorrow.

— My dear friend, this letter, though not worth perusing, is the best I could send; my heart indited it indeed, and not my head; and believe me, that I truly love thee and thine, and many others in my own land. The Lord's will be done; he can help his little Davids and animate them in the field of battle, to go even against the whole Philistine host. Be faithful, my dear friend, and watch for his commands. When I can, I pray for thee, and all my young brethren and sisters: may the spirit of prayer

and supplication cover us as an helmet, and shield us as armour. SAMUEL NEALE.

After returning from Holland, we proceeded on our journey through the southern and western counties of England. On the 9th of eleventh month, we came to Samuel Bownas's at Bridport; where my heart was made sensible of the necessity we have, while day and capacity are afforded, to work in the vineyard into which we are called, by seeing this labourer in a decaying, drooping way, by a failure of those faculties that were once so bright, fertile and fruitful. But still he maintains that innocency and sweetness which Truth gives, and leaves the savour of, to all who are faithful to its manifestations: which remark may my soul treasure up; that so I may make right use of my day and time, and ardently pursue the one thing needful, that leads to eternal repose, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

#### TO A FRIEND.

Devonshire, 16th Eleventh month, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I have of late received counsel instrumentally, so applicable and befitting my condition, as binds my soul more and more to the testimony, and has begotten cries at the very bottom of my soul, that the thread of my life may be cut, ere I make the professors of the ever blessed Truth, either to be ashamed or to mourn for my behaviour; and have been reanimated to covenant afresh, in remembrance of the horrible pit I have been plucked out of, and to say—Lord I am thine, and all I have is thine; lead me and guide me, and give me wisdom if it be thy holy will, to conduct myself so as to be no reproach to thy blessed Truth, or the true members of it; may I and all I have be consecrated, so as to “act only in thy requirings, and for thy cause.” And methinks, I hear in the secret closet of my heart, a whisper,—if thou wilt be faithful, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee. May thy prayers be put up for my faithful discharge of duty; that I may run not as uncertainly, and fight not as one that beateth the air; but that my body may be brought into subjection, and all the affections of it, to the law of the Spirit of life; that I may daily die to the natural man, and live to Christ my Saviour, by the revelation of his holy Spirit, to strengthen and renew that new life I have received from him, by the enlightening beams of his eternal love, which is unlimited, universal, and brings redemption and salvation to its faithful votaries.

Thy letter to me, comes with so much bro-



therly kindness, that if it were filled with the most penetrating faithful admonition, it could not be more welcome: it truly manifests thy generous heart's regard, and I believe it was from the emotions of that righteous spirit sown there, that dictated it: and I am sure thou desirest my growth in the best things, and sometimes art afraid of my erring; all which I take to be from the pure love which thou hast to our Sion, and that the inhabitants thereof may be as stakes immovable. And now let me tell thee, I am at seasons afraid myself that I shall never be able to hold out; and many are my supplications that I may be preserved alive, from the corruptions of the world, or joining in the least with the enemies of Truth, either in company or sentiment; but that I may be taken away whilst alive in religion, and not cut off as a fruitless branch.

Beloved friend, it makes my heart ache when I consider the degeneracy from that true begotten zeal, which was about fifty years ago, when the ancients lived that endured the heat of the day: it is not now as in the days of Israel of old in one sense, though too much in another,—while the ancients lived they served the Lord;—in this sense it may be observed with us now. But blessed for ever be the Son of righteousness, he has ascended up on high, and given us a law that is of eternal duration, written in the heart, not on stones, but on fleshly tables; he tasted death for every man, has given them a manifestation of his Spirit, which, if truly hearkened unto, would lead us out of all error into all truth, and give us the same noble virtuous principle of our forefathers, to keep to the law and the testimony. Neither riches nor honour would bribe them to come into slavish mean compliances, nor the fears of what man could do by his empty power, when only in the flesh, or aided by fleshly powers, carnal weapons, human reasoning, &c. But now how is the defence or wall of our profession broken down, I mean the discipline of the church,—what a mixture is there in the seat of judgment, speaking in their own time, wit, and wisdom, offering false fire as some did of old, for which judgment was immediately executed. For as the law was then given outwardly, so was the punishment outward: but now there is a day coming in which the world is to be judged in righteousness, by that Man ordained before the foundation of the world; when reward is to be given as the works merit or deserve. May thy soul be fervent, with all those unto whom Truth is precious, that the work for which each is preparing, may be faithfully done; and let me say with one of old, May the God of Israel grant thee thy petition, and as thou also asks in faith it will be so; for, beloved, the wrestling seed are

to have the blessing, and to them it will not be said, seek ye my face in vain.——Let us keep to the feeling, let us travail with the seed, that we may know its arising in dominion; and then let us do what is shown us, according to the present manifestation either in meetings of discipline or worship. Gideon was but the least in his father's house, David was the least in his, but as they had faith, how did the Lord work in these instruments: and though the manifestation be but small, let us be honest; we know not the effect it may have.

My dear friend, let us be resigned and willing, to be anything or nothing; for my part I am at many meetings and have nothing to say, and yet I am resigned, knowing of myself I can do nothing. And let me tell thee more, of myself the poorest of instruments, I think I have not so much to say as when in Ireland often, so that I grow but slowly, if at all, except it be in the lesson of contentment; which I find will be learnt if I seek not my will or honour, but the will of Him who sent me; for as I am His, “do with me, O Lord, (I often say) as thou pleasest.”

SAMUEL NEALE.

On the 22nd of twelfth month, we came to Oakhampton, and having a day to spare, myself and companion visited three young women, sisters, who had been members of our Society, but were unhappily led away by the Ranters; whose self-righteousness and delusions cause much uneasiness to the truly concerned, showing how dangerous that spirit is, when given way to. Satan, the accuser of the brethren, tries all ways to disunite from the body and cause a separation,—rents and divisions being the strength of his kingdom: and as his insinuations are adapted to all people in their different states, finding out the weak side, there he plants his battery, trying one temptation after another; sometimes as an angel of light, and sometimes (as he really is) an angel of darkness.

But let a faithful examination be entered into, and a query raised,—Am I influenced by that Spirit which governs by love in the believers? Is there no root of self-love or self-sufficiency? Is there no zeal kindled by the accuser of the brethren, that would introduce contention and discord, pride and high-mindedness? This cannot be [from] that Spirit that baptizes into the one body and makes us one in Christ;—no, there would be bearing and forbearing, a forgetting and forgiving, a persuading and travailing in soul to be of one heart, to love as brethren. This will manifest whose disciples we are, and who is our Master. We visited those young women in love, and they took it well; my companion showed

them what true discipline was, and their errors, when they acted contrary thereto. On the whole it was a satisfactory conference, and if they are dealt with in love, I believe they will again join with Friends.

The 4th of first month, 1753, my companion resting a few days, I was at Spiceland, in Devonshire; where were Mercy Bell and her companion Phebe Cartwright: here I was made acquainted with these Friends' concern, to go to the market-place and street adjacent in Exeter, which bowed my spirit: I was baptized with them, and encouraged them to faithfulness. We spent the evening in a solid frame of mind, under the consideration of this weighty exercise: it appeared to me in such a manner, as made me apprehend that it was my duty to accompany them, and my companion assenting thereto, I freely gave up, not without first weighing it well, fearing by being too forward, I might rather hinder the service, and knowing that the Almighty was as sufficient to work by one (if it were his will to work instrumentally) as by a thousand. Thus, secretly desiring to be directed aright, a feeling sense opened to go, which I believe was strengthening to them.

On the 5th of first month, in the morning, accompanied by William and Thomas Byrd, we set out, and got to the throng of the market between twelve and one o'clock; after a time of silence, Mercy Bell was concerned in fervent supplication for aid and strength to fulfil what she thought to be her duty. We then walked up to the market-place, where she delivered what was on her mind: her companion was likewise concerned to warn the people to repent, for the day of the Lord came as a thief in the night. They proceeded through the street and often stopped; the people flocked about us in great numbers, and many were reached; and although there were divers hardened and stiff-necked, yet, in general, they listened with attention and soberness. Thus these Friends continued about three hours, regardless of the contempt and mocking of the profane, seeking nothing but peace of mind, which was administered. The word being in my heart, was put into my mouth, and I exhorted them to turn to the Lord, and he would have mercy; but if they forsook Him and lived a life of unrighteousness, they would, with the nations of all those that forget God, be turned into misery: and, for thus bearing my testimony for the truth of my God, I had the reward of sweet peace.

We appointed a meeting for the inhabitants to begin at five o'clock, which was very large; and, as ability was given, we declared the Truth. Mercy Bell had a very open time amongst them, to the satisfaction of most if

not all present; and the meeting concluded with supplication and praise to Him, who fits and qualifies for every work and service. In this city, there are some professing the blessed Truth, who are like the rulers of old, who believed, but did not confess, because they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.

Next morning I joined my former dear companion, and on the 23rd of first month, we came to Bristol, where his indisposition rendered it necessary for him to rest again; and I finding my way open homewards, acquainted him therewith. It was no small exercise to me to leave him, who was made as a father to me in counsel and advice: may it incite to a faithful perseverance, and cause my soul to be active in every point of duty; as I believe his was.

I stayed in Bristol until the 1st of the second month, was at several meetings, and can say, the Lord was pleased to be with me and to strengthen me: for ever magnified be His eternal name, for all his mercies to my soul. On taking leave of my dear companion, we had a religious sitting, wherein we were mutually comforted; and had to believe, that as the Lord our God joined us together, so in his wisdom he separated us, and in his love we parted.

I proceeded to Gloucester and Worcester; at the latter place I met my endeared friend and sister Catharine Payton. I stayed both meetings on first-day, which were remarkably satisfactory to me: the pure life succoured, and I was helped to discharge myself beyond my expectation. In the evening, we had the company of several Friends in a religious sitting, which was very refreshing and comforting; and though the apprehension of being singly at that meeting had been trying, and fearfulness had covered my mind; yet my good Master made it easy and joyful to me, additionally so, by casting his servant's lot there at the same time, who had been so great an instrument in His gracious hand towards my conviction and conversion: for which continual mercies may I be favoured to hear with humility and attention, the words that He condescends to speak to my soul; that so I may obey, and witness true peace to flow in my bosom: for, at this time I can say, all that I crave is ability to worship the infinite All-wise Being aright in spirit and in truth.

I arrived in Dublin the 21st of second month, and attended the meetings as they fell in course, until after our National meeting; when, with the concurrence of my Friends, I set out for the yearly meeting in London; where were many Friends of great weight. Here I was renewedly convinced of the excellency of our



principles, and of the blessed union of the faithful, and that no weapon formed against them should prosper; but that the Lord of all power would be a sun and a shield to those who put their trust in him. This was a memorable meeting; many living testimonies were borne to the pure Truth, and our covering was a crown of glory and a diadem of beauty. In this yearly meeting a proposition came from the women's meeting, for the establishment of a yearly meeting upon the same foundation as the men's, to send representatives from the quarterly meetings annually to attend it. It was brought in by six women, viz.: Susannah Morris, Sophia Hume, Mary Weston, Mary Peisley, Catharine Payton, and another. I well remember the salutation of S. Morris, when they entered the meeting-house; and she concluded with a short pathetic and living testimony, which had a great reach over the meeting. The proposition, I had no doubt, was from the motion of Truth: after a considerable debate it was deferred, and a recommendation sent down to the different monthly meetings, to establish women's meetings where there were none; and thus the matter closed this year.

### CHAPTER III.

*Returns to Dublin—residence near Rathangan meeting — attends London yearly meeting 1756—thence travels into Scotland—returns home.*

Soon after my return to Dublin, I took a place in the country, intending to reside there: it was an agreeable solitude, free from noise and hurry, and relieving to me in a season of baptism and refinement. This place was within the compass of Edenderry monthly meeting, and of Rathangan particular meeting; which, about this time, had a fresh visitation extended from the Most High. We often sat under the descendings of Divine Love, in which we felt much tenderness and brokenness of spirit, and therein grew in virtue and greenness, tending to make fruitful in every good word and work; and there was an increase in spiritual riches. After I was settled in my new habitation, I was very careful to attend Quarterly, Province and National meetings, as they fell in course, with other religious services.

#### TO A FRIEND.

Clonivoe, 7th of Second month, 1755.

DEAR FRIEND,—I cannot help admiring the goodness, mercy, and continued long-suffering of a gracious God, who is indeed abundant in goodness and in eternal truth; who has pruned, dug, and cultivated on his part, his heritage,

family, and people; and behold he looks for fruits. What then are ready to be produced? Why, I fear by some, pride and haughtiness, arrogancy and stubbornness, conceitedness and self-sufficiency; and very deplorable are these productions; how nigh are these unto the territories of death, and under the power of judgment, whom darkness and pain will unavoidably surround, if these vices are not fled from. Ah! how nigh are these poor souls unto the state of that fig-tree on which our Lord and Saviour went to seek fruit, and behold there was none: and the sentence was passed,—“let no fruit grow on thee henceforth for ever;” and immediately it withered away. What can be done, that has not been done for this people: what can be said, that has not been said, to bring them home to their forsaken Father's house. While I write, my spirit intercedes thus,—Ah! adorable, forgiving Goodness, let them stand yet a little longer; bear with them a little longer; and arm thy servants with fresh supplies of ability and wisdom, to woo them to love, duty, and obedience; and raise up others, who may be more prevailing, more powerful, and more successful.

This, dear friend, is the language of my spirit at this time; and do thou stand ready for His message; stand open to His counsel, and be willing to bear the ark, though thou stands in Jordan. I am persuaded my God has designs for thee to bring glory to His name, though thou mayst think He deals hardly with thee at times, and mayst reason thus, “are there any so poor, so weak and feeble as I am?—perplexed, buffeted and set at naught, the butt of the elder rank to shoot at, if I am concerned to speak but a little for my Master's cause, and the ridicule of the libertine!” Ah! nearly united fellow-sufferer:—so was our Pattern and Captain before us; He was censured by the high professing scribes and pharisees, ridiculed by the libertines and by those unsubjected to his laws; and so were his servants that immediately followed him. Well, then, let us not murmur at our probations or tribulations, but rather count it joy, that we are worthy to suffer for His name; for it is such that are to be partakers with Him in a glorious immortality.

SAMUEL NEALE.

[It appears that Samuel Neale was in the practice, from about this period, of recording his religious experiences and daily engagements in a diary, which he kept up to the year before his death. Respecting this practice he observes.] The remarks thus penned in passing along are, and have been, instructive to my own state. The impressions made under Divine influence are certainly highly beneficial and lasting, if we keep as we ought, in humility and fear.

1755, Third month 2nd.—First-day : at our meeting; where I had a close travail and exercise to keep that watch and guard which is truly incumbent on real worshippers; and as this was my concern, I experienced a degree of holy help and succour in the midst of barrenness and dryness. Oh! how trying it is to a soul that loves, to feel the pain of absence, to be left as in the desert or wilderness,—to a soul that has tasted of the enjoyment and incomes of immortal food, no pain so great as this; the tongues of men cannot set it forth: and yet persuaded I am it is good for us; it points out our own insufficiency, and the sufficiency of faith in Christ, which removes mountains, waters the desert, and supplies the thirsty soul! May my soul centre here,—may this be my refuge in the day of proving,—may this be my covert in the day of desolation and calamity, which shall come upon all souls to try them here on earth!

8th.—Attended our province six weeks' meeting, at Mountrath, in which there was a degree of quickened ability to wait and worship, and to speak for the Lord my God. 10th, Returned home, and retired from outward concerns, to have my mind freed from every thing that might hinder from being prepared to follow my Lord and Master. 11th, Retired this day with some of my family, to wait upon our God; in which state of retirement there was a renewal of inward love, and a revival of spirit to adore that Hand which furnishes us with His mercies and blessings. 26th, A portion of this day dedicated to retirement and reading; I felt inward poverty, and a sense of my inability to approach the place of rest in my own time and will; and that, notwithstanding past favours extended, I must come down and lie low to receive whatever divine Goodness is pleased to appoint.

Fourth month 19th and 20th.—Attended the quarterly meeting at Mountmellick. The meetings were conducted, I hope, in a good degree in the wisdom of Truth; many testimonies were borne tending to incite and encourage all to dwell under the government of the Prince of Peace, which is to be manifested by keeping His laws and statutes, and doing whatsoever He commands: it was a satisfactory strengthening meeting. I returned home in the evening in peace, thankful for being there, especially in being favoured with my holy Master's regard.

I set forward for Dublin to our National meeting, which was held the 30th of fourth month, and continued till the 4th of fifth month; wherein was felt a good degree of the Spirit and aid of our holy Leader. The affairs that came before us were calmly treated on, and some things agreed to, still more strengthening, in order to build up in the most holy faith. O!

that all the watchmen on the walls of Zion may yet be more humble and attentive; that every device and encroachment of the enemy may be distinguished and detected, that her inhabitants may learn that holy warfare, which centres the soul in the kingdom of rest and peace.

On the 17th of seventh month, I set off from home to visit Ulster Province, and accompany John Storer from Nottingham, on his religious visit to Friends of this nation. After having visited the meetings in the Province of Ulster, I returned home and found my family and affairs well, for which I have renewed cause to be thankful; and though it was a proving low season to me in my journey, yet I may say I witnessed the evidence of peace to my soul many times, and on my return home in particular.

The 3rd of tenth month attended our quarterly meeting at Mountmellick, which was held in religious awe, and Truth was exalted over all; for ever blessed be the name of our God, who is gracious to his humble, bowed-down children who fear Him with a holy fear, and wait upon and worship Him in awfulness of soul: for He is surely the strength, power, stability, and ability of all ages;—for ever blessed be His government. Amen.

17th.—Was at sixth-day's meeting at Dublin, where was solemnized the marriage of my dear friends Richard Shackleton and Elizabeth Carleton: my mind was comforted under a sense that the love of God was towards them and their union. I spent the evening with them in religious retirement, wherein we had diffused amongst us of the sap and virtue of the tree of life, which humbled our spirits and created fervent supplication, that our affections might be quickened to serve our God with renewed devotion of heart; that we might wear the helmet of faith and love, and have for a breastplate the sure hope of salvation; it was indeed a season of heavenly regard!

Eleventh month 2nd.—Was at Dublin to attend our National half-year's meeting: on the first day Truth triumphed over all opposition, and a testimony went freely forth in the authority of its working, which created thankfulness in my soul, to the Lord my God for his excellent condescension, in thus favouring his little handful in their waiting and coming together; which caused a secret assent in my heart to the Psalmist's words, "How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O! Lord, therefore the children of men (as they come to know it,) will put their trust under the shadow of thy wings."

3rd and 4th.—The affairs that came before the meeting were comfortably and wisely spoken to, and living counsel imparted therein: it is my earnest desire that the many exhortations given forth, may have the desired effect, and tend to build us up in the most holy faith.



At our parting meeting, we had to acknowledge that the Lord, who was pleased in his excellent wisdom to cause these meetings to be established, had condescended to favour them with His heavenly presence, and to diffuse of His holy anointing, whereby the hearts of a remnant were made to rejoice, and ascribe the glory of all to Him through the eternal Spirit of his dear Son our Lord; worthy is He of dominion and praise, world without end. Amen.

1756, First month 29th.—At our week-day meeting, I felt the quickening influence of love and goodness, and was shown somewhat of the beauty of the new creation in the soul, and the difference between the new and old; the latter as we live in it being under the curse, but the new quickens and gives life to the soul, which is enjoyed in and through faith in Christ Jesus our Lord; this enables us to fulfil His requirements, feel His presence, and walk in humility before Him.

Second month 19th.—Fifth-day; had a good comfortable meeting, wherein was opened the necessity we had to read much, and study hard, which was an inward reading of ourselves; and in doing so, that we should first come to witness an emptiness in our minds, and the heart to be cleansed, in order that we may discern the handwriting in characters fully manifesting they were written by the finger of the Lord: for saith the holy apostle, “that which may be known of God is made manifest within.” Here is a reading truly profitable, and of the highest advantage to the soul.

25th.—I was at our week-day meeting at Rathangan, and there witnessed a measure of brokenness of spirit, which is always matter of comfort to my mind. I had to see the difference between a true and living faith, and a faith brought forth by our own conceptions, that would flatter us with hopes of happiness, and yet not lead the right road to obtain it; being a pleader for liberty of the flesh, a counsellor for indulgence and ease, it is also ready to give absolution for a conduct not squared by gospel authority. But the true and living faith purifies the heart by love, is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen; it produces works as well as fruits, and gives us the victory over the flesh and fleshly infirmities. I had to express my desire for growth herein, and that by it we might overcome and have the victory. The meeting ended in earnest supplication, that the Lord our God would be pleased to preserve his heritage the world over, and sustain them by the influences of his excellent Spirit, raise up of the young and rising generation, who may be zealous for His name; and give wisdom to the king and council to administer justice and judgment, that so they may not be found promoters but

preventers of every thing leading to unrighteousness.

Tenth month 7th.—At our week-day meeting at Rathangan. Had to see what a near connexion there is between Christ and his church, by the influences of his own power and Spirit, which unseals discoveries tending to perfect His church and people. He is the head of his church, as saith the holy apostle, and I had to see that He is the heart of it also; from whence issues the blood of life that circulates and keeps alive the members who witness this circulation; but where there is a stoppage, it hinders and cramps the activity and service which the lively members have in their own stations or spheres. Wherefore I exhorted to diligence and watchfulness, that there might be a joint union and fellowship by the circulation of the blood of life; for this is the blood of sprinkling that purges the conscience, and cleanses the heart, and speaketh better things than that of Abel. I spoke comparatively respecting the members of a natural body; when the blood circulates in each particular member and part, it is a token of soundness and healthiness; but when any part is attacked with numbness or insensibility, it creates pain to the sound part; as when a person is seized with a shock of the palsy in one side, it is a great incumbrance to the well and sound part; so likewise respecting the members of the church of Christ, who are benumbed and insensible, they are as stoppages and lets, as well as burdens, to the living. Therefore I entreated all to be diligent and careful to know Christ our Lord, not only to be the head, but heart also, and to feel the circulation of his heavenly life which sprinkles and purifies the conscience.

Having felt a draught, for some time, to attend the ensuing yearly meeting in London, and also to visit Scotland, I took shipping for Parkgate, the 26th of fifth month, and landed on the 28th: the next day went to Warrington, and lodged at Samuel Fothergill's: thence proceeded to London. After attending the yearly meeting, I stayed in and about London till the 23rd of seventh month, visiting the meetings: on which day, being at Gracechurch-street meeting, I experienced the renewings of inward life and peace, as a reward for my labours and exercises in that city; and I had cause to be humbled in mind, and to return thanksgiving and praise to the Author of every blessing,—indeed, worthy is He for ever and evermore. Amen.

TO RICHARD AND ELIZABETH SHACKLETON.

Kendal, 11th of Eighth month, 1756.

DEAR FRIENDS, — As I was travelling up towards London, I found a weighty thoughtfulness to rest on my mind respecting that city,

and an apprehension I should not get directly from it after the meetings were over; which settled upon me, and engaged my stay there for many weeks, travelling and labouring in the ability received, which produced reconciling peace; though at times I was introduced into much distress and pain of mind on account of some that were in high places, who were actuated by a wrong spirit, which the apostle terms "spiritual wickedness in high places." But with reverence I ought to speak it and bear it in remembrance, I was enabled to discharge myself, and lay at the doors of the people what was given me for them. I was at many of their meetings for discipline, and beheld with anxiety the order of the London churches, and what Diotrephesian spirits ruled therein; which when removed, I hope Truth will more gloriously shine there; for there are many under the forming hand for places in the house, even there, with whom I was nearly united, and which in due season will be made manifest. I left that city in much peace and gratitude of mind for my deliverance therefrom, and that I was preserved so as to have the unity and approbation of the solid and rightly concerned, and the enjoyment of comfort and peace in my own soul.

I came from London pretty direct by way of Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, Mansfield, Doncaster, and York, and left the latter place this day week, after staying several meetings there, for Skipton; from thence to Settle, and so to Lancaster, where I was last first-day much to my refreshment and satisfaction, and came here on second-day accompanied by many Friends, William Dilworth, Jonathan Bradford, and wife and daughter; there was also Lydia Lancaster, that worthy mother in Israel, and one of the Rawlinsons, William Birkbeck and sister, who came from Settle, and several more. We were at a large meeting here yesterday, which was a general meeting, and proved to our mutual comfort; and indeed I have daily cause to bow in mind under a sense of the goodness of my God, who, though He tries, does not forsake those who feelingly rely and trust in His ever-gracious hand of help: and though I have no settled outward companion, He is pleased to attend, and to make up all deficiencies of that sort, for ever magnified be His name; He is worthy of all praise through the utterance of his own Spirit and power, both now and for ever, world without end!

I intend now, through Divine aid, to go from this place pretty direct into Scotland.

Give my dear love to M. P., and inform her I rejoiced at her and the Friends' safe arrival, and that they were preserved to taste of that victory which true faith gives over the worst

and greatest enemies, whether by sea or land, amongst countrymen or false brethren, and which completely overcomes the united force and terror of death, hell, and the grave, and centres the soul immortal in immortal life.

SAMUEL NEALE.

I had many meetings on my way to Edinburgh, which place I reached the 22nd of eighth month, and was at two meetings there, it being first-day: divers of other religious persuasions came in, who though light in their behaviour at first, became very solid. The meeting ended to more contentment than I expected, considering the wide and distant walking of some from the principles they profess. On the 25th, we went forward to Robert Barclay's at Urie, grandson of the Apologist, an instrument memorable in his day, and who being dead, yet speaketh. On the 26th of eighth month, I had a meeting at Urie, and though it was my lot to suffer much, yet the Lord my God was pleased to favour me with his divine and heavenly aid, and to bear up my head, and to support my spirit, so as to clear myself of what seemed to be my place to deliver, which was very close and sharp;—for the apostacy is glaring in this part of the world; there is so much of a joining with the spirit of it, and cleaving to it both in speech and apparel, which species of adultery the Almighty is displeased with, and He furnishes his servants with a testimony against it. That evening we proceeded to Aberdeen, and thence to Kingswells, where Gilbert Jaffray lives. On the 29th, we came to Inverary, being a general six weeks meeting, where was the largest body of Friends we saw in Scotland; and a solid good meeting we had, both at noon and afternoon, which occasioned great satisfaction to us. Went in the evening to Old Meldrum, and lodged at John Emslie's, and had a meeting there next day, being the 30th, which was open and comfortable; this was the furthest meeting north, and there seems to be belonging to it a sensible body of those concerned at heart for the growth and increase of the Truth. We returned to Aberdeen, and were at their week-day meetings both fourth-day and seventh-day, likewise had two large meetings there on first-day, fifth of ninth month, much to my satisfaction. I had to press those of our profession to be circumspect, and to remember our high and holy calling, to live a self-denying life, and be as lights to others. We parted in much love and tenderness, and came that evening to Stonehaven, and had a meeting there next morning, after which we set forward for Montrose, Perth, and Glasgow, where we had two meetings.

At Glasgow, my companion Thomas Crewdson, and I parted; he returned home by way



of Carlisle: and on the 13th of ninth month, I set forward for Port-patrick, where I arrived the 15th; and next day landed at Donaghadee. The 19th, was at the quarterly meeting held near Ballinderry; here I met my dear friends S. H. and S. W., with whom I partook in gospel fellowship of the fruit of the tree of life, and was refreshed in a holy and sweet communion. We were favoured together, and the meeting ended in thanksgiving and praises to Him who lives for ever, who prepares them Himself, and teaches how and when to offer them up to His holy and glorious name.

The 28th of ninth month, 1756, after having visited several meetings in Ulster province, I returned home, and found my family and affairs well; for which, and all other blessings and mercies, may living praises and adoration be ascribed to the inexhaustible Source of all good. Amen.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### *His Marriage with Mary Peisley—her sudden illness and death.*

NINTH month 29th.—Felt my mind inwardly composed and settled, and strong in desire both for myself and my brethren, and so continued to attend our meetings at home.

Tenth month 26th.—Was at our meeting at Rathangan appointed for the American Friends, Abraham Farrington and Samuel Emlen, which proved a solid and instructive season; they came home with me that evening, part of which we spent in retirement with several of my relations, I hope to good purpose.

29th.—Set out for Dublin in order to attend the National meeting; on my journey overtook several friends going thither, amongst whom was my much esteemed friend Mary Peisley, whom I had not seen since her arrival from her American journey; and it was truly satisfactory after so long an absence to behold a servant who had followed her Master, and was upheld by His mighty power to pass through a variety of provings and dispensations, which dipped into sympathy with, and quickened a rectified ministry to, the state and condition of the churches in that land; these she thoroughly visited, and thereby purchased her own wages, the flowing in of Divine peace and heavenly virtue, which give a holy hope of quietness and assurance for ever.

30th.—The meeting of elders and ministers proved a solid refreshful season; the two Americans and James Clothier, the English Friend, were there: cousin Mary Peisley gave a small sketch of her experience in her late trying journey, in America, both as to her preparation for it and experience in it;

which proved highly agreeable and seasonable, as well as instructive. She produced a full certificate of the approbation and unity of the faithful in that land, and how acceptable and serviceable, her labours had been amongst them.

The meeting proved a solid refreshing season, and ended, in my judgment, to our humbling enjoyment of Divine approbation; and my request was sealed to me, though made in secret, that the Lord of my life would unite our spirits and cause us to witness a participation of the flowing of Shiloh's brook, which makes richly glad, and sustains and freshens the heritage of our God.

The 31st, being first-day, the several meetings in that city, Dublin, were large. A. Farrington was led to speak of the gradual advancement of the work and operation of religion in the minds of men, in the example of Elisha, who was engaged in his outward occupation when the prophet Elijah was sent to him, who cast his mantle over him. This done he feels the moving inspiration, sacrifices his yoke of oxen that he followed so closely: an emblem that we must give up all and follow the Lord. He spoke afterwards of their going together to Gilgal, Bethel, Jericho, and Jordan, which were different places figuring out the dispensations, which rightly anointed servants sometimes have to pass through, before they have filled up in themselves the steps necessary for service and action; but as they keep close to the prophet through them all, they will be rightly qualified and helped, and will find a double portion of the Holy Spirit to rest upon them, by which they will be made beautiful as their ancestors, and serviceable as the ancients in their day and time. In the evening, we had a solid season of retirement at S. Judd's, wherein some instructive hints were dropped.

Eleventh month 1st.—We had a favourable opportunity together in the opening of our meeting, and deep counsel was unsealed: in the meeting for business we witnessed the same power, virtue, and favour, and several minds were stirred up to bear their testimony to the Truth. Our business ended the evening of the 2nd, in much harmony, concord, and discipleship, to an increase, I trust, of humility and thankfulness. On the 3rd, was our parting meeting, and meeting for ministers and elders; in both of which we were much owned, and the prevalency and power of Truth were sensibly felt by the living and travailing souls.

Having long had a prospect of an union with my beloved friend and sister in the faith of the Lord Jesus, Mary Peisley; and it being the ancient order of our church, I was willing to follow the footsteps of the flock, and to manifest that my dependence was not on my own

judgment in this weighty undertaking; so I mentioned it to a select number of our elders and my relations, and had much peace in this step, deeply desiring the approbation and unity of my friends. They not feeling any objection, strengthened my belief, that the God of my life was pleased therewith, and that it was in his counsel, who had often united our spirits, and baptised us into the Spirit of his dear Son, our Captain and Law-giver, who helps all those that trust in Him, with the increase of his Spirit and power; and who will assuredly give the victory to all who persevere in well-doing and endure to the end: that this may be our joint experience and crown of rejoicing, is the ardent breathing and supplication of my spirit at this time.

On the 27th of the eleventh month, was held our general meeting at Mountmellick; which was attended with a holy degree of our heavenly Father's power, and the discipline was carried on with renewed zeal, for the good of the church and the honour of our God. On the 28th, being first-day, we had a large meeting; wherein many hearts were bowed under an awful sense of that goodness which extended fresh ability to ascribe greatness, honour, and mercy to the God of the spirits of all flesh; who by His instrumental as well as immediate power is calling all to come under His holy government; for He willeth not the death of any soul, but woos and visits in various ways, to reclaim and purge and make unto Himself a holy nation, a royal priesthood, to show forth the working of His holy power and matchless love.

Twelfth month 5th.—I was drawn in spirit to be at Edenderry meeting, which proved a good one, I believe, to several. My heart was much tendered and melted, under a sense of my Lord's goodness; the gospel stream went freely forth; the wicked were warned, the weak and feeble encouraged, and the negligent stirred up. The meeting ended under a covering of glorious Goodness; under the influence whereof, praise was sounded forth, in solemn supplication, to the Father of mercies, in the power and ability of his dear Son our Lord, who is for ever worthy, saith my soul. Amen.

9th.—In meeting at Rathangan; the shortness of time was pointed out to my view, in a lively manner, in the kingly prophet's words: "Lord! make me to know mine end, and the measure of my days, that I may know how frail I am." This knowledge conveys fear, and incites to a care to loosen the affections from worldly enjoyments, which are fleeting and fluctuating: "for it is certain," as saith the Apostle, that "we brought nothing into this world, and we can carry nothing out of it, and having food and raiment let us be therewith content." We have need to prepare

for our change, watch our steppings, and guard against our natural senses, lest, being outward and carnally bent, they defile and tincture the spirit; which, in the end, will have an habitation according to its purity or impurity, according to its holiness or unholiness.

13th.—Engaged pretty closely about outward affairs, yet inwardly concerned to breathe to my great Lord to preserve me in them, so as not to bring deadness or forgetfulness over my spirit, but to live in remembrance of His holy mercies, and that I am an accountable steward.

14th.—Retreated from outward hurry and commotion, and inwardly engaged to feed upon holy help, which was measurably extended for present sustenance and support; had a sweet composure of spirit this evening, with ability to petition for light, wisdom, strength and courage, to live to the honour of my Master, and to spend that life He has graciously redeemed, to His own praise.

24th.—This day several friends came to visit us; spent the evening agreeably, and had a profitable season of retirement, in which our minds were bowed; thankful in soul ought we to be for such favours and benefits, unapproachable in our time and ability: but when our great Lord is pleased to unseal refreshment, it drops as the rain and destils as the dew, and causes withering hope to spring as the morning.

1757, first month 1st.—Went on the visit to Friends' families, to Arch-Nevins's,—met with home and close work, spent several hours in this visit, and afterwards went to Thomas Harvey's, where we had a satisfactory encouraging time, and at the conclusion, the spirit of power and wisdom filled my heart so as to cause humiliation, and supplication to arise, and to be formed into vocal language; as ability was extended and directed. Our minds were much refreshed, and we parted in a renewed sense of the rewarding hand of our God, who gives liberally and sustaineth His heritage and people, whose dependence is placed on Him the God of mercy and power; in a humble sense hereof we took leave of one another, and I returned home, being drawn in my spirit to be at our meeting on the morrow.

2nd.—Was at our meeting at Rathangan, in which I felt the holy Hand of help; my spirit was much broken and affected, and a testimony filled my heart for my Lord and Master [on this wise]—"Thus saith the Lord, are not my ways equal, are not your ways unequal, O! house of Israel? I will judge you every man according to your ways:"—the paternal care, the helping regard, the sustaining support and nourishment that were afforded us, were ranged before the view of the mind;—and also the appeal the Lord our God made by His prophet,



"Hear, O heavens : and give ear, O earth ; I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me :"—beseeched and entreated all to "seek Him, that maketh the seven stars and Orion, that maketh the day dark with night, that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth :"—He will be our Judge, and proportional to our virtue and vice, so will our rewards be. The rebellious were warned, the backslider entreated, and the faithful encouraged : the meeting ended in a solid frame. Returned home thankful and composed in spirit.

3rd.—Some company coming to my house interrupted that retirement and inspection I expected ; but in the evening enjoyed it in degree to comfort, and the renewal of arising strength.

4th.—Being third-day of the week, retired with my family to seek refreshment and inward help : in the evening was low and poor in mind, yet attentive to look towards the habitation of holy succour.

5th.—Set forward to visit my beloved Mary Peisley, and the next day was at their week-day meeting at Mountrath, which was a melting season to my spirit throughout the whole meeting, and ended well.

12th.—I concluded to return home in obedience to an impulse or draft of spirit which I felt secretly to draw me, and not to urge my dear friend to appear at the next monthly meeting [to present our marriage].

14th and 15th.—Was thoughtful and down in spirit by intervals, yet feeling a gradual support underneath, and conscious of having followed the dictates of what I thought my safest guide, I cleaved close thereto ; which led to retirement and reading, and an inward seeking and attention for the arising of conquering Goodness, that crowns the soul with peace and resignation.

16th.—Being drafted in spirit to be at Edenderry meeting where was to be a marriage, I concluded to go thither, though in a cross to my natural disposition, and so to be willing to do what my Lord had for me to do, who had given me a body in which to do His will ; and what matter where we are, or what work or service we are put to, if we are purchasing peace and laying up for ourselves a good foundation against the time to come. And truly my Master vouchsafed His presence and favour, and fully recompensed my spirit for following His direction ; and I believe the cause did not suffer by my attendance at the said meeting ; several of the townspeople came in, and seemed weighty and solid. Several things opened to my view ; the humble manner of Jacob's going in search of his wife,—his humility,—his trial, and his vision,—his covenant, and his success for his

obedience to his parents. The meeting I hope ended well ; humble supplication was offered for us to our Lord. I returned home in the evening, enjoying encouraging and sustaining peace.

18th.—Pensive and thoughtful, which begat droopingness of mind ; yet favoured at intervals with confirming peace, that the rays of light would again appear, and dissipate every unsettling and anxious reflection.

21st and 22nd.—Hurried and engaged pretty closely in the outward ; yet careful to retire from it to feel after the virtue of reconciliation to every cross occurrence and harassing care : taken up in part in writing.

31st.—Joined again the friends on the family visit ; and it proved a time of great favour and merciful condescension ; in the course of this visit the openings of holy Truth were experienced, and the newness of life accompanied, by which our minds were replenished and sustained, and we enabled to attribute the glory and honour of all to the inexhaustible Treasury of wisdom, life, and love. We separated in much love and unity, and I returned to my family, where I found my affairs pretty much to my satisfaction.

Second month 6th.—First-day, I was at Rathangan, where I witnessed a close and inward travail, with a degree of holy and heavenly nourishment, which quickened and begot cries and requests to the Author of true sufficiency for a continuance of the same. This day was laid before our preparative meeting my intention of marriage with my nearly united friend Mary Peisley, in the doing whereof, sweet peace attended my mind, and my spirit was much tendered and affected, under a sense of the goodness of the God of my life, through the opening of that glorious grace which comes by His blessed Son Christ Jesus.

12th.—Went to Mountrath, to see my beloved friend Mary Peisley, accompanied by some of my relations, having an expectation of presenting our marriage before the monthly meeting the day following : found her well in health, through Divine favour, but inwardly bowed down under a sense of the important change which she was likely to make. It was a time of humiliation and prostration of soul to us both : and my desires were strong and fervent, that the Lord of our life might please to be with us, and unite us renewedly, in his holy unchangeable covenant of light and peace.

13th.—We had a good refreshing meeting together, and the virtue of Truth was felt to arise : may our souls be awfully regardful of the condescension of our merciful Lord and Master ; and may fresh obedience to all His requirings still lead to an enlargement in His

favour, mercy and love. We appeared before the meeting, I believe, in awe and reverence of mind; and a solemn enjoyment of divine peace and love attended our spirits, which centred them in calmness and serenity. 20th. The first-day of the week, in which it fell to my lot to be engaged as well as other Friends in the public service; several things opened as warnings to the forgetful and wicked, and the consequence of dwelling in that state, in which Divine displeasure would certainly overtake them, though long striving to draw them from it: in the similitude of a just power, who forbears executing justice, until there is no room left to hope for a return, and then she appears to have iron hands though leaden heels! Mercy is long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; yet when slighted and rejected, she assumes her own authority in judgment, and turns from her mild and beautiful aspect, into an inexorable, and rigid austerity; and she rewards adequate to the degrees of impenitency and hardness of heart. May all turn in the day of mercy, and humble themselves under the mighty hand of the Lord my God! After attending the quarterly meeting in Carlow, I went towards Ballinakill, with my beloved Mary Peisley, and some other Friends; who were going there on a religious visit to Friends' families; and, finding my way open, I joined them in that service. 22nd; Feeling a disposition still to accompany Friends in this visit, I went with them to finish what remained in the meeting of Mountrath, and the 24th, returned home in much peace.

Third month 8th and 9th.—Retired, and inwardly drawn to a cautious inquiry, in which frame I had to petition for holy Help, to live to the honour of my Lord and Master, to go in and out before His people in His own pure wisdom; that in all things He may be glorified and have the praise.

10th.—Our monthly meeting was held at Rathangan; the meeting for worship was low: towards the latter end a few things seemed to arise and dwell on my mind to offer, which I did in humility of mind—concerning Christ, the true Physician; in a natural sense when a family is sick or disordered, if a physician be sent for, he administers suitably to the several wants and constitutions of his patients,—some want nourishment, and for others abstinence is best; and so he prescribes as they stand in need. And so does the Physician of value to His own dear children: He offers nourishment according to His good pleasure to those who are weak and feeble, and who stand in need of it, when at the same time He restrains it from others of His family, in order to offer them something more applicable to their wants and disorders, as abstinence, withholding

food from them; that they may come to feel their appetites, and seek His face and help. There seemed to me to be another state in the family, who were willing to partake of heavenly food with the children; but if it were not handed to them, they were easy and negligent about it, and ran to their outward affairs, and thereby neglected that inquiry which might be helpful to them, why Divine nourishment was withheld from them.

12th.—Went towards Mountmellick, accompanied by two Friends to meet my dear friend M. Peisley, who was engaged in a family visit in that quarter. 13th; We presented our marriage the second time before the monthly meeting. In the evening, I accompanied my beloved friend Mary Peisley, with others appointed, to two families: in one of which, she directed her testimony to the visitors, in such a manner, as much affected our spirits: she spoke of the pillars of a house, in an outward building; the fewer they were, the greater weight or burden they had to bear: so, in the Lord's house, those who were faithful and upright, must expect to feel weight, and the fewer they were in number the greater weight must they expect to feel; she mentioned the necessity of standing firm, and had encouragement for such.

17th.—Being the day of our marriage, many Friends and others attended; it was a solid, comfortable, and instructive meeting. James Gough was concerned to mention these words from the prophet Isaiah: "Thy Maker is thy husband:" on which he enlarged in a beautiful and remarkable manner. In the evening, we had a time of retirement, in which something singular occurred: I was engaged to speak of the Apostle's address to the Thessalonians, where he called them, "The church in God:" it opened to my view, that we were to be that church by union and communion with Him; keeping under the sanctification of His power and virtue; that relations in affinity or consanguinity signified little, to that of an immortal kindred, which is between those who are "The church in God:" that trials and afflictions were the lot and portion of the right-minded, designed to bring us to a nearer union with our God, and make us His church, prepared for Him to dwell with and in. I entreated all to prize such seasons as these, and to remember, that, if they were properly improved, it would be laying up for ourselves a good foundation against the time to come. My dear wife had to speak of the sabbath of rest; that when the Almighty had done His six days' work in the creation, He appointed a sabbath, and sanctified it; and that, in the time of the law, the people were forbidden to do any manner of work on the sabbath day; and said, there were some present who would have a sabbath, in



which they should have no work to do: I remember thus much; she spoke but a few sentences with much clearness, and the evidence went with them. Little did I then suspect that we had each to minister to our own states and conditions.

18th.—We were visited by several of our friends, and had religious and instructive communion in the openings and enlargement of divine love. The 19th, we spent solidly in a sweet and beautiful fellowship, and my dearest was cheerful and well going to bed, but about one o'clock was attacked with her old complaint, the cholic, in an unusually violent manner, and was in great agony; several things were administered which formerly relieved her, but nothing now was sufficient to repel it: thus she continued most of the night, dozing at intervals. After the first shock of her pain was over, which did not in its violence and force last above an hour, she lay pretty quiet and still, in an awful frame; and would sometimes raise her voice in a melodious and heavenly sound, through the efficacy and virtue of that glorious grace, which had so often animated and enabled her to sound fourth praises to the King of saints: and though she did not always express herself in words, yet there was a language in the sound which richly and fully manifested that she triumphed over her bodily pain, as well as over death, hell, and the grave. For it appeared that she longed to be dissolved, by her entreating her Lord to give her a release, if consistent with His holy will; which request He was pleased to answer, and about half an hour before her departure dismissed her pain; she then said, "I praise thy name, O my God! for this favour." Soon after she breathed shorter and shorter, and quietly departed without sigh or groan, like a person falling into a sweet sleep, after fourteen hours' illness, about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th of third month, 1757.

I was constantly with her during her illness, and have to bear my testimony to her noble and Christian conduct. My loss is great: I have lost a sweet companion, a true friend, a steady counsellor, a virtuous example, a valuable instrumental pilot, and a deep and sincere sympathizer in afflictions and trials. But my Lord, who knew my motives and views in seeking such a friend, will, I trust, look down in pity and mercy on my destitute condition, and administer heavenly, sustaining help, to anchor my mind in such a storm as this; that I may be able so to live to his honour, as to gain an admittance into that kingdom which is prepared for the righteous, when these few moments shall be over, when this mortal veil shall be rent, and the immortal spirit summoned to appear before its Lord. O! that my soul may be

vigilant and watchful in the great work, that I may have to join the spirit of my beloved, and her kindred saints, in singing hosannas and hallelujahs to the Lord God and the Lamb, who lives and reigns for evermore!

Third month 21st, 22nd, 23rd.—In a drooping, low, exercised condition, under a sense of my deep trial: but the God of my life opened a view that my dear wife was happy; and I am left in a state of daily toil and trial, to wrestle with flesh and blood, before the reward of "well done," be pronounced. Methought, I beheld, in the vision of that which gives the victory, comfort and beauty in the prospect of running well, and in being vigilant and valiant in the work of God: and I felt a strong and fervent motion of spirit that it might be my lot so to run, as to obtain,—and so to suffer, as to reign with my Lord and Redeemer in the mansions of light and immortality.

24th.—This day my dearly beloved wife was interred. It was my desire to have a meeting in the meeting-house; and it pleased the great Lord and Master of her life and labours, to favour with his Divine presence, and to exalt his testimony above all opposing spirits, and enemies of the cross of our Lord Jesus; for which my spirit was bowed, and praises lived in my heart to His great and ever to be honoured name. Afterwards, at the grave, we had a renewed evidence of His divine notice and power: dominion and authority were ascribed to Him, who opens His treasury, and dispenses His blessings and favours;—ever worthy is He of thanksgiving and praise by sanctified spirits on earth, and glorified spirits in heaven. Amen.

*The following letter from Richard Shackleton to Catharine Payton, gives an account of these affecting events.*

Fourth Month 3rd, 1757.

MY DEAR FRIEND—It is laid on me by a friend of ours, to send this messenger of sorrowful tidings to thee. A scene has opened little expected by us, which I know will nearly affect thee, as it has us. I am at a loss how to begin to relate it, surely many are the instances of the fallacy of our prospects and uncertainty of our enjoyments here; repeated are the shocks we get to loosen us from earth, that, finding no firm footing for our wearied spirits thereon, we may with more earnest longings seek a city that hath foundations, a house eternal in the heavens. May this be the happy effect of our afflictions and disappointments here; and then we shall experience such dispensations of Providence to be salutary potions, though for a time they be bitter cups.

But to begin:—thou wert acquainted with the intentions of our dear friends Samuel Neale

and Mary Peisley to marriage. They accordingly took each other in marriage on the 17th of third month, at Mountrath. The meeting, (although crowded with various sorts of people, and many of the neighbouring gentry) was a solemn good opportunity, and to speak my own opinion as one present, to the honour of Truth. Samuel Neale married as though he married not. Appearing towards the beginning of the meeting in a lively testimony, and at the conclusion, in heart-tendering supplication.

I remarked that after the meeting Mary seemed quite pleasant and easy in her spirit, but loath to part with some of us who were taking leave of her, in order to return home.

The evening preceding the day of their marriage, Samuel requested an opportunity in her mother's family, wherein he had to speak of the benefit of laying hold of every such opportunity of renewing our strength, and that it was the way to lay up treasure against the day of trouble and disappointment, which was certainly to be met with in this uncertain stage. And in the evening of the marriage day, in a like opportunity, Mary spoke sweetly how the Almighty performed the great work of the creation in six days, which having finished, He appointed a sabbath, and day of rest, and sanctified the same. And that there were present, who would in a little time enjoy the sabbath, &c. Thus remarkably they spoke severally to their own particular states, little thinking, I believe, that their testimonies would be so speedily fulfilled on themselves.

They spent the two days following their marriage in sweet fellowship at her mother's, and on the seventh-day evening, Mary was remarkably cheerful, and supped heartily. But between twelve and one o'clock that night, she was seized most violently with her old pain in the stomach, which for some time affected her so strongly, that she cried out with pain; but after a while it abated, and she expressed her thankfulness to her great Benefactor. She then desired one of her sisters to hand her a cup of water, and said she would see afterwards what a fine sleep she would go into. After she had drank the water, she seemed much pleased, and fell into a kind of slumber; and gradually drew her breath weaker and weaker, till she drew it no more, expiring without any seeming pain, sigh, or groan, on first-day the 20th ult., about three o'clock in the afternoon, and went, no doubt, to enjoy that sabbath which she so sweetly spoke of a few days before.

Her body was carried the fifth-day following to the meeting-house at Mountrath, which was very full on the occasion. Several Friends bore testimony in a lively manner, to the circumspcct life, holy zeal, undaunted courage and faithful services of this eminent instrument in

the Lord's hand to publish His Truth among the nations, and at the conclusion, my dear friend Samuel Neale, to my great surprise and gladness, kneeled down beside the coffin that contained the remains of his most beloved earthly treasure, and prayed to God the Father, in the demonstration of the Spirit, and baptizing power of His Son. My soul was prostrated in the deepest reverence, and joined in strong cries unto Him, in whom is all our sufficiency, that He would be near us in this trying day, and make up our recent loss; and I believe many more present were greatly affected at the same time. From thence we proceeded to the grave-yard, where Samuel bore a living testimony to the people, and our friend James Gough was concerned in supplication; after which the body was decently interred.

Such was the latter and last end of our dear friend, concerning whose many excellencies I need not enlarge to thee, who not only has been more a witness, but a better judge thereof than I; but shall only add respecting her, that since her return from America, she was diligent in attending meetings, both particular and general, when ability of body was permitted; but seemed pretty much shut up as to the exercise of her gift in the ministry, though sometimes she appeared in that manner, always lively, but mostly short.

After the publication of their intentions of marriage, she found a concern to join other Friends in family visits, which were performed very fully to the families of her own monthly meeting. In this service she was remarkably favoured with clear openings, and deep counsel, which it is to be hoped will be as bread blessed by her Master, cast at His command upon the waters, (the unstable minds of the people,) that may be yet found, though perhaps not till after many days. After the accomplishment of this service, she returned home cheerful and easy in her mind: and in a few days after, she was joined in marriage to her beloved husband, our dear friend. As the tie of natural affection between them was drawn still more closely by a pure and spiritual union, this sudden separation is doubtless a severe trial to the survivor; but that good Hand which brought him out of Egyptian darkness, into His marvellous light, and which leads His approved servants through various straits and dispensations, I hope will still be underneath, and support, and more and more refine for His further use, till He fits for that heavenly kingdom, where, O! that we may all meet, never more to part, when these few afflicting days are over.

I am with the salutation of dear love, thy real friend,  
RICHARD SHACKLETON.

26th.—Took leave of my friends and rela-



tions, in a solemn weighty frame of spirit, in the enlargement and overflowing of unlimited love, having fervent supplication quickened in my heart, that we might all be kept clean, in the protecting care of our Heavenly Father.

28th.—Returned to my own house, in lowness and much thoughtfulness of mind, accompanied by some of my relations, who came as sympathizers.

31st.—Attended the meeting at Rathangan, in which my spirit was refreshed and strengthened. My dear friend Abraham Shackleton and his daughter-in-law Elizabeth were with us, and we spent the evening in religious converse and retirement, I hope to mutual comfort. I passed through exercise, before I concluded to go on with them to the Province meeting, to be held at Moate; but duty prevailed above every other consideration; and it fastened on my mind that while the church militant was upon earth, she was in a state of warfare, and if I were of the church militant I must not be exempt from my portion, but be willing to be anything that my Lord would have me. So I willingly gave up, though it was to be as a spectacle to the people. At night my mind was much exercised and tossed in reflecting on the singularity of my trial, and I was earnest in mind to have some confirmation respecting the cause of the quickness of the separation; which was graciously vouchsafed, inasmuch that I was made thankful and easy: having an evidence from the Almighty, through the revelation of his Spirit, respecting the removal of his servant, that her days were filled up. It seemed to me as though she appeared before me, and uttered these words as intelligibly as I ever heard her express any: "As for me, I am safe; thou art still in the body; watch well thy ways:"—an unction seemed to accompany the words which rested on my mind for some days. I count it a mercy indeed to be thus noticed, and humbly crave help to live diligently in uprightness.

#### CHAPTER V.

*Visit to Munster, and some parts of Leinster.*

*Visit to Wales, and some meetings in England.*

1757, fourth month 4th and 5th.—Taken up pretty much in reading, writing, and retirement, wherein I witnessed calmness of mind and a quiet habitation, though mixed with low thoughts and a dulness hanging over the spirit.

10th.—Attended our first-day meeting at Rathangan: my spirit was tendered and humbled under various considerations, and my soul was exercised and bowed in deep travail; in which state of mind it was clearly seen (though I was not engaged to express it,) that the creation of God in the soul is by the efficacy and

work of His blessed Son Christ Jesus, who said by his servant,—“Behold I create all things new;” and that he also was the beginning of the creation of God. In the old creation light was first created, and the Almighty “saw that it was good.” So in the new creation light first arises in the soul, and shows to man his condition, and the necessity of a change, if ever he becomes new; and not only shows, but helps out of the old state of death, and that by proper gradations. This is the true Light that enlightens every man that comes into the world; and as man is faithful to its discoveries he advances in the work of God, sees more light, which discovers to him his own deformity, and abases self; for the more we have and enjoy of the light of Christ the more humble we are, the more jealous of our own corrupt nature, and the more zealous to live to the honour of God. And as we keep in a yielding obedience unto the manifestation of this glorious Light, we become new creatures in Christ Jesus, who declared he would create all things new. As this new state is witnessed, man may properly be said to have dominion over his own corrupt propensities and the evils that are in the world,—having victory only by Christ; and not only over them, but he will keep the blessings of the old creation in their proper places, having dominion over them, subduing the earthly mind which centres and settles too much on earthly objects. But alas! how many are there now, making a high and exalted profession, who are not only led captive by their own lusts and evil habits, but are slaves and in captivity to those things which were given as gifts and blessings for a noble and dignified use, and to be subordinate to man; instead whereof man is become in the general in bondage to them, and they have dominion over him; which reversion will ever continue, until the light is given way unto in the soul, which will bring to the washing-pool, to the cleansing cistern, and work all things new; thus there is a getting forward in the celestial race, and in the end a partaking of that joy and rejoicing which the sanctified and redeemed in Christ Jesus do now, ever did, and hereafter ever will partake of and enjoy!

11th.—In retirement and thoughtfulness of mind, to witness profit therefrom. Being calm and serene in spirit I took a view of my beloved wife’s papers, many of which are much to be prized and valued, containing deep and a truly devoted example in Christian virtues and graces.

12th.—Being retired in my family, felt a degree of sustaining succour to my soul and refreshment to my spirit; a great part of the remainder of the day taken up in reading and meditation. I count it a wonderful mercy and favour that I am so supported under my trying affliction; but surely such unmerited love and

regard will I trust bring my spirit into humility, and quicken diligence and excite care to come up in my duty and station in the church militant whilst embodied in a mortal mansion.

13th.—In a degree of sustaining quietness, taken up in reading over some of my beloved wife's papers, in which I felt an inward sweetness and strength to arise, with attentive admiration at the goodness of that holy regulating Hand which had so wonderfully wrought upon her, fitted and fashioned her a vessel of honour, keeping her in that humility which goes before honour, and preserving her in a depending state, which her writings fully set forth.

14th.—At our week-day meeting at Rathangan, in which I had to travail for the arising of life and the true Seed into dominion; my spirit was broken and humbled, and in prostration of soul I was led forth to petition our Sovereign Lord for help and strength to His people, and that He would be graciously pleased to help His church in this nation to come forward in the holy warfare, leaning upon the breast of her Beloved, to stem the temptations of the enemy, and open the spiritual eye to see his workings.

15th.—Was taken up in reading, conversation, &c.; several of my friends coming to see me: we had some solid reflections on the ways and workings of our Lord, and His dealings towards His people the workmanship of his hand.

17th.—Being first-day, my spirit was much humbled in our own meeting, and my Lord was pleased to appear for my succour and support. These words were strongly impressed on my spirit,—“Watch well thy steps and ways.” I took it as a seasonable caution for my own state and rested under its admonition, until I further felt the animating virtue of Truth to arise in my heart and to kindle an emotion to utter it amongst the people. The shortness of time was also opened to my view, and the dangers we were surrounded with, whilst in these houses of clay—the great need all had to watch well their ways, which they would be helped to do, as they looked to Him who has all power in His hand. Those advanced in years had as much need as any, who were just ready to step out of time, being by the course of nature upon the very verge of eternity, and the Judge waiting as before the door, to receive their entrance. And those who were ministers and elders had much need to watch well their ways, that they might example the flock, and have to say,—“Follow us as we follow Christ,” the holy and heavenly Pattern of true rectitude; who had not (by His own testimony) whereon to lay His head, so much was He a stranger and pilgrim upon earth. Those who were parents and heads of families had much need to watch well their ways, that they might be good examples and waymarks to the youth: and the youth themselves, that

they might be preserved from a fellowship with the people or spirit of the world, remembering that evil communication corrupts good manners. I entreated *all to watch*, for he that betrays was near at hand, now as well as formerly, to bring into bondage and under his government; great need therefore have we to watch well our ways, and look to our Head, our Husband and Guide, that we may be enabled to join in a holy confederacy to pull down the kingdom of sin and Satan. I went afterwards to a Friend's house where I had a sweet time in supplication as we sat at the table.

19th.—Sat in retirement in my little family, so as to witness supporting succour to my spirit, being very low and weak in spirit before the said opportunity. It is cause of great humility of soul to reflect and meditate on the unmerited mercies of my Lord to me; may a quickened and awful regard thereto ever accompany and possess my mind.

23rd.—Much taken up with outward affairs, yet had my eye towards the gate where my Beloved is sometimes pleased to appear to the refreshing and helping the [poor pilgrim,] as well as to the nourishment and growth of that part which claims an interest in immortality and never-ending felicity.

24th.—First-day of the week, was at Rathangan, and bowed under exercise, being dipped into several states then present, to whom I was enabled to impart my concern, and I think in the demonstration of my Master's love and mercy; sundry things were spoken to; the necessity of seeking the one thing needful, as Mary did, which will employ most of our time and attention; ourselves, our families, and the church of Christ demanding, as we are prepared members, the whole of our attention, besides the necessary employment in our domestic concerns, and the duty we owe our neighbours of being as lights and way-marks to them. And as all are thus rightly occupied, there will be little of that weakness lodging in us, of prying into and speaking of other people's affairs; detraction and calumny will be entirely excluded, we sitting low; this will cause our faith to flourish, and our hearts will be enlarged in the other necessary essential Christian virtues; patience, knowledge, temperance, godliness, brotherly kindness, and charity. These will tend to give us the victory over the beast, and over his mark, and over the number of his name; and will exalt us among the redeemed, who stand with the golden harps upon the sea of glass, singing the song of Moses and the Lamb.

25th.—Taken up profitably in reading, retirement, and writing: also had to mind my outward affairs, with a serene satisfaction resulting from an inward attention to the more material duties, which when devotedly pursued,



make domestic cares not only necessary but pleasant and sweet.

27th.—Retired with my family, in which state I witnessed helping, healing nourishment, and had opened to me a prospect humbling and trying, which was not the first time; may the Lord of my life so work in me, and upon me, as to fit me for His house here on earth, the church militant, and thereby I may enjoy a mansion in the church triumphant, is my passive, resigned, and earnest request at this time.

28th.—Our week-day meeting at Rathangan, in which I felt a mixture of suffering with a tender and sweet stream of Divine consolation. Yesterday's prospect still lived in the time of my best enjoyment, and I found my heart closely united to the true seed there assembled, and had to speak of the Jewish church formerly, when in a travelling exercise, and baptised under the cloud and in the sea, under Moses their leader; the glorious signal they had for journeying as well as standing still, the cloud by day, and pillar of fire by night; which was an unspeakable mercy to their souls, for it was proportioned according to their necessities and wants. In the time of night, the light was more conspicuous when they had most need for it; and when the light of the outward creation was visible, and in it they could journey, the cloud went before them as a guide: and when by Divine appointment the camp was to stand still, this guide, this pilot and glory rested on the tabernacle. So that the Lord led Israel in the light of His glory, with the mercy and righteousness that came from Him. And now the true Israel is to witness an advancement, as they witness the cloud and pillar to go before them, which is made manifest to the true seed; therefore I entreated all to keep to their own experience, and not to journey until the cloud be taken up off their own tabernacle, which will be made manifest to them as they witness redemption.

Fifth month 6th.—Went to Dublin, and met several of my dear wife's nearly united friends, Catharine Payton, L. Bradley, &c., with whom I had a renewed baptism of tears, in remembrance of my beloved one removed: some friends were opened to speak comfortably, and were dipped into sympathy on that awful subject.

7th.—Our meeting of ministers was held, in which Catharine Payton had much counsel to communicate in the depth of wisdom to many states.

8th.—Being first-day, we had large meetings; wherein the gospel was freely preached in the power and demonstration of it.

10th.—We had a meeting of worship at Meath street meeting-house, and in the afternoon continued our yearly meeting by adjourn-

ments. Several weighty matters came before our meeting, which time was taken to consider properly, and particularly respecting women's meetings.

12th.—Our meeting concluded: my heart was filled with humble thanksgiving to the Lord my God, for all His mercies extended to us, and for the distribution of His holy counsel in this our solemn assembly. The meeting of ministers and elders, and the parting meeting were held this day. May a due and weighty sense of heavenly care and regard extended to us, create a quickened attention to the will of our Lord and Master.

15th.—Being first-day, sat with Friends in their little meeting at Timahoe, on my way homeward, and though it was a time of labour and exercise to my spirit in the communication of some few things which lived in my heart, yet the power arose, which gives liberty; and it proved towards the latter end a season of refreshment to me, and I hope to some others in the meeting. Went afterwards to see a friend and relation indisposed, who seemed to me to be in a sweet frame of spirit, and preparing fast for the kingdom of rest.

16th.—Returned home to my family, and found all things well through holy Goodness.

27th.—Went to Edenderry, and was at the meeting of ministers, in which sweet counsel was imparted, and encouragement given to some diffident states and conditions; who have had intelligence opened, yet are afraid to receive it as true, lest the adversary should mix some of his subtle injections, gilding them with beautiful and fair colours, and thereby to deceive as in the appearance of an angel of light; from which may my Lord ever preserve my soul.

Sixth month 9th.—Was at our week-day meeting at Rathangan, which was poor and barren to me, and it continued a meeting of much exercise to my spirit. In the evening looked into several papers that belonged to my dear deceased wife, which tended to revive my mind, which was before much depressed.

10th.—Poor and barren in the early part of the day, and reflecting much on a prospect I have had some time ago opened to me, which this day appears clothed with many dangers and difficulties, hills and mountains of height and weight appearing as bars and obstructions.

12th.—Was at Baltiboy's meeting, which was small and a hard one: several broken sentences opened to my mind which I dropped to them, and found them hard to utter: came home in a degree of peace, though I felt much suffering there.

13th.—In poverty of spirit, and very weak as to inward strength and comfort.

14th.—For a small portion of time this day felt a degree of tenderness to affect my spirit

with a clear sight and sense of many weaknesses and wants attending, which bowed my spirit; and desires were raised for my perseverance in stability and the way of righteousness.

16th.—Our week-day meeting at Rathangan, which mostly proved a laborious season, yet my soul nourishingly partook of a sweet stream of life, which quickened deep supplication to the God of true consolation, for the upholding and building up in a true humble and living dependence on him, and on the arm of his power.

23rd.—Set out in order to pay a visit to Friends in some parts of this province, and in the province of Munster, which I had, for some time past, believed to be a duty incumbent on me.

24th.—Was at a meeting in Dublin; went from thence to Wicklow to the province meeting, and so proceeded to the county of Wexford: visited all the meetings in that county, and in the province of Munster. The virtue of Truth rose into dominion many times, and my soul was deeply bowed under the renewed experience of the mercy of my Lord, richly extended to me in this journey.

TO RICHARD AND ELIZABETH SHACKLETON.

Wicklow, Sixth month 25th, 1757.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I am not altogether insensible of the weight of the trial you have of late passed through, in the loss of your released happy little one, and the commotion of your family by the distemper [small-pox;] but let us count them all as visitations of a God of mercy, who knows what to administer to his creatures, how and when. My sympathy with you is great, my desires for you are strong, and my salutation is to you in the bowels of unfeigned love, with this request,—stand in the patience, look with diligent attention to the Source and Spring of unbounded mercy that suffers us to pass through such siftings, in order to fasten and establish our faith in His all-powerful arm; which must be entirely leaned upon, if we expect to be held up in trials of every kind, which are and must be our portion whilst in a state of pilgrimage.

Ah! my dear friends in the covenant of life and peace, in poor tried *me* you have an example of the instability of all temporary favours and blessings, in the fruition of the ultimate of my desires and expectations, so far as could be enjoyed in such an union as ours; but all was cancelled by the removal of my memorable friend! Well, my heart is brought to that state of resignation, as to praise that Hand with which I was smitten; and to crave yet more stripes, if it be for my refinement and enlarge-

ment in boundless love, and the attraction of my soul to never ending enjoyment. I cannot write much: I conceive I am in the way of my duty in saying thus much; and may add, I am following, I trust, my Leader, in visiting some meetings in this and the province of Munster, where I expect trials and besetments; but my hope is in my Lord.

I shall be glad of a few lines from you if you think me worthy of them, either at Waterford, Cork, or Limerick, and salute you unfeignedly in a degree of my Father's love, and am your real friend,

SAMUEL NEALE.

After an absence of six weeks and three days, I returned home, 8th of eighth month, fully satisfied that I had been in the way of my duty: with this resolution, to be willing always to trust in my Master, and follow his directions as clearly made manifest, because my soul has indeed felt the reward that attends obedience.

Eighth month 9th.—I am sensible of a degree of calmness and sweetness, which renders solitude delightsome.

10th.—Engaged in retrospecting my late journey, and attending upon that which replenishes and sweetens every bitter cup.

12th and 13th.—Was easy and free in spirit, pondering on the works of my Master; I had to look into the beautiful reward that attends obedience, and what a glorious experience it is to die in a state of acceptance with our God.

16th.—In a degree of profitable quietude, engaged in reading, writing, &c., sometimes I witnessed a painful clothing of spirit, which I trust is for my refining. Wrote to J. G. in the evening respecting a poor prodigal who wants to be restored. "If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for He that is higher than the highest regardeth, and there be higher than they."—(Eccl. v. 8.)

20th.—Set forward towards Dublin, and took Baltiboy's in my way; and on the 21st was at the meetings in that city, in which my Master endued me with strength to deliver what was laid on me with a degree of authority, in which I had to speak to various states in a sharp testimony, the wicked and openly profane, the worldly-minded, and also those who had gifts and were as servants once occupied and engaged in the great Master's service, but now were fallen asleep and at ease. I had peace administered for my labour amongst the people, and had also the censures of some of them for my pains.

Ninth month 1st.—Our week-day meeting



at Rathangan; in which I felt a close combat to keep to that inwardness and emptiness of my own thoughts that leads to fulness and fruition.

9th and 10th.—Measurably composed and quiet in the enjoyment of sweet peace; taken up during a portion of each day in reading and reflection, I trust forwarding the progress of the immortal spirit in the spiritual race.

17th.—We held our province meeting; which was measurably owned with our heavenly Father's favourable notice: the meeting for business was comfortable, several members speaking from a ripened concern and a right regulated zeal. In the evening had a comfortable opportunity at J. C.'s, with his family and divers others; the virtue of Truth was generally felt to flow, which humbled our hearts, and from thence salutary counsel flowed.

Tenth month 9th.—Being first-day, I was at our meeting at Rathangan, in which I had exercise and service: the state of the blind man who sat by the way and begged, was opened to the view of my understanding;—that our Lord healed by spitting on the ground and making clay of the spittle, and anointing his eyes bid him go and wash in the pool of Siloam, which he accordingly did and received sight. He had faith in our Lord's direction, and therefore was restored: and now in this gospel day, which is a spiritual dispensation, we must expect salvation by obedience to the dictates of the Spirit of Truth, and the inward anointing of the eye of the soul, which when opened sees things in a true light. For now we are not to look for an outward Christ and outward miracles, but "Christ within the hope of glory." The apostle was fully of this mind, when he says, "Henceforth know we no man after the flesh; for though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him so no more:" for now he appears the second time in the hearts of the regenerated souls without sin unto salvation. Several things respecting the restoration of the blind man I had to speak to, making comparisons in a spiritual manner; and the meeting ended in a sweet frame I believe in the sense of the generality.

11th.—Third-day, felt the humbling virtue of my Lord's love to be about my tent, as a new visitation of his mercy, which wrought a thorough willingness in me to be anything or nothing, to pass through exercise and conflicts, to visit his seed, and to approve myself in his service; unto whom in the riches of his mercy he graciously called, when in a destitute and forlorn state: former prospects were opened, and my mind fitted to go and meet some of my brethren, and visit Moate monthly meeting.

18th.—Returned home from visiting Moate

monthly meeting. The company of my dear friend and companion Abraham Shackleton was profitable, and his service acceptable; his conduct preaches louder than his words, and his savoury expressions on many occasions, show him to be an inward and spiritual worshipper, carrying the seal that manifests him to be one of Wisdom's children, whose nourishment is from the Fountain of immortality.

19th.—Our monthly meeting held at Edenderry; where I felt liberty of speech as well as matter to communicate, which I believe was suitable to the states of the people: the savour of life was precious, and the meeting ended in a good degree of sweetness, and an enlargement of peace and ease of spirit was my portion. I had to speak of the dominion and rule of Christ our Head, and the subjection as well as fidelity in which his officers, soldiers and subjects ought to be to his laws and administration, void of partiality or fear, as Shadrach, Meshech and Abednego manifested, as well as Daniel; though temporal laws were made against them, to prohibit their obedience to their King and Lord, yet they remained unshaken, and were rewarded with preservation and deliverance. So will all those sons and subjects that come up in their religious duties, conscientiously adhering to the dictates of his Spirit, which ever gives the victory.

23rd.—Went to Edenderry with William Bragg; it proved a large meeting, but in my sense a low one,—cold raw spirits covered by indifference, bringing death with them to the meeting-place; unacquainted with a religious exercise at home, the same ignorance accompanies them even in the solemn meeting, by which the righteous seed is oppressed, and the true worshipper loaded with pain very often. May the Lord of sufficiency immediately stir up these formal pretenders, and lay on them his judgments; that the transgressing part may be purified, and the precious seed set at liberty and be in dominion.

Eleventh month 16th.—A meeting was appointed at Dublin for those who attended the funeral of S. S., deceased, at which was a great gathering: my spirit was concerned and exercised; there were several of my old acquaintances there; but Truth stood in dominion over all, strength and utterance were granted, for which and all other mercies afforded, may my spirit reverence and bow at the footstool of my gracious Lord, Benefactor and King, whose authority accompanies his poor depending children, and his own strength animates them to sing his praise.

20th.—Was at Rathangan meeting, in which I felt the supplies of life flowing from the fountain, and was animated to exhort my brethren;—the words of the prophet Micah (vi. 9.) took

hold of my spirit, "The Lord's voice crieth to the city," &c.; to which I was enabled to speak in a good degree of authority; the tendering life arose in the meeting, and the spirits of a remnant were comforted.

27th.—First-day was at Rathangan meeting, where I felt a laborious exercise and heavy weight, being baptized into some states there; my Master enabled me to speak to them in a degree of power, but the arising of it was not as high in dominion as at some other seasons, yet eased my spirit. The passage in Scripture of the people that attended at the pool of Bethesda came before me to speak of: they waited for the water to be moved by the angel, and whosoever stepped in immediately after, witnessed health and healing. To me it appeared clear, that the way for us to be enabled to get in at the strait gate, and to advance in the narrow way, was to witness the healing water of repentance. This gives us strength and fortitude to pass in at the strait gate, which is indeed too strait for the impenitent sinner to lug along his load of sins, and the way too narrow. It is a point of great wisdom to begin right; for there are many paths pointed out by the devil and his agents, to lull people asleep in respect to the great work. Some advance in one path and some in another; formality enters one, pride and ostentation another, riches and worldly-mindedness another, and yet all going wrong; for the guide in those paths allows liberties and indulgences, which the true and heavenly Guide does not admit of in those he guides, and [which] will not allow an advancement until washed by repentance, until cleansed by judgment. Then there is a journeying forward, the perception of the Guide increased, the light and the experience are enlarged; for the path becomes more shining still: the nearer we come to the heavenly city, the more are the glory and light revealed, as we permit nothing to eclipse it. Therefore may all first witness being washed, that they may enter with clean feet into this holy gate; which though strait and the way narrow, leads to the city of the great King; where the faithful and believing have entrance and sing the song of praise.

29th.—Retired in my family, and witnessed a low travelling season,—hard work to get down to the pure seed; which at length I mercifully witnessed, and also the openings of wisdom in degree, which seasoned and sweetened my poor empty spirit.

Twelfth month 6th.—Being third-day I sat down with my little family, and witnessed a measure of consolating goodness extended to us; the shortness of time, and the incontestible truth of coming nearer every hour to our change, were solemn reflections and truly in-

teresting. My mind was very low and my spirit pained before the said opportunity.

9th.—Set forward towards the province meeting, and lay at Ballitore that night; in the evening we had a sweet opportunity there, filled with instruction.

10th and 11th.—Attending the meetings, which were satisfactory and profitable: John Alderson [from England] had good service for his Master.

13th.—Had a meeting at Kilconner, at Samuel Watson's, which was a good meeting to me; and several states were reached: in the evening had a good opportunity with the family. In this family I observed a sweet harmony between the head and all ranks of inferior classes, that is, between the master and the rest of the family, wife, son, and servants, which was very beautiful; they seemed to know their places, and how to keep in them; the savour of life was amongst them, and the virtue of the grace of love was about them.

19th.—Spent at my own house in an agreeable composure; R. S., J. M., and several of my relations spent the day with me, and in the evening we dropped into retirement, and witnessed a sweet cementing opportunity; a living supplication was quickened in my heart which I had to put up for our growth, stability and preservation.

21st.—Passed in retirement, and taken up with writing, reading and meditation.

22nd.—Being a week-day meeting, attended, and felt therein a measure of supporting help; which after constant wading, arose to a strong supplication to our great Master for the continuance of holy protection and preservation, and the enlargement of wisdom in the souls of mankind, those of superior ranks as well as inferior; kings, princes, and judges,—that ambition's crest might be bowed down,—that a stop might be put to the shedding of blood,—hostile invasions checked, and the spreading of the gospel influence witnessed; that those places that now appear as a wilderness, through the rage and ambition of princes, may become as a fruitful field and as the garden of the Lord;—that righteousness and peace may kiss each other, and mercy and truth flourish in the land!

1758, Second month 29th.—Left my own home to accompany John Alderson (from England) and several other Friends to the quarterly meeting in Ulster, and was at Coothill meeting, which being in a very low way respecting the discipline, we imparted to them what occurred to us for their help and consideration. From thence we went towards the quarterly meeting, which proved satisfactory, and we became refreshed in our spirit, one in another. After which Abraham Shackleton and I accompa-



nied John Alderson towards Londonderry, visiting both the families and meetings which constitute that quarterly meeting, and I returned home in peace, where I found my family well and my affairs in good order,—thanks be ascribed to the great Watchman and Shepherd of Israel, who sleeps not by day nor slumbers by night.

3rd.—Went to our province meeting and returned home the 6th, humbled in spirit, with my eye to my great Master; whom I think I am willing to follow in weakness as well as in strength.

8th.—Measurably enjoying a serene quiet, and engaged in looking into the state of the mind.

Having had a prospect for some time past, of paying a religious visit to Wales, and some parts of England, and the time now drawing near, quickens a diligence to leave my concerns in such a state of regularity as may be easy to my mind; but my principal object is the discharge of my duty, that I may do the day's work in the day time, manifesting, that I prefer the cause of Jerusalem before my chiefest joy.

Was at our week-day meeting, where I parted with my friends in a sense of the flowing of the strengthening stream of life's nourishment; and in the uniting efficacy of its virtue, had to praise the Lord God of Sabbath in the demonstration of his opening power. Left home in order to pay a religious visit to some part of England and Wales, in obedience to what I believed to be my duty; and staying a few days at Dublin to take leave of my friends there, I crossed over to Liverpool on the 24th, and came to Warrington on the 27th, where I lodged at Samuel Fothergill's, in whose company I had satisfaction administered to my poor weary spirit. On the 29th, was at Manchester meeting, which to me was low and poor, yet felt the arising of peace. When we have but a little strength we can do but little, and when we have none may we be *still*, so far as is required of us; and passively rest resigned to the Lord, who fills the clouds. Passing on by Coalbrookdale, Leominster, Pennplace, and Swansea, was at the yearly meeting for Wales, held at Chepstow the 12th and 13th of fourth month. The meetings were large, and the testimony [of Truth] went freely forth with demonstration and power; my mind was low and baptized, but the strength of my Lord was to be felt, which bore me up. The 14th, we crossed the ferry towards Bristol, where I attended the yearly meeting, and stayed there visiting Friends and meetings some days.

Fifth month 1st.—Was at the men's meeting, where I had a short testimony to bear against seniority of years or superiority of

wealth being qualifications to act for the Lord of sufficiency, who works by wisdom in his church and members, and brings them under such regulation as makes them slow to speak. In this city there is a topping people, high in notion, rich in wealth; to whom the testimony of Truth has gone forth strongly and clearly; several of the youth have been reached; unto these I trust the Lord of the harvest will add a blessing, by helping them forward in obedience.

The 2nd.—Went to Frenchay, where the quarterly meeting for Gloucestershire was held, accompanied by my dear friends Mordecai Yarnall and Samuel Emlen [from America;] after which took meetings in my way to London: here I attended the yearly meeting from the 15th to the 20th; in which great unanimity appeared in conducting the affairs thereof, and reverential gladness diffused itself through the living members: in our parting meeting the dominion of life was witnessed. The 21st, being first-day, I was at Devonshire House meetings—easing to my spirit, which mostly during this meeting was clothed with sadness and girded with pain; this however I trust will work for good, and centre in patience. 26th, was at Gracechurch street meeting, which was somewhat easing to my mind, though I had nothing to offer in it.

On the 29th of fifth month was at the quarterly meeting at Colchester for the county of Essex, in which I was concerned, both in the meeting for worship and discipline, to bear my testimony to the Truth, of which we make profession; and in support of some branches of our Christian testimony, too much slighted and violated in that county: this day felt peace to abound. Next day, in the meeting of ministers and elders, also in that for worship, I had some service; but did not feel so much peace to flow in my heart as yesterday, not taking sufficient time in delivering my testimony, which has often hurt me, and left my mind sensible of mismanaging the work assigned: but, I trust, the Lord my God will remedy this infirmity by keeping me in a holy fortitude, granting confidence in the openings of the Word of life, which, indeed, is the only true rectifier of every disorder of the mind, both in conception and expression. Grant me, O! my God, victory over this infirmity, that I may more and more honour and glorify thy name!

After attending the quarterly meetings of Woodbridge, Norwich, Lincoln, and York, with other meetings in the way, I was on the 7th of seventh month at the quarterly meeting at Kendal. That honourable elder, James Wilson, was there, in his eighty-third year; whose living counsel in testimony was very refreshing,

and he appeared in the strength of a young man. He told me of a meeting he was at in London, with Thomas Wilson, where was a great concourse of people, and amongst them two persons of high rank in the world, who sat very attentively while a Friend was speaking, and seemed to like what was delivered; but when Thomas stood up, being old, bald, and of a mean appearance, they despised him; and one said to the other; Come, my lord, let us go, for what can this old fool say?" "No," said the other; "let us stay, for this is Jeremiah the prophet, let us hear him:" so, as Thomas went on, the life arose, and the power got into dominion, which tendered one of them in a very remarkable manner; the tears flowed in great plenty from his eyes, which he strove in vain to hide. After Thomas had sat down, this person stood up, and desired he might be forgiven of the Almighty, for despising the greatest of His instruments under heaven, or in His creation.

#### CHAPTER VI.

*At Lancaster quarterly meeting—South Wales—visits meetings in Ireland—Marriage to Sarah Beale.*

On the 11th of eighth month, 1758, I came to Lancaster to William Dilworth's; the quarterly meeting for ministers and elders was held the same evening, in which comfortable counsel was imparted in the opening of best wisdom: James Wilson was engaged to tell us not to quench the Spirit by reasoning with flesh and blood, and waiting for large manifestations; but in the stirring of life to give forth what we have in faith: but reasoning quenches the Spirit, and in the flowing of the tide of life the vessel is to move, not in the ebbing. The 12th, we had a large satisfactory meeting; many testimonies were borne in the authority of Truth, and the hearts of many were refreshed; in the afternoon, the business was wisely and prudently conducted, which ended the quarterly meeting satisfactorily. The 13th, attended their week-day meeting, and the Lord our God was mercifully pleased to favour us with His life-giving presence, in which we had to praise His glorious name, who is worthy of praise, dominion and honour for ever. Amen! Came that evening to Chorley with J. Routh and S. Taylor, and parted with my valuable companions, John Griffith, James Wilson, Lydia Lancaster, Grace Chambers, and several other worthy Friends, whose company, conversation, and deportment were very grateful to my mind. Accompanied by Joseph Harwood, I visited the meetings of Cheshire and Derbyshire; and taking meetings in the way passed on to Wales,

and came to Swansea the 2nd of ninth month, where next day I attended their first-day meetings, in which I had close labour; heavenly aid was mercifully extended to ease my spirit. The following first-day I was in both meetings opened very much to the people of other societies, who came in pretty freely; and though it was close labour, and a time of weakness as to the state of my mind, the Lord my God richly supplied with the opening of his word, and the doctrine of the gospel of life and salvation was freely preached to the people, and the meetings concluded with a sense of Truth over the spirits of the people. It is remarkable that on fifth-day provision was made for my voyage homeward, and an expectation of my going that tide; I told my friends that I could not see myself in a spiritual sense yet gone, though affection to my family and love to my native country strongly attended; and though the vessel was under sail, yet she was detained in the harbour, the tide not flowing high enough to carry her out. So that great need have we all to stand single to the Lord and his revealed glorious light, which will open by degrees our duty to us, and animate us, as humbly relied on, to fulfil it. May the Lord my God strengthen my soul with His own pure power and wisdom to wait on Him, till He gives a sure and certain intelligence of His own pure will, which, as I live in the performance of, is my sanctification.

Ninth month 11th.—My mind seems resigned to attend the quarterly meeting at Penn-place, and so to proceed to Carmarthen and Haverfordwest, and then, if the Lord please, homeward. And thou knowest, O my God! that my delight is to do thy law, and to obey thy holy direction: support me, my spirit humbly beseeches, to the latest period of my days, to walk in thy paths, that my soul may at last have an entrance into that kingdom, wherein the righteous redeemed souls have an inheritance.

Tenth month 3rd.—I sailed from Haverfordwest, landed safe at Dunleary, and came to Dublin; where I stayed several days attending meetings. On the 12th, I was at our meeting at Rathangan, in which ancient Goodness was pleased to appear, to the tendering of my spirit, in commemoration of the mercies received in my late journey. I was bowed, and my heart revered that Power which hitherto had shielded, protected, and preserved. In the evening returned home to my family, a peaceful serenity covering my spirit; for which, and every other blessing received, may living thanksgivings be rendered to the Lord my God, who is everlasting worthy. Amen.

13th and 14th.—Spent in emptiness, though at the bottom felt sweet peace, which indeed is the reward that is the true riches.



16th and 17th.—Taken up pretty much in reading, writing, and retirement, by intervals, very delightful and agreeable.

18th.—Attended the monthly meeting at Edenderry: the stream of Divine goodness was measurably extended to the tendering of my heart in the fore part of the meeting, but towards the conclusion it ceased, and exercise and dryness ensued, and the meeting ended in silence. It was a large meeting, and many I believe had their expectation outwards, which often proves a hindering impediment to the poor servants. In the meeting for business some Friends seemed desirous I should give some little account of my journey, which I had upon my mind to give in humbling fear, and there seemed to be a reception for it, in which comfort opened her gates and heavenly refreshment entered.

23rd.—Pretty quiet and still, at seasons looking inward for the arising of the Beloved; taken up in writing, reading, &c., a portion of time.

24th.—Empty and lean, yet desirous to be relieved with the opening of invisible succour and strengthening goodness; awful fear looked me full in the face, which raised a desire that I might be what the Lord my God would have me to be.

29th.—First-day; our meeting was to me trying, through the abounding and retiring of that which is our strength; for I find it hard to keep pace with its circulating, awakening visitations, and only to move in its pointings. May the Lord of my life make me more wise, that the powers and faculties of my soul may be devoted to bring honour to his great and everlasting name!

Eleventh month 1st and 2nd.—Attended the half-year's meeting at Dublin; the meeting for worship was low and exercising to some, who had a diligent travail and exercise on their spirits for the heritage and the appearance of its glory. The meeting for business was more refreshing, and the members more united in living enjoyment: it was favoured on the 2nd with a degree of the presence of its holy Head, and a quick zeal for the welfare of our Zion and the prosperity of her children was felt amongst the gathered few. In the evening was held the meeting of ministers and elders; on the 3rd, we were much owned, thanks be to the mercy of our God, and indeed I thought we were well rewarded for all our concern and exercise in the foregoing meetings. 5th was the first-day of the week, I was at both meetings: our worthy innocent friend Robert Hervey, from Old Meldrum, in Scotland, was there, and had good service for his Lord and Master, and quite agreeable to the state of the meeting, though his testimony was sharp.

10th.—Went to Robert Fayles' burial, where I had good satisfaction, but should have been easier if I had taken more time to deliver what was upon my mind; but have often thought it better to feel pain of this sort myself, than burden others with long dry declarations. Went that evening to sit with the widow and fatherless, in which visit had comfort extended.

16th.—Visited —'s family, which nearly concludes our services in this quarter in visiting [with a committee] the families of friends; and though it took a considerable time to pass through the families, and very close travail and exercise, yet there was a gracious reward administered for our labour and trials; for the states and conditions of the people are such in this day, that close doctrine is indispensably necessary; and the openings of Truth are such that nothing but cowardice and unfaithfulness can evade the pointings of it in those who have it to distribute to the Society. Those who were employed in the service increased in the living unity, and peace was multiplied to them.

Twelfth month 26th and 27th.—Much taken up with my outward affairs, and in preparing for the quarterly meeting, yet in the midst thereof felt the solid stirrings of the influence of preparation for worship and silent adoration, and a longing after unfailing aid to live more circumspectly and inward from external objects.

1759, First month 18th.—Our week-day meeting, where I was comforted in holy silence, which as dwelt in (without a certain assurance to move to duty in utterance) enriches the soul.

Second month 13th.—Sat down in my family in a religious frame of mind, in which I witnessed holy Help to be near to open counsel and instruction, which I dropped, to an increase of ease and peace.

14th.—In retirement. Quietly composed, and taken up in reading and writing.

15th.—Our week-day meeting, whither I repaired and found a deep travail of spirit, which towards the latter part measurably disappeared, but strength in contentment increased.

20th.—Sat down with my little family in religious retirement, where, after low waiting in silence, I felt nourishment and help to my spirit.

Third month 6th.—Went to visit a professor in his family, which had for some time been upon me, but by not giving up to it had rather abated; the accomplishment thereof yielded a good degree of satisfaction and instruction, and I hope heightened a caution in future to observe the motion of Truth in the immediate operation of it.

20th.—Being the third-day of the week, found drawings to sit down in my family, and

was favoured with a portion of a reconciling peace for the practice.

Fourth month 5th.—Our week-day meeting at Rathangan, which was small and weak as to Divine favour, but towards the conclusion the rays of light broke in upon us, and opened the understanding, nourishing the spirit; no public appearance.

16th and 17th.—Was at the assizes and fair at Kildare,—hurrying places, much attended by an inconsiderate people: but as long as we are in this life we must have connexions with the people of the world,—may the God of my life keep me from the spots of it!

19th.—At our week-day meeting in which I felt a quiet travail of spirit, comfortingly instructive.

Fifth month 26th.—I was at a tiresome fair, selling and buying, and exposed to disagreeable company; in the evening came home, and soon after received tidings of the decease of my friend Samuel Sharpley, and his request that I would attend his funeral; which brought heavy exercise over my mind and much anxious thoughtfulness, having several things occurring to prevent my going.

27th.—Awoke early, and gave up the expectation of going, and wrote a few lines to my dear friend's spouse in excuse; but when I mounted my mare to go to our meeting, I felt so strong a draft, and so sweet an unity with the spirit of the deceased, as to give up freely, which caused every obstruction to vanish. I got well to Dublin after a very hard ride, went to see the widow with whom I had a very sweet opportunity, and my spirit was deeply humbled under a sense of the goodness of God in mercifully rewarding for cheerfully giving up to the pointings of His holy Word: afterwards I attended the funeral, and gracious Goodness was pleased to assist in the discharge of duty, amidst numerous unsanctified spirits; the testimony of Truth was exalted above their dark spirits, and mine got great ease, and thankful I was that I was enabled to attend it. Went in the evening to see the English Friends, viz: J. Haslam, and Joseph Milthrop, from Yorkshire, who landed last week in order to visit Friends of this nation.

28th.—Returned home in a peaceful quiet, renewedly sensible of the extendings of the mercy of God through His Son, Christ Jesus, to whom be glory and honour ascribed, both now and forever. Amen!

Sixth month 12th and 13th.—Pretty much at home, and taken up in reading the Scriptures and retirement; a language was raised in my heart to cry for fresh anointing and consecration, that I might stand more perfectly in my lot in this life, and in the end have a portion in the next in a state of holiness and purity.

Seventh month 7th.—Not so much retired as I am well convinced would be profitable; company hindered; may the Lord my God in mercy sanctify every disappointment to me, and bring me more and more to that holy disposition to look to Him through all things, whether disappointments or successes.

9th and 10th.—Pretty much engaged in outward affairs, though sometimes I burst from them to look a little in stillness for sure help to worship and adore the Author of universal and enduring goodness and grace!

11th.—This day in sweetness and quietude, for which I hope to be thankful, and desires arose for my future advancement in grace, and the revelation of the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

26th.—Was at our monthly meeting, and after a season of deep travail and exercise, the virtue of Truth sweetly arose to the refreshment of a remnant, and the power of the Lord our God was in dominion. Susanna Hatton had a favoured season in testimony and supplication, and the spirits of a remnant worshipped in reverence.

Eighth month 8th.—Attended my outward affairs pretty closely, but at times stole [away] to an inward inquiry to feel after support in retirement, reading, &c.

15th and 16th.—Was amongst my friends, who suffered by the violence of the mob in their worldly rejoicings, having their windows much broken, and the women frightened; endeavoured to strengthen Friends in their dissent from this worldly conduct, that tends rather to the dishonour than the glory of God.

25th.—About some outward affairs distant from me, which I was considerably fatigued with; it was the attendance of the Assizes, and had a cross judge to deal with.

26th.—Our first-day meeting at Rathangan, which proved an open consolatory season after much exercise and travail; for which praise was offered up to the Everlasting Support of integrity and innocency.

27th.—Was this day at a fair, where I was hurried, but a good degree of quietude attended my mind; returned home easy in the evening.

Ninth month 8th.—Much in outward hurry, but yet found inward aid to breathe for preservation.

9th.—First-day: went to Edenderry meeting, where were the English Friends J. H. and J. M.; the meeting was very large and very exercising, though methought the good old Friend J. H., had a pertinent season to the state of the meeting through a strong wrestle to obtain it.

10th.—Low in spirit, feeling a strong conflict of the motions of fleshly pursuits and gratifications.



11th and 12th.—In a degree of more quietude than for a few days past, much drawn at seasons to retire and read; found my passions at certain periods of time strong, but retiring found a succession of coolness and ease to take place.

13th.—Our week-day meeting at Rathangan, which was to me a season of deep and low travail, scarcely feeling the stirring of the breath of life. In the evening read in the experiences of other Friends, and had a sweet union with some of them this night in my sleep; arose in the morning united to them in spirit, though one of them deceased.

14th and 15th.—Pretty busy in the outward, yet several times retired and profited by reading the Scriptures, and indeed I find retirement the greatest safety we can enjoy in this world of probation, it tends to inform respecting our duty in the outward, and strengthens the faculties of our soul in pursuing unceasing felicity.

16th.—First-day, found a draft of mind to be at Edenderry, which I followed, and felt renewed occasion humbly to bow in spirit to gracious Goodness for help; several matters appeared to be my duty to drop, which I did in the ability afforded, so as to feel ease, and the administration of peace. And indeed it is to be deplored to feel so much rawness and indifference amongst the professors of Truth, and it is to be feared so little of a growth in it, in this time of outward ease and tranquillity in this unworthy nation.

17th.—This day exercised and in conflict of spirit, very impatient about outward things, because so much negligence appeared in those I believed ought to be more careful; thought of the apostle's assertion, that they were of like passions with other men; but it is our indispensable duty to have these passions subjected to the operation of the Spirit and working of Truth.

Ninth month 26th.—Was at a meeting at Ballitore, with my esteemed friend Catharine Payton. Here the mysterious fountain of gospel communication was admirably opened, and indeed the deeps were broken up in my heart, and I was mercifully blessed with a sight of my own state; which I trust will produce additional degrees of humiliation, and beget greater devotedness of soul to the service of the bounteous Author of my being, who alone has an absolute right to body, soul and spirit. It is the prayer of my heart, most Gracious Fountain of blessedness! that thou wilt break every inordinate affection, and dash in pieces every conceived opinion or conjecture, which does not tend to thy own honour, and the enlargement of my experience in that path of liberty, into which, I am convinced, thou hast called me; that I may be happy here in time and enduringly happy in an endless eternity. Amen!

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28th.—Was at Mountrath meeting: the softening virtue of contrition attending in my journey, begot fresh cries for preservation and caution in stepping along through the narrow lane of life; the meeting too was eminently humbling to my spirit, and some parts of the testimony applicable to my condition, which I hope I shall not forget. One thing in particular, the necessity of taking heed how we strive to build our own houses, while the house of God lies waste; the consideration ought to be lasting, for such an attempt may be accompanied with Divine displeasure; even of Him who can in a moment destroy the most stately structure of man's building or invention, and turn proposed happiness into misery and disappointment. May His holy hand of prevention be exalted for the safety and preservation of His children, and a disposition formed in the soul to follow the Lamb whatsoever way He leads; that our journey towards Mount Zion may be prosperous, and our inheritance in light enduring as the heavens.

30th.—Being first-day, was at a meeting at Mountmellick with Catharine Payton; it was memorable for a loud and fervent call to the sinner in Zion: it continued to me (as were several other opportunities) a baptizing and bowing season. Afterwards my honoured friend had a meeting with the ministers of that meeting and others who were there, instructing as well as comforting. I returned home in humbling peace, diffidence and fear, lest in future I should not come up in that devotedness of soul, that I conceive is my indispensable duty.

Tenth month 2nd and 3rd.—Pretty much retired, read the Scriptures in a disposition to sweeten my spirit, and edify and increase my experience in the blessing and advantage that arises from those sacred books being preserved to us, through all the dark generations and apostatized spirits that have appeared in the world, and that have pretended to be interpreters of those sacred truths, and to have them limited to themselves.

10th.—I left home to pay a visit to the county of Wexford. My mind has been bowed and low of late; renewed desires have been kindled to serve the Lord my God in more devotedness of heart: may the preparation be by His own pure power and Spirit, and beget in me an humble acquiescence to the turning and forming of His holy Hand; that the dross may be purged away, and the temple be purified, to the honour of His great and excellent name.

28th.—Returned home, after visiting most of the meetings in said county, and also in the county of Carlow, in which visit my dear companion Abraham Shackleton was often favoured to communicate counsel in the openings of Divine Wisdom, and we laboured according to

our ability and with some success; though we had to drop some close things at times respecting dress, address, &c., in the feeling of the reaches of the Divine Arm, that would gather all home to its saving fear.

Eleventh month 23rd.—Went to Carlow to the quarterly meeting, in which the arisings of Life were witnessed:—the beauty, glory, and spreading of Truth were graciously extended, and arose into dominion over all opposition, and a sweet union I felt with my dear friend J. G., whose service and labour was much attended with Divine favour and fervour; the spring of supplication was open, and we had measurably to drink of that Rock that followed Israel: and in the Friend's family where I lodged, it was likewise experienced to the mellowing the hearts of several, and we parted in peace.

26th.—Set forward to Ross, Waterford, Youghall, and Cork; at the latter place I remained some days, my principal object being to demand in marriage Sarah Beale, daughter of Joshua Beale of the latter city: this subject had weighed on my spirit for more than eighteen months, and at last so strongly did it open before me and with such clearness, that I gave up reasoning upon it; and on the tenth of twelfth month I opened my mind to her father, who took it into consideration; in a few days he gave me liberty to lay the matter before her, and I may say the evidence of Divine favour attended in our communion and conference; and as it was the Lord's doing, I believe, to open it in my mind, so I trust He will be graciously pleased so to work in it, as to bring it about to His own honour and in His own time. I visited several widows, the sick and infirm, in which service Holy Goodness was graciously pleased to favour with a renewal of strength and daily supply, both in those services and in meetings for public worship, to my own humbling admiration; and thus was I engaged until the 28th of Twelfth month, when I left the city of Cork, committing my cause to the Lord my God, and returning home on the second of first month, 1760, found my family well.

First month 11th and 12th.—These two days passed in the mixture, sometimes sustaining Goodness was near, and sometimes a sense of emptiness and nakedness was the covering of my spirit.

13th.—In our first-day meeting at Rathangan, had several things opened upon my understanding, but which closed again; part of the meeting was inwardly strengthening, and part exercising. After a wrestling exercise a sweet serenity spread itself over the meeting, and it ended in solemn silence; after which had the enjoyment of inward sweetness.

29th.—Went to Cork to visit my beloved friend Sarah Beale, in whom I believe the Di-

vine Arm worked to make way for my reception, though to be distinguished only by close observation; her becoming reserve and prudent conduct making it but very little obvious; but the internal communion and union with her spirit which I felt, gave hope that the Lord's guiding strengthening counsel was sought for by her, disposing her to yield to the pointings of His will.

Second month 28th.—At meeting at Rathangan; my spirit was much refreshed and united to the spirits of my friends; an earnest supplication was formed in my heart for preservation in future, and that nothing might wrest or take from the arms of Divine protection,—neither heights nor depths, prosperity nor adversity; and it is the humble petition of my heart at this time, that the Lord my God may so open of His heavenly wisdom in my soul, as to keep me steady in the pursuit of the "one thing needful;" and so to proportion His strength and power to my wants, as to give ability to pass the narrow sea of life to His own honour and glory.

29th.—This day in a state of retirement, sweetly retrospecting and commemorating the mercies and favours of the Lord. May an holy acquiescence with His will be my delight. And work thou, O my God! passive obedience in my heart, where Thou art wont to work, to bring forth those fruits with which Thou art well pleased; it is only effected by the operation of Thy invisible Hand: work, therefore, Lord! and who shall let it?

Fourth month 8th.—This day I was married to Sarah, the daughter of Joshua Beale;\* and the gracious donor of every good gift and blessing was pleased to attend. Our friend John Griffith was helped to declare of the goodness of the Lord, and to set forth the excellency of seeking Him in all our undertakings; especially in that of marriage. It was a season of real profit and help: my soul seemed filled with Divine Goodness. May an enduring remembrance of the greatness of the Lord's mercy, influence my spirit to follow Him in greater degrees of devotedness.

Seventh month 6th.—First-day, was at Rathangan meeting, and was helped to bear testimony to the excellency and power of the Prince of peace, inviting all to enlist under Him, who is Prince, Bishop, Minister, Captain and Shepherd.

26th.—Accompanied the corpse of A. Barcroft to Dublin; it was a large funeral, and at the grave a lowness of the life and virtue of gospel power attended, in which state I durst not move to offer anything, though some view of Scripture openings and passages appeared to me; the people seemed uneasy that nothing

\* Said to have been the granddaughter of Joseph Pike.



was offered, though the true qualification was wanting; I felt easy and resigned afterwards.

Eighth month 14th.—I was at our weekday meeting, in which I had to speak of the apostle's comparison respecting the branches that were broken off from the good olive-tree, and of those that were grafted in; towards the one, goodness, and towards the other, severity;—setting forth the goodness to those who keep their places, and His justice on them that keep not their places; and the necessity of being not high-minded, but to stand in a state of fear, by which we live in the true faith and continue to partake of the Lord's table.

26th.—This day attending [to outward matters] with pain and poverty. Went to see my sick cousin Jackson, with whom I had much sympathy; but [divine] aid being withheld I was incapable to help her or afford her any instrumental comfort.

27th.—This day was at cousin J.'s, about an hour after his wife's decease, and it was a scene of exercise and trouble to behold him and his four children deprived of their valuable friend and helper, a woman that promised well to be of service in our Zion; but all-wise Providence knows when and how to remove his creatures,—who to call away, and who to reserve for a state of toil and trouble! My spirit was much united to hers in the flowing of Life's circulation, which was often her experience to feel, and I seldom went to visit her but methought I felt an increase of spiritual strength, a stronger knitting of the bond of fellowship, a pleasure resulting from Christian friendship; and I am persuaded she witnessed an increase and growth in knowledge of the revealing virtue of Christ Jesus our Lord, and I believe her spirit lives amongst the redeemed and ransomed, to partake of eternal life!

29th.—Attended the funeral, which was large, my mind was calm and quiet, and way was opened to bear testimony to the excellency of the Seed, what it would do for us if attended to, the bruiser of the serpent, the quickener of life, the slayer of the evil seed:—came home afterwards with the sorrowful husband.

Ninth month 7th.—First-day of the week, was at our meeting. It was a season of deep travail, yet gradually I experienced the gentle arisings of the power and virtue of Truth, and I had to speak to that saying recorded in Scripture, "Watch in the watch-tower, eat, drink, arise ye princes and anoint the shield." Truth arose to such a degree, that it made way and entered the hearts of several there, bowing them down and enabling them to offer the sacrifices of a broken and contrited spirit. It was a season of favour on account of the people, for which the praise is to be ascribed to the invisible operation of that unction that comes by

Jesus Christ, through the mercy of God the Father, to whom let thanksgiving and renown be for ever dedicated!

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Visits parts of England and Wales.*

[Soon after his second marriage, Samuel Neale settled in Cork; and having for some time had a prospect of visiting some parts of England and Wales, he previously obtained the concurrence of his friends, and left home in the ninth month, 1760. He visited the meetings of Friends generally, in South Wales, the city of Bristol, and the West of England, and returned home in the second month, 1761. Of which journey he writes thus:] "In this visit the Lord was pleased signally to bless with his presence, support with his power, and refresh with his heavenly goodness: for which he is worthy to have the praise of all ascribed to him, who lives Omnipotent and Omnipresent, for ever and ever. Amen."

1761, Fourth month 4th.—This day was at the quarterly meeting of ministers at Cork, in which I had something close to offer to ministers and elders, and to inform them of the necessity there was to keep our vineyards clean ere we took the oversight of others.

5th.—First-day of the week, the meeting was very large, several Friends attended from other meetings. I felt a pretty strong testimony to rest on my mind, which through the ability received I dropped, and it seemed to have a place: several encouraging hints were uttered to excite to a steady perseverance and keeping covenant, as the Lord keeps his covenant with his people; it was to me a satisfactory season. In the afternoon I was likewise concerned, which seemed to have a place, and to be in a degree of the authority of Truth, without which I find I cannot get forward; no art or part of the creature will do, except aided by the ability that the Lord is pleased to give.

Twelfth month 6th.—This night was awakened out of my sleep in so remarkable a manner, as to make me apprehend that something trying was to succeed: and on the 7th, as I sat in meeting, I had some prospects, though at a distance, that dipped me exceedingly, and bowed my spirit.

1762, Second month 20th.—My mind for some time back has been poor, barren, and empty, our assemblies mostly appearing as a field of exercising conflict, which increases apprehension of danger and a swerving from a proper attention to the operation of the good Spirit within; but at times a desire arises for preservation and protection in this day of conflict, and that everything shooting from the tree



of nature and of self may be cut off, burnt up, and the garden of the heart kept clean.

Sixth month 5th.—This day about temporal affairs; had some friends at dinner, and in the evening was low in mind, but mercifully felt that which turns the eye to look towards sure Help, and makes the ear attentive to listen to the utterance of the voice of instruction.

Seventh month 12th.—Our province meeting at Youghall, in which divine favour was extended, and both the meeting for worship and that for discipline ended satisfactorily. There was a visit appointed to be performed to the families of Friends, in which my name was entered; and to forward the work I was loath to refuse; the same evening we proceeded on it, joined by Joseph Oxley from England. We laboured according to ability received, and returned home in a degree of sustaining peace.

20th.—Our week-day meeting, in which J. Oxley was pertinently concerned; I dined with him, and felt an attracting draft of uniting love to draw me to accompany him to Limerick, which I gave up to, and we set out accordingly the next day; after attending their week-day and first-day meetings there, I took an affectionate leave of my worthy friend J. Oxley, who seems an agreeable sweet-spirited Friend, and returned home on the 26th.

Eighth month 3rd.—Some instructive openings at meeting respecting working whilst it is day, and being the Lord's workmen, moving in his service: after meeting heard of a proposition of Samuel Fothergill's respecting a visit to this nation, to the quarterly and monthly meetings, to move in it the beginning of next month. I felt some exercise about it and unity with it, with some searching of heart.

9th.—Our men's meeting, which was poor and inwardly low: the business went on in a dry barren way, barren conversation and prudential striving to evade what might be profitable though more expensive to the meeting, in getting a schoolmaster for the instruction and education of the youth; who seem growing fast into rawness and insensibility with respect to the life and virtue of religion. It is a day of trial; formality seems to thicken: and a resting in a profession to be the religion of too, too, many!

10th.—Our week-day meeting, where Ann Summerland had a sweet season in testimony and also supplication; the current [of life] seemed to run during her ministry, but when that ceased there was a stoppage, which affected the spirits of the travellers, through a sluggish idle habit prevailing in meetings of worship, of depending on, and looking too much at others.

Ninth month 22nd.—Went to Youghall, to meet some Friends from England appointed by their yearly meeting, on a visit to the monthly

and province meetings in this nation, and was at a meeting there the next day, which was satisfactory and reaching; but that for discipline was searching; the state of that meeting being much spoken to in answering the queries of the yearly meeting in London, of 1755.

26th.—First-day at Cork,—a day to be remembered for the excellency and dignity that was over the meeting, both in worship and discipline; few states but what were spoken to, and evident it was that a heavenly visitation spread over the assembly;—may it be humbly received!

27th.—This morning we set out for Limerick, and had a meeting at Mallow, in the assembly room, which tended to the information and enlightening of the judgments of the people, and to the propagation and spreading of the knowledge of the principle of Truth, I hope to the honour of the great Master; the people were solid and attentive.

Tenth month 26th.—We concluded the visits to the meetings, in which the heavenly Hand was eminently made bare, and the [divine] voice evidently and intelligibly extended, to help and instruct all classes in the church and family of our God; and I trust the sacred instruction that issued from the Fountain, through the sanctified channels the Lord of mercy prepared and directed towards this nation, will be blessed; and the impression stamped in legible characters that it was the Lord's work, so as to be read of many: and O! that it may become marvellous in our eyes; that we may arise in vigilance, strength, and devotedness to the Lord's work, and live and die in his favour. The above visit to the monthly meetings was performed with great expedition and no time lost; neither did a preventing hurry obstruct seemingly the service the Friends were on; nor was a stone left unturned that might open the judgment and inform the understandings of the people with respect to the eight queries answered by the several monthly meetings. We also attended the National meeting at Dublin, in the eleventh month, which was a memorable season; the beauty, comeliness, and excellency of Truth were evident, and over all opposite spirits, and the honour, praise and glory of all was ascribed to the Lord God and the Lamb, that lives and reigns, and rules for ever and evermore.

Eleventh month 5th.—I left Dublin and set forward to our quarterly meeting at Waterford, where an ample reward was administered from the Heavenly presence, for all I had passed through in this journey, as to bodily and spiritual trials and hardships, much to my refreshment and rejoicing; magnified be that Hand, which helps in the day of trial! I returned home on the 24th, where I found my dear

wife and family well, an additional bond to future faithfulness, in which I desire to be strengthened!

25th.—Pretty easy and quiet, looking back at past steppings; feel poverty near at the door, in which state and condition, if it is administered as my portion, I desire to be humbly resigned, and in it to be kept awake, vigilant and watchful.

Twelfth month 3rd.—Sixth-day, our meeting-day; was easy and quiet in spirit, in a constant travail in the meeting; towards the latter part there was light and peace, and the spirit of prayer and supplication overspread my mind, and formed itself into language, though unuttered.

17th.—Our meeting-day; it was a season of calmness and exercise; towards the latter end the sweetness of Truth operated in our minds, and a remnant was consoled in the comfortable influence of divine love.

24th.—This day was at a comfortable good opportunity in our meeting; the opening was respecting communing with the Great Master, renewing our intimacy with him, wrestling for this communion, and giving it place before every other consideration,—not losing the benefit of this communion by holding a conversation with other intimates in a natural sense, which as they rob the Great Master of his proper regard, become idols, and then we are left; our Beloved withdraws himself, and retires from our inquiry: but as we prefer Him and live to Him, He becomes our friend in storms and tempests, and a covert from rains.

26th.—First-day; was assisted to worship in brokenness of spirit, and to bear testimony for the Great Master, both in the fore and afternoon.

1763, First month 18th.—Was at the week-day meeting at Ross, and at their men's meeting; in both of which favour flowed, and a good degree of utterance was granted to speak with clearness; I laboured faithfully with them and departed in peace: it was the first time of some present sitting in meetings for discipline, the design of instituting such meetings was spoken to, and the authority of them was pointed out, I hope it may rest with weight upon some there.

20th.—Returned home, found my mind pretty easy. I pondered the wise king's saying, that "all is vanity;" that after we have gratified ourselves with every rational and religious enjoyment, it is only worth living [for] to stand in our lot at the end of days,—a glorious one will be the reward of our obedience and duty; for which may the grace of our Lord Jesus acquit and strengthen us, that our abode at last may be with the blessed and re-

deemed, that death may be swallowed up of victory!

28th.—Our week-day meeting, in which I was refreshed by the prevalence of a concern for the youth, which I had to express; it was respecting the parable of the merchant seeking goodly pearls, who, when he had found one of great price, went and sold all, that he might purchase it. Felt a desire that our youth might become young merchants, and might seek early that which will abide with them, the kingdom of heaven first; and then every thing necessary will be added.

Second month 2nd and 3rd.—At intervals easy and quiet in spirit;—read some fruitful experiences, which softened my mind and brought a solemnity over it. Eyed at times a concern that for some length of time has rested with me, respecting a visit to the province of Ulster, which I purpose to proceed in ere long, if strength is added to my strength: I am in some degree sensible of the weight of this concern in this low degenerate day; but all-sufficient is that [Power] which I humbly hope to look to and lean on.

9th.—Left home on my visit to the province of Ulster, and on the 13th came to Ballitore; set off from thence on the 14th, accompanied by my dear friend Abraham Shackleton, and got to ———'s, where the well of refreshment was felt to overflow and stream forth to much consolation; the season to me was very encouraging and reviving, strengthening for the journey, which I looked upon as a forerunner of exercise and probation, and so it proved, though the cup was graciously mingled with the blessing of spiritual support in the hour of deepest proving: magnified be the arm of everlasting strength, that is underneath to help, when humbly felt after.

21st.—Was at Ballyhagan meeting, where I laboured amongst them a considerable time; methought it had no great entrance, yet my mind was in great peace and quietness. Dined at a Friend's house, where we had a sweet refreshing season, to the reaching and tendering of the youth; my companion was sweetly concerned, which opened the door of heavenly succour amongst us, to magnify and adore the Arm of eternal power, that doth all things in wisdom unfathomable.

Third month 13th.—Was at both meetings in Dublin: in the forenoon had, from much weakness, an increase of strength to utter what my mind was exercised with. Warned the brethren to take heed lest there was in any of them an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God; and to beware how they put opinion for faith, or substituted it as a standard to live under, as the flesh loved lib-



erty. In the evening had another opportunity, in encouraging some of the lower classes to feel for strength to live faithful to the Lord, by minding the day of small discoveries.

20th.—Went to the meeting at Ballynakill, where I had a clear strong testimony to provoke to diligence and industry in attending meetings on week-days as well as first-days—"I will not give my glory to another, nor my praise to graven images," was the subject. I had to put them in mind of the disappointment to be met with by a divided affection; for when Israel's heart was divided, they were found faulty, and what they brought home was blown upon, their blessings were cursed, &c. The meeting concluded in solemn supplication, and seemed in a weighty frame.

22nd.—Got well home, where I found my family in health, and my dear wife well pleased to see me return: I hope to be helped, to be thankful for being united to her, and desire we may grow more and more one another's joy in the Lord.

23rd.—This day retrospecting my journey in a state of quietness, found my mind composed, and in degree thankful for favours received; read the Scriptures with a sweetness nourishing to the mind.

27th.—First-day; in both meetings I felt strength to bear testimony to the excellent principle of Truth:—"I have meat to eat, that ye know not of; my meat is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish His work," was the subject: many things gradually opened in some degree of life and authority, which gave my mind much ease. In the evening encouraged in a fervent travail and exercise of spirit in waiting; though barrenness and emptiness may seem to attend, yet the patient waiter has a blessing, as saith the prophet, "Blessed are those who wait upon Him." The danger and reproach is, in suffering the mind to be carried away; in this is the condemnation, as we consent to it: therefore it is our duty as well as interest to live near the stream of life, that our souls may be replenished and made glad.

29th.—At a meeting felt the revival of an impression long since made, with the pointings of sweet affection to a distant people.

31st.—The forenoon pretty busy, and went to Glanmire, where I amused myself in an innocent manner in the garden. In the evening I felt an opening, as I sat by the fire, which at first struck me with some degree of surprise; but it was to me very intelligible, having often looked that way; and it was conveyed with a certainty that has never failed to carry its evidence. I desire to be helped to try it in the right balance, and to act in the right counsel, as peace and prosperity are the attendants; for if I know my own heart, I would willingly rest

and remain in the lot appointed by that Wisdom which worketh all things; but where a remove is pointed out, I hope to be faithful, though it be against outward interest, and to a more laborious station; believing that way will be made to bring it about in due season, as a fixed trust is in that [Power] which makes hard things easy.

Fourth month 1st.—Our week-day meeting; in which I felt comfort in the glimpse repeated of last evening's prospect; afterwards a season of labour and exercise attended, though vanishing towards the latter part of the meeting, which ended in a participation of that which is life, strength and sanctification, viz: the operation of the good Word of life.

13th.—This day in a sort of hurry and commotion of mind, in which I endeavoured after stillness and quiet:—was at a relation's, where I afterwards felt a sweet and serene quiet, with the attendance of Heavenly virtue.

17th.—Had another opening of the same prospect, with a feeling of love and light, which dipped my mind under various considerations: the weight of it greatly humbled and depressed my spirit, not so much from opposition to it, as from a dread of not being fit and qualified for such an undertaking, if it should be required. In the Light is safety; may my steps be so ordered as to walk therein, that in the end I may have the crown! May the guardian angel of preservation attend my spirit and guard my steps through the intricacies of life, in obedience to the Heavenly manifestations; and if this be a quickening of fruit, may it perfectly ripen before it falls as from the tree; that it may have a proper relish and flavour amongst the sensible-palated children of the spiritual house!

Sixth month 5th.—First-day, I was at a meeting at Ballydarton, where I had good opportunity to clear myself amongst Friends there; the subject was, to keep close to the spiritual warfare, to give to the fire that which is for the fire, to the famine that which is for the famine, and to the sword that which is for the sword;—touched upon the glorious gospel dispensation, and the inward burning of the Holy Spirit to destroy whatever opposeth its rule and dominion; "every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, &c., but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire:"—it destroys animosity, passion, &c., brings into the love and meekness, and teaches brethren to love in wisdom and discretion. I had to speak on Abraham's disposition to Lot, when strife happened amongst their domestics;—"Let there be no difference between me and thee, for we are brethren; do thou go to the right, and I will go to the left, or do thou go to the left, and I will take the right:" this cordiality between them was beautiful, I therefore recommended



it. Also on Balaam's forwardness to go against the Lord's command, by being too hasty,—the dumb ass reproved him by her duty and fidelity to him, though of the brute creation; and even was helped to query of him, did she ever offend him before, since she was his? a close and clear reproof to him, an offender, who was blinded by his infidelity and disobedience, so as not to see the sword that was near to cut him off. Indeed sin hardens and blinds men, sinking them below the level of the brute creation, intoxicates them madly to trample on and forget the laws and precepts of the Lord of the creation; which often brings them as upon the point of the sword of destruction. Several other things I had to speak to, which opened with sweetness, strength and satisfaction to my own mind.

13th.—This day quiet and easy, read the Scriptures in the fore part and evening, though I was disturbed by some disagreeable cross occurrences in the way of trade; but I find that fleeing to the Centre gives life and strength to stand in calmness over disappointment.

Seventh month 29th.—Our week-day meeting; it proved a constant low travail through the whole, and indeed most of our meetings are so; heaviness and death seem to overshadow, from which may the Lord in His time deliver us. We had a neighbouring family to dine us, which occasioned some hurry with us, but I hope no loss was sustained through any want of circumspection and attention to the sure Guide. I have often observed such visits turn to little profit, therefore I am in a state of fear when we have such: it is a fine thing to live with the Light, and so reflect it on others; may a holy growth in this concern be witnessed!

Eighth month 1st.—Our men's meeting was held this day; it was low in life and virtue, things went forward in a formal dry channel, little or no contention or opposition; but the spring being dammed up, the water of life had but a very weak and shallow current,—very hard therefore for business to go forward in the right line and authority!

7th.—First-day, at Limerick meeting; I had a season of deep exercise and labour, a low travail accompanied my mind a great part of the meeting; at last I felt the operation of the Word of life, which strengthened me to stand upon my feet; and as things opened, I dropped them, and life and strength increased by little and little, until my mind was filled with authority in the Power. "Be careful for nothing, but in everything by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God," "that the abundant grace may, through the thanksgiving of many, redound to the glory of God:"—exhorting to a humble waiting for the Power, to be made

capable to pray, and to pray as the Spirit directs and intercedes; for we know not how to pray as we ought, but as the spirit directs and makes intercession. In this state of waiting is true worship performed, and the more we practise it the more we delight in it; the less we practise it the more indifferent we become, our minds become darkened, clouded, and uneasy, the meeting is tiresome, we become negligent about attending to the hour appointed and long for it being broken up. Hence profession and opinion are substituted instead of religion and faith, and the outside show is kept up by some on a first-day, who think it a shame to stay at home, at least on first-day forenoon; taking hold as on the skirt of profession, saying we will eat our own bread and wear our own apparel, only let us be called by the name, to take away reproach: thus formality and profession stand in the place where reality and substance ought to live and preside.

Ninth month 27th.—At a meeting felt the sacred virtue of the holy Jesus to stir and bedew the mind; in which several renewed gospel intimations were opened to the view, and reverence and worship formed in the heart; to the praise of Him that lives for ever. In the afternoon read a portion of the Scriptures and some profitable experiences in J. Fothergill's journal.

Tenth month 4th.—Our week-day meeting; in which something weighty attended my mind respecting inquisition being made for blood, and as if blood would be required at the hand of some, who were deficient in their duty: that language uttered of old, sounded in my heart, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."—there was something awful in the [consideration], but it was not to be uttered; and the meeting ended in a degree of solemn quietude, in which was a bowing of the mind before Him who lives for ever. Afterwards I was at the adjournment of our meeting for business; in the afternoon had a select sitting with our elders, where freedom was used one with another, in imparting counsel and exciting to diligence in being exemplary, and to lead the family under our care in coming forward in their respective particulars in a religious inquiry and attention to their Christian duty.

16th.—First-day, felt my mind engaged under a sense of the prevalence of gospel virtue, to bear testimony to the Spirit of Truth, that had mercifully operated on my mind to turn it from the evil of my ways, when in folly and vanity, and the pernicious courses of unbridled youth. I felt my mind supported by faith that works by love, bearing me over opposition of spirit; and I had to put all in mind of their covenants, and that as the Lord kept covenant

with His people, He would expect it from them. My mind was sweetly sustained and refreshed; and the meeting ended in supplication to the Lord of mercy for preservation, deliverance, and support.

18th.—Our week-day meeting; through the whole, almost, intelligence seemed unsealed, but not in such a proportion of strength as gave ability to utter it; it was a profitable season to my own state, and ended in quietness and stillness of spirit. Afterwards I was busy about temporal occasions; dined abroad, and found an approach to a liberty of spirit that I fear dwells near danger. In the evening preparing for my journey to Leinster quarterly meeting.

22nd.—At Mountrath; the quarterly meeting for worship preceded that for discipline, in both of which the revelation of hidden treasure in Christ Jesus our Lord, was made manifest. Truth supported our minds, and a remnant bowed in awe before that Holy Throne of strength, which ministers strength to the humble seekers, who are weak and have no might of their own.

Eleventh month 13th.—First-day, at Dublin, where I had gone to attend our National meeting. We had a meeting to be commemorated; plain gospel truths were revived in authority, which being manifest, the spirits of some topping folks were, I believe, brought down and humbled. Ancient Goodness was pleased to extend one call more, which I humbly hope will be attended to, and received in mercy. A meeting of conference succeeded that of worship; when the negligent and forgetful were pressed home to their duties in the moving language of love. In the afternoon meeting we had another renewal of the same goodness and favour extended. It lived in my mind to put them in remembrance of the goodness of God extended to this day, to us as a people;—that we have been pruned, watered, and dug about from one year to another, waiting for fruit to appear; and if we remain still fruitless, I feared the language would be uttered, “Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?” I heard it intelligibly in this meeting; and though some may think their lofty branches may have much fruit on them, and towering up as to heaven; yet if it be the fruit of exaltation, imagination, and speculation, the Watcher and Holy One may be sent to cut it down. I had to encourage the lower order of the people to stand fast in that which had visited them, and they would be brought up as plants of the Lord’s right-hand planting, — they would be brought up in succession as useful, serviceable members in the Society and Church.

Twelfth month 2nd.—Our week-day meeting was a quiet refreshing season; towards

the latter part, life opened strong in my mind, and quickened ability to drop a few words by way of encouragement, diligently, distinctly, and intently to feel for the resurrection of life, which enables us to believe in the spiritual appearance of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who testified that “Whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die!”

#### CHAPTER VIII.

*Quarterly meeting at Waterford—attends the yearly meeting in London, 1765—also that of 1768, &c.*

1764, Sixth month 18th.—Attended the quarterly meeting at Waterford: in the meeting for worship the authority of Truth arose, and dispelled heaviness and cloudiness; it was a season of favour. The meeting for discipline was also attended with favour; counsel and advice were opened, and ability unsealed to carry forward and transact the business. In the afternoon I went to see some of my friends, and felt a concern to visit some of the families of Friends in this city; which others also feeling, we agreed to begin the next morning, and so continued in that service with daily renewings of power from on high, until the whole was accomplished, much to our satisfaction who were engaged therein; and breaking of bread was witnessed from house to house, to the praise of the excellent name of our God. A meeting for worship was held the sixth-day (the 21st,) as usual, which was a season to be remembered—the divine evidence replenishing, the fountain opening, as an excellent oil, increasing the light of our candle, abilitating to stand forth in the name and power of the Lord of Hosts.

Seventh month 11th and 12th.—Was pretty much taken up with temporals, yet favoured with so much recollection as to look inward: read a portion of the sacred writings, which generally leaves a liveness and relish on the mind to edification.

Eighth month 26th.—First-day; in the forenoon meeting I had some refreshing openings, and it ended with a short testimony in a degree of living authority: I was concerned to exhort against resorting to theatrical amusements, and entering into the congregation of the dead; for the apostle declares that they who live in pleasure are dead while they live:—mentioned the hurtful consequence, and the tendency it has to poison the minds of the youth, giving them a disrelish for things sacred and religious, and throwing them into a state of lightness and a love for things and books that do not profit. In the evening I was concerned to exhort the youth to read the Scrip-



tures, that their minds may be impressed and furnished with the happy experiences of the righteous; exhorted parents to remember the wise man's advice, to train up a child in the way he should walk;—and much depends upon *judicious training*.

Ninth month 3rd.—Our men's meeting; in which little life stirred: some remarks were made in some degree of good will to the cause, but the water was scarcely sufficient to bear up above its surface, to breathe for succour and preservation in the Lord's cause and work, and to stand steadfast in every dispensation.

8th.—This day in some conflict of mind in the forenoon: went to the meeting of ministers and elders, which was dry and husky: in answering the queries a degree of light and strength arose, to exhort to diligence and inward attention to the Lord's work and service. Had to speak a little of the sickly state of the Society, and that it reached some of the members of that meeting. Returned in some degree of quietness, and read a little of best instruction.

Tenth month 27th.—Went to Clonmel to our province meeting; on the 28th and 29th meetings of worship were held: my mind was bowed under a renewed sense of the Lord's mercy and loving-kindness extended; the meeting of business was in degree satisfactory, and the affairs of our province harmoniously conducted.

Eleventh month 1st.—Proceeded to Dublin to attend the National meeting. 3rd. Our National meeting of ministers and elders; in which Friends were measurably favoured with the extendings of divine help, to worship Him that lives for ever.

4th.—The meetings for worship were owned with the revealing of light and life; the testimony of Truth went forth in authority, and the Power was manifested to be in dominion.

5th, 6th and 7th.—Our business was conducted in brotherly affection and nearness, a travail was witnessed for the good of the body, and some steps were gained, I hope, conducive thereto.

Twelfth month 8th.—I got well home, for which, through the continued help and assistance of a gracious God, for every favour, blessing, and benefit administered, may thanksgiving and praise be ascribed now and for ever!

11th.—At our week-day meeting in Cork, in which I had some sweet openings, but not for the people;—a nourishing solemnity was over the meeting, in which frame it ended.

1765, Third month 25th, 26th, and 27th.—At home endeavouring to forward my business, in order to be the sooner able to leave home, and single myself out for the work in which I

apprehend myself measurably engaged: though very poor and weak, yet the Lord is strong; to whom belongs dominion, power, and praise! He can strengthen the weakest of his creation in his own cause, and raise them up, to their own admiration and that of others.

Fifth month 4th to the 9th.—Our National meeting at Dublin; our friends Isaac Gray and John Townsend from England were there, and their service was very acceptable; the virtue of life prevailed amongst us, and the family were refreshed by its holy influence; for which the Lord who works deliverance, was praised, magnified, and adored.

10th.—Myself and wife took shipping for England, and landing the 12th, set forward for London. It is to be noted that in this journey we lodged at Whitechurch, and as I went up stairs to go to bed, I felt my mind very much affected with a sense of fire; which caused me to open the window twice before I lay down, to look out and see what distance it was to the ground from the chamber where we lay, in case of fire. The reason of mentioning this is, that in a little time after, we had it in the public papers that two parts of this town were burnt, and some part of this very inn where we put up, according to intelligence received. This circumstance manifests the favour extended to mortals by those intimations given in the mind as a forewarning, and encouraging to look for succour in that Power which can abate the force of fire, being a refuge from storms and tempests, and a security against the deepest and most powerful trials: well is it for them who trust in this munition!

I attended the yearly meeting in London, in which there was much unanimity amongst Friends; the body was edified and the Great Lord of the harvest praised: after it was concluded, I stayed in and round London, visiting my friends and such meetings as I felt my mind drawn unto, until the 21st of sixth month; when I set forward towards Chester, and taking shipping the 27th, got well to Dublin the 29th.

Seventh month 2nd.—Attended the week-day meeting at Meath street, where was brought the corpse of innocent honest Gharrett Van Hassen: Elizabeth Hutchinson was there and had good service, and I may say it was a season when divine refreshment was unsealed; also at the burying ground, testimony was borne to the innocent pious life of the deceased, as well as to the necessity there is for the living to prepare for death.

Eighth month 5th.—Our men's meeting at Cork; in which I had some close remarks on the indolence of parents, in exemplifying their children in waiting before the Lord for the incomes of his heavenly presence, and reading



the Scriptures on first-day evenings; instead thereof they were little festival seasons, when young people got together and were exercised in unprofitable conversation: also exhorted some of the elders who were near the brink of immortality to seek to that which quickens and enlivens to live to the Lord Almighty.

Eleventh month 22nd.—A satisfactory season at meeting, feeling towards the conclusion a cry to arise in my soul for mercy and preservation, and that it might be extended to others also.

23rd.—This day pretty busy outwardly, and in the evening reviewing some past steppings; may my future ones be ordered by my great Master, and may my attention be often turned towards his holy counsel, which proceeds from the pure Spirit of Truth, that leads and guides its faithful followers into all truth.

1766, First month 28th.—Our week-day meeting; in which I felt a few sentences to impress my mind, which I dropped, to my renewed consolation and peace of heart; and indeed the savour of Truth rested so on my mind this day and the preceding, that poverty and leanness, so much my portion of late, seemed as nothing, and my spirit was taught to magnify that Power that changes the wilderness into a fruitful field, and causes the parched ground to become a pool of water.

Glanmire, 16th Second month, 1766.

DEAR FRIEND,—I received thy acceptable lines of the 31st instant. I thought I should soon hear from thee by the pointing of my mind so frequently that way, with some degree of brotherly nearness, which I am thankful to feel spring in my mind to any of the brotherhood, and particularly those I most intimately communed with in spirit when under the early distillation, in the spiritual journey, of that rain that moistens and softens, and where it penetrates, makes all green and beautiful. I sometimes look back with thankful admiration at the turning of that holy Hand that was put forth to steady and balance our stepping, to cause care to spread over our minds, and to stain the beauty of terrestrials in our view, and which at the same time attracted our minds upwards: we were then loosened, shook from our dens of carnal ease, pleasures, and security, and went forward prevailing, having the brook for our stay, and the bread for our staff. This was a time of love, shower after shower, the ground was prepared, and the seed sown. The query is to my own soul with my visited brethren, What is the fruit that has appeared? Verily I have feared for myself and for them, many of them, we are like Ephraim, an empty vine, bringing forth fruit unto ourselves, after such beginnings, when the lan-

guage was, "If thou wilt be with me in the way which I go, give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, thou shalt be my God and I will serve thee." The deficient part is on our side, for many of us are too much contented with serving ourselves, and only giving a small part of our attention to the service of Him that requires the whole heart; and indeed if our hearts were but enough pursuing the one thing needful, they would be so replenished with wisdom and understanding, as to be awakened to greater degrees of vigilance in a life of righteousness. I heartily and earnestly desire we may, dear friend, look about us, see what is required of us, after looking to our own garments; whether any stain appearing on them may prevent our approaching the distempered of the flock, who are very apt to evade the probe by an obvious stain or scar appearing on the physician or his deputy. I really fear we are a withering people in this land; former experience is not to be depended on; literal rules and laws, however exactly observed, will not carry on the work, nor stand in the gaps that appear in so many places in the wall, but in the boundings of that life that has judgment, mercy and justice. I am jealous that if we have not some raised up in the spirit of Phineas, who was zealous for his God, and by his zeal made an atonement for the people when the plague was begun in the camp, we shall have many wrong things to break in amongst us, and perhaps through some that may appear as princes amongst the people. Many of the sins that crept in amongst Israel formerly, were through the priests and the princes, and whenever the distemper catches the first rank it soon spreads amongst the host. May the Lord our God stir up the pure mind in each of his visited children, that their chief and principal care may be in looking to the law and testimony; for as we honour this, and prefer it before our chiefest joy, a blessing accompanies the exercise and care, and we grow in heavenly riches. And where the eye is turned to accumulate earthly riches, it slides into a state of indifference as to the vitals of religion, a superficial care seems visible; when convenience will admit, services are performed; and so dimness, drowsiness, and death prevail. This is very much the state of the churches in many places, and sorrowfully so in this quarter: may the Lord Almighty cause light to break upon us that we may be delivered from every death!—May the good Spirit work all our works in us, and for us, that we lack nothing of that weight of glory, which will entitle us to sing amongst the sons of God a song of salvation and victory. My heart nearly and warmly salutes thee, &c., &c., which continues me thy affectionate and real friend,

SAMUEL NEALE.

Glanmire, 4th of fourth month, 1766.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Thine I received with affectionate nearness. Let me write or speak to thee sometimes a little closely, I have nothing in it but good-will. I desire the same freedom may be used to me; we ought to be as spurs one to the other to quicken our care and diligence, when in our domestic lots we are ready to be tinctured with worldly cares, that to this day choke the seed of the kingdom, hindering our seeing in such a degree of clearness as if we waited more deeply and attentively for the unsealing of that spring which is the believer's satisfaction. Specious are the excuses always at hand, which the pilgrim is apt to join with, to multiply a little more liberty to the carnal part, that deserves death by denial. I speak my own experience, and perhaps it is also my friends, and is it not our duty, and ought to be our principal care, to search after death upon self; the more we abstain from it and save its head, the harder work we make in the end, and the longer the glorious design of existence is baffled. I often eye the path, by having the view opened to me, in which the Christian ought to walk; it is strait and narrow, but purity may pass it; the greater mixture we have, the more difficult I see it plainly, and this makes this path so much avoided, and so destitute of travellers. Some would willingly walk in it provided they could introduce such and such beloveds; they are too cumbersome and cannot abide the glory of this path, are in a dying condition whilst in it, and this I believe is the cause why so many leave it and turn again to the beggarly elements; [who] after beginning in the spirit, they think to be made perfect by the flesh. Or after knowing the day of the Lord to come upon those things that were as pleasant pictures or fenced towers, where they had fortified themselves, think they may take greater liberties now as they grow in experience, and so are for erecting a standard of their own, assigning limits and bounds to themselves, forgetting the covenant, "If thou wilt be with me, give me food and raiment," &c.; little served in the day of infancy, now it is multiplied beyond expectation, and for the utility of the search a reason assigned. My mind, on taking a view of the visited in this nation, has been distressed. I include my own state with them; 'had we all been more honest to our feelings, I am persuaded we should be more established; and yet I know there are still several who love the Lord, and delight in feeling after His presence when easily come at: but by much watching they become weary and faint in their minds, seek for relief in their earthly enjoyments; and so slide by little from that dependence that craves bread from the Divine treasury. The Lord is just and equal in all his ways; He rewards in

due season the devoted, honest and industrious; though He may seem to tarry long, yet when He comes his reward is with Him, and He is glorious in his arising, for He scatters every enemy. There are that would be heirs of two kingdoms; but this cannot be, we must relinquish one or the other; and there is this encouragement for holding to the kingdom of righteousness, that every necessary thing will be added.—Life seems less in dominion in our meetings, the people less attentive I think to their duties, and lethargy prevails; leprosy has appeared where light had its abode, so that I am ready to fear we shall scarcely be a people to administer the law. We have been visited by Ann Kenyon from Liverpool, her service seemed to awaken and arouse, and show she was much in the state of our meeting: according to my judgment, she seems to carry a sharp weapon, and yet wins the people. After her came dear William Reckitt, who staid with us a week; the authority and virtue of Truth accompanies him, and an ornamental conduct sets home his doctrine. Our united love is to you both, my dear friends, also to thy father, mother, and others in thy freedom, which continues me in stedfast friendship thy near friend,  
SAMUEL NEALE.

Seventh month 21st.—This day employed about my outward concerns;—my mind was in a state of toil,—had but very little time in retirement, felt inward poverty and a real want of bread.

22nd.—Engaged as yesterday, the mind a little more free and less susceptible of the stripings of that heavenly clothing, which is its strength and beauty.

23rd and 24th.—Much employed about my outward affairs; sometimes felt a desire spring up to be more sustained by grace, which quickened prayer to intercede for it in a short ejaculation.

1768, Fifth month 11th.—After having attended the National meeting in Dublin, I embarked for Holyhead, and landing safely, attended many meetings prior to being at the yearly meeting in London: visited divers meetings and Friends in that city; returned through part of Scotland to the north of Ireland, taking meetings in many places; and on the 16th of ninth month, got well home, after a long absence: thanks to the mercy of an holy all gracious Providence, who lives and reigns for ever! Favour and mercy have been extended to me through this journey; for which may a fresh dedication of soul and spirit to the Lord's service attend me to the latest period of my life.

1769, Third month 15th.—Indisposed by a cold and rheumatic pain; but by applying some simple things found relief, which I look upon as



a favour from heaven; for any abatement of pain and misery cannot be obtained but by the mediation and interposition of that which is superior to the disorders of nature; and this is in the administration of the mercy of our God, who has endued one part of the creation (plants, medicines, &c.) with virtue to counteract that which is suffered to distress mankind, as pain, sickness, &c.: therefore the Lord our God is still merciful, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth.

16th, 17th, and 18th.—Still at home and rather better: had several of my friends to call on me: read several experiences, all I hope tending to profit. Felt some painful conflict from the counteracting of a spirit that has worked its own downfall by rebellion, and has lain sore on me at times for discharging myself with honesty and integrity; I have thought it was permitted in the wisdom and mercy of the Lord my God, to bring me more and more to lean on him, the eternal Rock of strength; that His presence and power may be my rock, refuge, and stay, in every strait and difficulty.

19th.—I was at meeting, in which I felt quietude, and in the conclusion some little matter was impressed on my mind as a caution to drop with respect to associating with the spirit and temper of the world; and I had to show how contrary it is to Christ's doctrine, who said,—“If ye were of the world, the world would love its own, but because I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.” Those therefore that are joined to the spirit of the world, cannot be disciples of Jesus; whose kingdom is not of this world.

Fourth month 2nd.—First-day, was at both meetings; the forenoon meeting was dull, large, and heavy, on account of the inattention of many barren professors. In the latter part I had a testimony to bear against double-mindedness,—the iniquity of it in religious matters being very apparent to my mind; even amongst men in civil affairs it was very deformed and mis-shapen. Hypocrisy and deceit are inconsistent with the nature of religion and virtue; no appearance of sanctity should shelter wrong actions, as the nature of the crime was displayed in the character of Ananias and his wife Sapphira, who out of appearance and show sold their land, but retained some of the price for sinister views, which was not unknown to the apostle, nor to that glorious Power they thought in part to serve, and for their double-mindedness they lost their lives; as many now do their spiritual lives, who cloak themselves with hypocrisy and deceit.

30th.—First-day; both meetings very full, not much said by way of testimony: the unsealing of the fountain is only in the will of Him, who is the Life, Light and strength, and

when He is pleased His servants should be silent; may they ever be so!

Sixth month 6th.—Went to Kinsale to be at an appointed meeting for Sarah Taylor and Alice Rigg, from England, which was pretty large and the people sober, considering the youth that were present, who were unacquainted with the nature of the cross of Christ, and very restless in their own places of worship. On the whole things were well, and I trust the Great name was glorified. In the afternoon I was at the funeral of A. F. with the above Friends; where was a great concourse of people, who behaved rudely and indecently in endeavouring to get into the grave-yard before the proper time: the testimony of Truth went forth in demonstration and power. This man A. F., was well gifted, well-accounted, and a serviceable man in his younger days; but by being made too much use of by Friends in the several offices of the church, he took too much upon him, became rather exalted, and did not abide enough in the lowly, self-denying life of Truth; by which his spirit became too sufficient of himself, and his sufficiency was not enough of God and the Spirit of His Son. The fall of man is by little and little, not all at once; his departure is established as he forgets the rock from whence he was hewn, and the hole of the pit from whence he was digged; wrong is substituted for right, and error for truth; a lording spirit prevails, and so the poor creature falls into delusion, even to believe a lie! May the harms of others be the warning of us, as a people who profess godliness; that we may by standing close and low, as in the bottom of Jordan, be kept alive unto the Lord God and the Lamb, bringing up stones of memorial to the praise and salvation of our God; Amen! A. F. was a man of good capacity, good-natured to a large degree, and was very compliant and obliging, which made him much beloved by those of others as well as our own Society. An inclination to gratify a passion which has overthrown many, was his foible; and though it began by a seeming temperance, yet habit confirmed a love for it, and so by little and little the passion strengthened as it was gratified, and became master of the man; which increased so powerfully, as to weaken and enfeeble his love for God and man. The good cause he once delighted in, and was an advocate for, he neglected, and so was bound to his Delilah, by which he became dim if not totally blind with respect to spiritual sight and discerning; thus he lost his place in the mystical body, and became a fruitless branch in the Lord's vineyard! May the sight and sense of such objects as this arouse us to vigilance and diligence, that in the end we may be blessed with a mansion in the realms of light and immortality!

Seventh month 23rd.—This afternoon the prospect of a former opening affected my mind, accompanied by these words: “No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom.” My heart, I hope, is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty; I think I am willing to be anything or to do anything, when I am truly sensible it is required, and that I feel strength for it. May all fruit be fully ripe before it be plucked, or handed forth to others! This prospect has often appeared to me within these ten years past, and I hope I may be enabled to say,—“Not my will, but thine be done!”

Eighth month 16th.—This day, poor and low in spirit; the view of distant labour and exercise is affecting, but I hope to be resigned, even to death.

Ninth month 21st.—Went to Limerick, and was next day at a meeting for worship, which preceded their meeting for business. The queries were answered when men and women Friends were present; and they were spoken to in the openings of Truth, and the advantages and disadvantages pointed out attending faithfulness and unfaithfulness, consistency and inconsistency: on the whole it was to satisfaction.

23rd, 24th and 25th.—I attended the quarterly meeting there: the meetings for worship were dull and heavy, on account of the languid state of many in profession amongst us;—the carnal security, the ease, the formality of some, were hurtful to the youth, and destructive to the real religious advancement of the soul in righteousness and truth; many close things were spoken in the tenderness of love, and the meeting for discipline was I hope to edification.

Stayed in Limerick until the 3rd of the tenth month, visiting the families of Friends by appointment of the quarterly meeting. Afterwards I visited Friends of Ross meeting, and though they are poor and lean every way, the visit was much to my satisfaction: we were many times filled with the virtue of Truth, in which we ministered to the states we visited; many were reached, and several roused, which I trust will prove effectual to some to be what they should be: we were deeply baptized on their account. I am firmly of opinion it will stand against them in the great day of account, if they turn not to an amendment of life and to Him who died for them and all mankind. I had much peace in conforming to this secret impulse and inward draft of duty, and this day's work crowned I thought the whole,—blessed be the name of Israel's King forever, who replenishes, sustains and rewards all those who are faithful to the law and commandment revealed in the heart. Returned home with my dear wife, the 3rd and 4th of tenth month, and found my family and affairs as much to my satisfaction

as I could expect, which I always do when abroad in the service of the Great Master,—to whom be praise and adoration ascribed for ever.

Twelfth month 23rd.—Attended our meeting for ministers and elders: things stirred in the life to our mutual comfort, and testimony was borne to the mercy and goodness of a gracious God; who sometimes by his love works on us, as on Aaron's rod, by making it bud, blossom and bring forth ripe almonds in one night, though before in a state of dryness; and it is the Divine Power still, that quickens and makes us alive in the church, by which we live unto God. As He has chosen us for His work, let us not entangle ourselves with the inordinate cares of this life, that we may, as good soldiers, please Him the holy Captain.

26th.—If we would but keep little and low enough, we should be a favoured people, for the Lord delights in the humble and low in heart. He does not reveal himself to the high, the wise, and the prudent of this world: for the apostle says not many of these are called; “for God has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the wise, and things that are not, to bring to naught things that are, that no flesh may glory in His presence:”—and the reason to me is very plain, because the wise, the strong and the prudent, depending much on their own parts and powers, are not willing to be chosen, and so remain contentedly in a state of unrenewed nature, without having it subdued and brought under by the power of grace.

29th.—The meeting at Cork was rather a dull one; though I had some openings, and some little access in spirit to that holy table, which is always richly furnished for all ranks and classes of the people, of whatsoever constitutions they may be, if but real children, born of the incorruptible Seed, and growing in it from stature to stature.

1770, Second month 5th.—This day about domestic affairs, in which I had some intervals of reflection to look towards an inheritance amongst the children of light; some glimpses of a very important nature, in which I trust I stand resigned: read some instructive experiences in the evening.

Third month 14th and 15th.—These two days engaged about my domestic concerns; in which I was much taken up, preparing to leave home with ease and propriety. Weight and depression are very much my attendants from a variety of considerations: at times I am easy and thankful, and sometimes I hope living closer to the Life that quickens and makes alive: but harassing cares retard, and yet again I am sometimes sensible that business within bounds, is healthful both for body and mind. May the strength of sacred aid and instruction be revealed, to support and sustain through the



ups and downs I am to pass through in this low world, that at last I may centre in peace and safety in a glorious hereafter!

20th.—This day we appointed a meeting for our youth, and had several minutes read to them, in which service we felt strength and instruction renewed; for which I trust we shall return the praise where due. In the evening we began the family visit, and were favoured with a fresh seal, that the Lord our God owns this service in His church and amongst His people. We went forward in this laborious work till the 31st, in which the mercy and sustaining help of a gracious Helper were witnessed, to the mutual refreshment of those who were engaged in this work; in several places manifest proofs were given that it had a good effect. O! that it may not be like the morning cloud and early dew, that quickly pass away! It was a time of renewing of light and strength; some were harnessed into this service, though young in the work, which I trust will bind them to the law and testimony, not to put it off!

Fourth month 1st.—Attended our meetings to-day, in which I was concerned in testimony: the afternoon meeting was the most satisfactory both as to life and testimony; the early beginners in the work of purification were encouraged, even those whose warfare was but just beginning, and their fuel for the inward fire, green and strong, the action of which frequently gives pain: but as this day of trial is endured, it works the great work of humiliation, and then sanctification, which leads to such a state of subordination and resignation as fits for the image and stamp of purity. Returned home in the evening easy and thankful in spirit.

2nd.—I feel great sinking and depression of spirit, under the exercise that daily attends me, in looking towards a distant land: the season seems not far off, that I must move, in acquainting my friends thereof. May saving help animate to give all up, and may it attend my progress, that at last I may have the answer of "Well done!" I often look at my weakness for so great a work, but may obedience be willingly kept pace with, that my great Lord may be followed in His leadings, even into suffering, into baptism, yea, into death! that life and immortality may be attained in the end.

12th.—This day engaged about my domestic affairs, which I attended to with diligence, in preparing to leave them; as it is the indispensable duty of all to order their families in such a manner as to be the better capable of leaving them, when the word of command comes with force and authority.

15th.—At an adjournment of our men's meeting, I informed Friends of the concern I

had long felt, to visit some of the meetings of Friends in North America; which concern affected the minds of divers, and indeed very much tendered my own, from the weight and importance of the engagement, which has attended me for so long a time, both by day and by night, in sickness and in health. It was taken into consideration, and an appointment made to draw up a certificate.

23rd.—Our men's meeting was held this day, where my certificate was signed for my visit to the continent of America; in which meeting I had to mention my feelings respecting the same in much brokenness, with an exhortation to my friends to endeavour each to discharge themselves faithfully in the Lord's service, and to endeavour to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man; that so a crown of life may be their portion at last!

Fifth month 5th.—At Dublin; our meeting of ministers and elders was held as usual previous to the National half-year's meeting: the breaking of bread was mercifully known, and the living a little enriched by Divine Goodness [and encouraged] to hold on their way. In this meeting I laid my concern before Friends respecting my intention of visiting America, in which sympathy seemed to circulate; an appointment was made to draw up a certificate. My mind was much affected in feeling the weight of this exercise and laying it before Friends; however, I felt much ease in my friends having the concern laid before them.

6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th.—The meetings were held in course; the weighty and helping sense of Truth was mercifully witnessed to circulate amongst us, the living were comforted, and the forgetful reminded of their duty; on the whole it was a blessed helping season to some of the feeble-minded, whose faith was but low and their spring almost dried up.

Seventh month 14th.—This day had a most sweet and comfortable opportunity in company with our dear English Friends Jane Crossfield and Jane Routh, tending to great encouragement in my present prospect: we were mercifully sustained and replenished with a shower of Divine love, in which it may be truly said our affections were raised to things above, which are enduring and exalted. May every favour and blessing received establish our faith in that Power which is stronger than death!

31st.—In much pain from a rheumatic disorder:—the beauties of creation, prosperity and even social intercourse are shaded with clouds of darkness in the dominion of pain of body; a quickness of feeling remote from patience is apt to attend, in which seasons we are always less amiable to those we have heretofore been very dear to; may every dispensation be blessed to us, that it may work for good, and point

to the path which leads to holiness; that by pursuing it through every trial and besetment, we may be established for ever in eternal life and light!

Eighth month 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th.—These four days in a state of conflict, restless, and uneasy; rather freer from pain than the week before: a very little thing disorders this machine: what poor beings mortals are when grieved by sickness and pain; it eminently shows where our dependence ought to be, and that nothing more distinguishingly relieves than placing our trust on the Lord's arm of everlasting help, with whom there is health for sickness, light for darkness, and the breaking in of peaceful serenity for the most annoying affliction.

20th.—Preparing to go on board ship; felt tranquil in spirit, and quite easy with respect to all things in nature; it is the work of grace; nothing short of its virtue could reduce to submission and subjection; and cause an entire relinquishing of things temporal, to follow after things that are eternal. The work is the Lord's and the praise and glory of all be ascribed to his great Name; who is worthy to be renowned by every generation of man, for His mercies endure for ever!

#### TO ROBERT DUDLEY.

Glanmire, 20th of Eighth month, 1770.

DEAR FRIEND,—I had thy letter in answer to mine, which gave me pleasure in various respects; thy commemoration of the favours and blessings of heaven dispensed to thee in thy infant state, when like Jacob thou went from thy Father's house, only with thy staff; and now thou art become two bands, by the shedding of the blessings on thy head, which, as lived under, will increase and multiply still to greater degrees of dominion.

Be attentive therefore, dear friend, to the motion of Light; suffer thyself to be girded by the holy girdle, and thy back will be strengthened for work, thy standing will be pronounced sure by thy stability, and thy head will be covered in the day of battle. I am not insensible how men are attacked by the grand enemy: if he fails when he have them in one position, he attempts to draw them from it, to another, with a view to better success. If the banner be over us, in the limitation assigned by the Guardian Angel of preservation, let us keep under it, and we shall be secure; the enemy will not be able to prevail against us, when we have the glorious fence of the Lord's appointment.

There are seasons when the affectionate part is up in man, and proposes things agreeable to nature in ourselves, that we are ready to comply with: this sometimes makes the way intri-

cate to ourselves; for when we bring it to the standard to be tried, it is deficient in weight and purity, and will not pass the trial before the Judge. I have missed in this respect; therefore I drop the caution to my friend, to beware of giving expectation, before it is tried in the balance of the sanctuary,—kings' children should always preserve their dignity, by taking heed how they mix among the people, and their associations and alliance ought to be with the royal lineage; in this the King of kings is honoured and our own dignity preserved. I do not mean this with respect to thy present depending affair in England; I mean with respect to others, whom we converse with and are sometimes amongst, both male and female, though it may hold good in both.

There are many more talkers of the Truth, than walkers in it, whose mouth flatters, and whose tongues are their own, and ought to be stopped: though they appear to be something in word and show, when they come into their ranks and appear among the disciplined army, they are not noticed or sent forth against the Goliaths of the day; it is only those who are anointed and appointed, armed and accoutred, that can face the battle.

May we, dear friend, dwell with the consuming virtue of the Spirit; that we may still be refined. I would just say, with respect to the present depending affair, do not be too hasty or precipitate; weigh it,—and ever remember, that he that believes, makes not haste; there are many things to be looked at,—thy place, thy friend's place: things with a fair face of prospect, may be shaded with a gloom; sweet things in enjoyment, may change to bitter, like the book we read of, that was in the mouth sweet (the palate) but was in the belly, bitter. I would not cast anything before thee, to embarrass or overwhelm,—but simply speak my feelings. Relinquishing for the cause, in our affections, enriches often, in a spiritual and temporal sense, and it is often tenfold restored. It was said in the recapitulation of the many blessings dispensed to David, after showing him what he was, “and if this had not been enough, I would have done much more.” This was done when he was taken off his watch, and suffered his affections to sport with a beauteous object, which in the end, made him flee before his enemy. This thou may think not similar to thy present state,—yet it points to obedience, the dedication and consecration that ought to attend a being [who is] raised to eminence by the interposition of a Supreme Power, in order to show forth His praise in him.

The satisfaction resulting from thy letter on this subject, was great, because, with respect to a removal, in looking at it, I think thou tells me, thou never saw light shine upon it; this satis-



faction arises from my being of the same sentiment, and one in judgment, when most capable of judging, and to feel for myself and my friends. Let this affair therefore, be hewn and squared in the mount, before it is adopted; and let there be no sound of an artificial tool in bringing it about, that the substituting a member from one part of the body to another, may be the Lord's work, and then it will be useful and to the comfort and edification of the body, the church. I sympathize with thee and thy friend: I love you both in the Truth; and my desire is, that you may be conducted in wisdom in bringing it forward, or in finally letting it drop; and for every sacrifice thus made, it will be amply made up by the replacing of one in its stead, in which your acceptance will stand, your faith be confirmed, and your righteousness be proved, as was faithful Abraham's. I am now, dear friend, on the eve of my departure. I stole this little season from hurry to converse with thee, and tell thee how I have felt: my things are all gone on board, and on the morrow I expect to embark. A letter from John Oxley informs me, his brother expected to get clear of the land, about the 5th instant, by a letter received, so that we may have some expectation to meet; if at all soon, in the western world. A correspondence with thee will be agreeable, as a little intelligence in a strange land is very pleasing to pilgrims. I should have been pleased to hear what thou intends, and how thou feels with respect to going over the water soon. Keep thy integrity, and put thyself in seeking [keeping] of a faithful Creator, that sleeps not by day, nor slumbers by night: consider thyself at his disposal,—not man's, of any kind, neither R. Dudley, nor any other man, that is but flesh, consequently frail. Farewell!—may wisdom and knowledge be the stability of thy time whilst on earth; and may the fear of the Lord prove thy glory,—in which desire, I remain thy truly loving friend.

SAMUEL NEALE.

#### CHAPTER IX.

*He sails for America eighth month, 1770—Landed tenth month near Philadelphia—Accompanies Joseph Oxley—Travels extensively amongst Friends in the Southern States—Returns to Philadelphia—Attends the yearly meeting there, 1771.*

[Samuel Neale sailed from Cork about the 22nd of eighth month, 1770; but his intended companion Joseph Oxley sailed from the Thames towards the end of the seventh month, and reached New York about the 22nd of ninth month, about a month before Samuel Neale ar-

rived near Philadelphia.—See *Joseph Oxley's Journal*, Friends' Library, vol. v.]

I felt the incomes of Divine love sweetly sustaining my mind; my heart was humbled in a sense of the mercies and goodness of God daily renewed; and I felt ability to beg for preservation and stability in the arduous work I am preparing to enter upon. The Lord grant that there may be an entire dedication of heart, so as to be capable to stand in my place, and whatever may be cast up for me to do, that I may do it to the honour of His great Name. Composure and trust in the Lord's arm of power, are my attendants, for which I bless his name.

[He again writes.]—Composed in mind, from a sense of inward peace, and the unity of my brethren whom I have left behind; this is a staff to lean upon in the midst of trials, and, next to Divine favour, one of the greatest blessings. [At another time:]—Was rather low from various considerations,—the weight of the work and the inexperience of the instrument. I trust I shall be preserved little and low.

[It appears that he passed much of his time, while on ship-board, in reading the Scriptures, and the writings of valuable Friends, to his comfort and edification.

Near the conclusion of the voyage, he felt an inclination to have a religious meeting with the ship's company, but, by giving way to discouraging thoughts, he let the opportunity slip: which he had cause to regret, and remarked: "I hope experience will teach greater degrees of obedience."

When they had safely come near land, he wrote:] I trust I am thankful for the Lord's mercies and favours daily dispensed, and can say in humility, I have not murmured since my coming on board; but have been mercifully preserved in a sense of His goodness. I hope for this blessing to be continued, that according to ability, I may labour in the vineyard, and work the works of Him who has called me with his high and holy calling.

[He landed the 18th of tenth month, 1770, at Newcastle, near Philadelphia.]

#### TO A FRIEND.\*

Philadelphia, 24th tenth month, 1770:

DEAR FRIEND,—Having opportunity to send a few lines as a token of my remembrance of thee, I embrace it. After a passage of eight weeks, from my own house to making of land on this continent, I safely arrived the 18th instant, and the 20th reached Philadelphia; met my companion and several Friends on the road, amongst others Samuel Emlen; it was a pleasing meeting, after a confinement amongst the

\* Addressed probably to his friend Richard Shackleton.

ship's crew and a number of servants and passengers. The captain was remarkably kind, and made me a sort of commander in the vessel. My mind was mercifully sustained, and I seldom murmured at my lot or the alteration of weather, though we had a few hard gales. Sometimes as we ran to the southward it was extremely warm, the like I had not before felt.

I have been at four meetings in this city, three on first-day and one week-day meeting, besides some opportunities in families. the Divine Arm, that separated me from my family, friends and country, was mercifully revealed to encourage and confirm; so that my spirit said, good is the Lord,—He is worthy of being followed and obeyed, for His promises are yea and amen forever! My companion is bright and living, and has been united to me in the springings of life, that disperses death and darkness. I trust, if it be consistent with Divine disposal, we may be permitted to go together and enjoy each other's company in the wilderness, and amongst the various, perils to be encountered in a visit to the churches at this day: if not, may we be both capable of saying, "Thy will be done." Friends here are very numerous, seem solid and weighty, have an ear open to hear, which is a great help to those who are at times concerned to speak. When we have more experience of the state of things by baptisms, we can be better qualified to judge. My old friend and companion [William Brown?] seemed greatly pleased to see me, received me with much nearness and affection, and I was pleased to see him look so well, for to me he seemed to look as well as when he was in Ireland, and almost as young. John Churchman I hear is pretty well, and Susannah Lightfoot; Joseph White but poorly. I lodge at John Pemberton's, who seems to me a very valuable Friend. There sailed a Friend for Europe a few days before my arrival, his name Robert Willis, on a religious visit; and two women propose to set forward next spring, Sarah Morris of this city, and Elizabeth Smith, valuable, serviceable members of Society;—such is that love, which draws hither and thither, which is stronger than death.

My dear friends will not I hope forget me, when it is well with them, I have felt some of them in much nearness, when on the mighty waters; may nothing ever be able to burst the bond of fellowship formed by the creating virtue of Truth; that when nature fails, and all outward affinity is dissolved, we may rest for ever in the mansions of light and rest. I have often thought few, very few in such weakness were ever sent on such an errand as myself; but yet as those are filled with the life that brings immortality, and they keep in their own proper spheres, their reward will be proportioned to

their faithfulness, which will give quietness and assurance forever; this is what I earnestly aim at, and hope to follow after; and thus, whether I ever be united to my Friends in Ireland again, or lay down the body here, it may be well.

Farewell, beloved friend; salute from me thy dear wife and father, whom I much love in the Truth; I trust you will remember the state of the Society in poor Ireland, and move backwards and forwards where instrumental help is wanting. Many have turned their back as in the day of battle,—many have fallen short of what they essayed to pursue in the day of espousals, and have fallen into the grave of the riches of this world, and some into the corruptions and vices thereof; and some again have fallen as upon Mount Gilboa, the destructive barren waste; where even at this day the beauty of Israel is slain and destroyed! Gird up thy loins, dear friend; break forth on the right hand and left; and remember the crown is at the end of the race.

My love salutes thy children, I ardently desire they may follow the footsteps of the flock; and then they will be led beside the Shepherd's tent.

I remain in true nearness and cordial affection, thy loving friend in truth,

SAMUEL NEALE.

[It appears that he paid a very extensive and acceptable visit to Friends in North America, in which he was diligently engaged till the time of his departure, the 10th of eighth month, 1772. Many instructive remarks are contained in his account of this journey and visit; and by the following extracts, it is evident that he was favoured with best help in the course of his labours, and felt the sweet incomes of peace on his return home.]

1770, Tenth month 21st.—Philadelphia, first-day, I was at three meetings: the morning meeting was a season of much refreshment to my mind; the afternoon meeting was solid; and that in the evening was attended with impressions of Divine favour, which raised thankfulness in my heart: the Lord our God is gracious and merciful.

1771, First month 15th.—Set out for Bush River, [South Carolina] accompanied by Samuel Millhouse, J. T., and W. L.; my companion, [Joseph Oxley] did not go with us, being prevented by a kick from his horse, which bruised him very much. It rained all day very hard; we stopped to eat a little food in the woods, and took off our coats to cover our saddles while the horses were feeding, we could not get a house to put them in. We rode until night came on, and lost our way in the woods; with some difficulty we got to a man's house, who gave us lodging in the best manner he could.



He had a very large family, who did with little clothing. We had our own provision, he let us have one bed, and gave fodder for the rest to lie on the floor. The 16th we set forward, swam our horses over two creeks, and crossed one large ferry called Broad River, and so got well to the widow Sliddon's, in all about eighty miles. The 17th, to a meeting at Bush River, in which was delivered very close home doctrine to several states present. The 20th, being first-day, the meeting was very large, the house not being capable to contain near all the people: we sat a long time silent, my mind was clothed with poverty. I was sensible of a strong desire in the people for words, and this seemed to be denied them, in which state the Lord was pleased to bring my mind into contentment. When I gave up my will to His, and resigned my mind to travail on in silence, He was pleased sweetly to compose my spirit, to replenish it with His love, and gave ability to answer the service of the meeting. Several were refreshed, some were encouraged, the negligent stirred up, and I trust it was a season when impressions of holy Goodness were felt on the minds of several. O! that it may not be as water spilt upon a stone, but as bread cast upon the waters to be found after many days!

On the 21st we set forward; it was a very wet day, my horse fell under me and bruised my thigh badly, and indeed, it was a mercy it was not broken: we got well over some bad waters; all which I acknowledge as a great favour, and desire to be humbly thankful for, with the many other mercies daily received. The 23rd, I joined my companion, and had a good encouraging meeting, which greatly refreshed my mind and the minds of several honest travellers who were there, for which favour the great Name was praised in the authority of Truth, and through the help of the Holy Spirit: renowned for ever be the name of our God! It is the Lord's mercy and goodness, who strengthens us for the labour of the day, and sustains by His powerful Word of Life, without whom there is neither bread nor clothing in a temporal or spiritual sense; may He have the praise of all His works, who is enduringly good and glorious, and whose dominion is from sea to sea, even unto the ends of the earth, Amen for ever!

Second month 6th.—Was at Dunn's Creek meeting, in which, though small, we were mercifully helped to worship, and to bear testimony to the goodness of God; the state of the meeting, I believe, was opened in the spring of life, and though some seemed snared one way and some another, some in the cares of the world and the corruptions thereof; yet encouragement was given to a state to follow the Lord closely, to seek Him while He may be found; and to ask

that they may receive: it was a season of love and good-will to a remnant present. We returned to T. H.'s, and I felt no freedom to propose a sitting in his family or have a meeting in the town. I believe he and his family to be in imminent danger from his neglect of duty to his God, and that his temporal affairs are the worse for his forgetfulness: he is a good-natured man and behaved very friendly to us, and his wife also, but I pitied them much on account of their situation.

Second month 11th.—I had a very tendering season in a Friend's family, in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ; admittance was vouchsafed to the Lord's heavenly table in supplication, wherein many of my friends and relations were brought very near in the spring of life; it was a season of Divine favour to our souls, in which we rejoiced, and praised the Lord's holy Name and Power, who is glorious in all His ways. Afterwards set forward and went about sixteen miles, and lodged in the woods: the fore part of the night was fair, but the latter part very wet, it raining for about four hours, and then cleared: we had a good fire, were very contented, dried ourselves, and set forward; through the kindness and goodness of our Great Master, we did not suffer much by the wet, though at last we could not get a place of covering to stretch ourselves, but were forced to stand in the wet till it cleared; we then rode ten hours, and some of the way very hard.

23rd.—We attended the quarterly meeting at Piney-woods, which was exceedingly large; the house being scarcely able to hold Friends: we were both silent in this meeting, which seemed a disappointment; the meeting for discipline was very weak, in which I was led to make several remarks to my own ease; but they seemed very weak in the discipline, and not in all respects in such order as could be desired with respect to their mode and manner. In the evening we had an opportunity in the family, in which we travailed in silence.

24th.—First-day, we had a very large meeting, in which I had to travail in silence, my companion expressed a little. In this quarter there are many negroes, and their being so numerous amongst Friends, is, I believe, a great loss to their families, by the children's being trained up in pride and idleness, and a superiority over them; this hinders a real growth in humility, and obstructs the good work in the essence of true religion: coldness and lukewarmness in the performance of duties important to the salvation of the soul seem very prevalent, which, that the professors of the blessed and spotless Truth may witness a being turned from, is my very earnest and fervent petition.

[In a letter to his wife, dated 1st of Third month, 1771, he writes:] I have rode already

upwards of 1700 miles, being favoured with a fine young horse, and lay out five nights in the woods. I have breakfasted, dined, and supped in the woods as contentedly as if I were in a palace, and though I have had to partake of fare that in Ireland would hardly go down with any servants, yet the contentedness of the mind made it a feast.

[And in another letter about the same date, he writes:] I find nature may be brought to submit to anything as to meanness and severity, if in Divine direction, for there is a support adequate to the toil: so that we may say with one formerly, "by thee I will run through a troop, and by thee I will leap over a wall."

Third month 3rd.—Had a pretty open meeting at Western Branch, [Virginia] where the doctrine of Truth was set forth, and it ended well, tenderness being felt by several minds, though things were very closely spoken to. There is a deficiency amongst Friends in this country respecting the plain language; calling the days of the week and months in the vulgar and common manner is too customary, and to their loss, as unfaithfulness in small things begets barrenness and rust, and insensibility creeps over the mind.

15th.—We were at Wainoak meeting, which seemed very low in the beginning, but towards the latter end Truth favoured, and the testimony thereof was exalted above transgressors, for which my mind was thankful, feeling very low on going to this meeting; but was raised above the fear of man by the operation and spreading of the holy hidden Life of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be dominion and praise ascribed both now and for evermore! The 20th, had a large meeting at Cedar Creek, where were five justices and a Baptist preacher lately enlarged from jail; the strength [of the Divine Power] displayed in this meeting was greatly to my relief and admiration, finding that sufficient for the trials of the day is the help communicated for such services, even amongst those of small degree!

23rd.—Set forward for Stafford county, and the 24th were at a large meeting, which was a season of close labour and exercise of spirit, but it concluded to the relief of my mind; several close remarks were dropped, both to Friends and other people, respecting their duty to their great Lord and merciful Creator. In the evening amongst Friends who came to our lodging, had a lively opportunity, showing the advantage of zeal for the Lord in their day and generation, and not to suffer emulation or strife to enter, but to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and to let nothing of worldly distinction be amongst them, but to let the heavenly Life's operating in them be the distinction, according to the proportions they feel, and in

this to move in their services in the church; then the great Name will be honoured, and the members increase in strength and stature, by being replenished with those sacred streams that make glad the heritage of our God.

Fourth month 15th.—Set forward for West Nottingham, a pretty large meeting, in which we had close remarks to make, and our spirits were pretty well filled with a testimony for Truth. Dear John Churchman was at this meeting; he seemed very tender and sympathizing and fatherly in his conduct. We went home with this honourable elder and father in the church, and next morning attended the meeting at East Nottingham, which was very large, and a good open meeting it proved. The demonstration and authority of gospel ministry attended, and the openings of Divine virtue were mercifully imparted, in which we felt the sacred cement of love and life; this humbled my mind under a sense of the Lord's goodness, which is near in the needful time, and present when help is wanting, as we lean upon and look up to His throne of love and favour.

20th.—Set forward for Thomas Lightfoot's, and met my dear friend Susannah [formerly Hatton] at home, who received us in a near and affectionate manner. Next day, which was first-day, were at their meeting, where Divine help was administered beyond my expectation, and a very sharp close testimony I was given to bear in this meeting, which by accounts was as though the state of it were [outwardly] known; for which may we reverence the great and glorious Name of our God, who sometimes strengthens His poor dependent children sufficiently unto the day! The 22nd, set forward for Philadelphia, accompanied by Thomas Lightfoot and spouse, and were kindly entertained at our worthy friend John Pemberton's.

Fifth month 6th.—At the quarterly meeting in Philadelphia; the meeting for business was held after a sitting in silence, to prepare the spirits of Friends to act in the discipline. I had something to say in this meeting, but left it uneasy; because (through a fear of prolonging the meeting beyond the proper time,) I omitted part of the matter that was before me. There is great need of care in this respect, as well as not to exceed the bounds which Truth prescribes. May Divine goodness open our understandings, and more and more replenish our minds with that faith, which overcomes slavish fear, and gives the victory.

9th.—Was at a marriage, where I was silent, having nothing to offer, to which I hope I was resigned, and thankful for this and every dispensation allotted in true wisdom.

My companion having a concern for New England, and I towards the eastern shore of Maryland, we laid our views before some solid



Friends, who approved of our manner of proceeding, and concurred in sentiment respecting our parting; so we took leave in much nearness of love and affection, and he set off towards New York, whilst I was accompanied by John Pemberton to Wilmington. The 20th, we had a public meeting, in which the beauty and glory of Truth were manifested for our consolation, strength and relief; after which the meeting for discipline came on, in which help was mercifully revealed to carry on the business, many Friends being concerned to speak to edification and comfort, viz., Joseph White, who was much favoured this day, Robert Valentine, David Bourn, &c.; and my mind was much relieved by the little labour I had amongst my friends. The 22nd, Friends met at nine o'clock to finish the business, which was gone through in love and harmony, and several good remarks were dropped in the wisdom and openings of Truth: the meeting held fresh and green mostly for six hours; and Friends parted in the tenderings of the love of God. Accompanied by my friend David Ferris, we took boat and had a prosperous passage to Chester, where we attended the week-day meeting, and were favoured in our little sitting together, and helped to return the praise of all favours dispensed, to that holy Hand which helps the weak and truly dependent children.

Sixth month 13th.—Was at Centre and Kenet monthly meeting, where I was furnished with aid beyond my expectation, having to point out that which made us qualified members of the church:—and as we keep our sap and greenness we act to the honour of the Great Master; when we lose that, we become lifeless and barren, and are cast forth as dry branches: warned a state present to beware of lying and hypocrisy, in the words of the prophet, “Ephraim compasseth me about with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit.” I was favoured with openness and strength to discharge myself, as also in the meeting for discipline, for which I was humbly thankful.

17th.—Went to Pilesgrove meeting, which was a season of favour; a state was spoken to who had known good things, but were in danger of falling away:—the difficulty of retrieving a lost state was hinted at; likewise of sinning against the Holy Ghost, not to be forgiven in this world nor in the world to come;—on the light and power of conviction through Christ, and on being made partakers of the powers of the world to come by the enjoyment of a heavenly and powerful gift, which it is most dangerous to sin against, or fall away from, and very hard to be retrieved. The apostle says, it is impossible for such enlightened souls who have been thus favoured, to be renewed again to repentance; seeing they crucify to them-

selves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to open shame. My mind was favoured afterwards with the renewings of peace and quietness.

28th.—Went to Squantum meeting,—a season of close exercise; wherein I had to speak of that passage—that Christ Jesus is “the Author of eternal salvation to all them that believe;”—and then to point out who believe in Him; even those that received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God,—those that embraced His doctrines, His Life and Spirit in their hearts, to them gave He power over their sins, and brought them into a state of righteousness, and into a belief in Him in the way of His coming; for many reject Him in the way of His coming, because of the smallness of His appearance. This was the state of the Jews, the doctors and rabbies formerly, which made them despise Him, and say, “Is not this the carpenter’s son?” They expected Him in pomp and greatness, and became so corrupt and hardened, that they thought not only to slay Jesus Christ, but those that believed on Him,—as in the example of Lazarus whom he had raised from the dead; lest the people should believe, and they lose their name and authority amongst the Jews. I was led on and helped in the ability that Truth gives, and several of the people seemed reached; one high professing Baptist said, she never heard the gospel preached so before amongst the Quakers. The meeting ended in a good frame, and my spirit was humbled and grateful; thanks be unto the Lord my God, for all His favours and mercies dispensed unto me in this journey!

On the 30th, we were at their first-day meeting at Shrewsbury, which was very large; many raw professors as well as those of other societies were present. I was led to speak very closely to some states, and very encouragingly to others, who were concerned to build the wall about the vineyard, and to support the hedge of discipline against the discouragements of the Sanballats and Tobiahs of this day and those of their spirit; that it is necessary for such to descend into the valley, and there take a view of the ruins, that they may be capable of seeing, and building for the Lord, with the working utensil in one hand, and spiritual weapon of defence in the other. I had also to speak respecting the plain language, the too general departure therefrom, and the insensibility that creeps upon individuals by such unfaithfulness. I was helped beyond my expectation, and the meeting ended to satisfaction; praised be the great name of the Lord my God, who is the strength of striplings, and who qualifies for the services he requires from his children and people. Came to our quarters at E. W.’s, and there had an evening sitting with his family and Friends to our mutual renewing of strength, and had to

speak respecting family worship and family sittings, the benefit I have heretofore found from such opportunities, and the qualification that at times springs therefrom, which enables to drop suitable instruction to our offspring and those under our care.

Seventh month 2nd.—We crossed the ferry at Amboy, and got to Joseph Shotwell's, where the next day we had a meeting in his family, a good, open, living season; this Friend has a hopeful and promising family, and knows the Truth himself, which is a blessing to his family.

11th.—We attended the monthly meeting of Kingwood, in which I had some very close exercising work, but was helped through, to the relief of my own spirit, and to some comfort to the honest-hearted, a few of which sort are preserved in most places, though a large number who dwell too much in indifference and in a name without the substance, are scattered all over the Society. I had to exhort the elders and overseers, and so left them to their own application and industry in the best sense, to that which would never fail if properly attended to. On the 13th, a pretty large meeting at Stonybrook, where several of the scholars from the college were present and two lawyers: the authority of Truth was with us, in which we laboured; priestcraft was closely touched, and the free gospel ministry pointed out. This meeting ended under a comfortable sense of the help of heavenly ministration, in which we rejoiced in fear!

14th.—First-day; at Trenton, both the fore and afternoon meetings were pretty fully crowded; my mind was very low and poor, but the good Hand of Divine support aided and enabled us to discharge our duty in such a manner as procured peace, and staid my mind in that which is the refuge of the distressed and weary soul; in which I rejoiced in God my Saviour, and was comforted.

15th.—We were at Bordentown meeting, and lodged at John Sykes's; he is in his 90th year, and his wife in her 87th, and they have lived together sixty-six years; they are both public Friends,—seem to live like innocent children, and have their memory and faculties in such a degree of strength and clearness, that I have not seen or read of the like: they seem full of love, and are in spiritual greenness now in old age.

16th.—Had a large and laborious meeting at Crosswicks, in which I had to arraign some of hidden crimes not yet brought to light;—that I believed Achan was in the camp, and it could not journey forward prosperously, until judgment was placed upon transgression:—exhorted Friends to keep their places, and not to cover or conceal wrong things, but to support the law and testimony, and seek the Lord, that they may live and be a living people.

Next day at a meeting at Freehold I had to speak of the two debtors, one who owed five hundred pence and the other fifty; and as they were both forgiven, he to whom most was forgiven, showed most love; and where much is forgiven, there ought to be much love. Sometimes there is a spirit prevalent, which censures those to whom much has been forgiven by Him who has power to forgive, and which thinks they are not fit for their society, saying, "Stand by thyself, I am holier than thou:" this is the leaven of the Pharisees, of which I warned Friends to beware: it was a good opportunity, for which I was bowed and thankful in spirit.

18th.—At Upper Springfield. This evening in a very poor low state, being exceedingly stripped in my mind. In this solitary situation I walked out into the woods, where I felt something of the spring of Divine kindness, which raised a hope that help was near, though seemingly concealed from me.

19th.—Was at Mansfield; where was a very large meeting, Friends from various quarters giving their company: in this meeting I was helped beyond my expectation; the gospel spring, rising and spreading more than for several meetings past, and my spirit revered the Power that withdrew, and afterwards raised into life.

20th.—We were at the Neck meeting; many Friends coming, the house would not hold them, so we had the meeting in the woods under the trees. We laboured amongst them in a good degree of strength and authority; several were tender, and it was a sweet visitation to several present. I spoke to one or two young people after the meeting in private, who were very tender, and did not resist the counsel that I had to give; but seemed open to receive it: went home with Abner Woolman, with whom and his family we had a sweet sitting in the spreading of Divine and encouraging love.

22nd.—Was at a large meeting at Old-Springfield, where I had a laborious exercise to pass through in speaking to several states present, and against the leaven of riches,—“not to put confidence in it or make gold our hope; for it is an iniquity to be punished by the Judge,” &c.

23rd.—I was at Rancocus meeting; it was rather a low time, but I laboured in it to some increase of ease and freedom of spirit. Here I saw John Woolman for the first time; I take him to be a sweet, clean-spirited Friend; his unity with the true Seed may be felt by his savoury conversation and pious self-denying life.

24th.—Went to Mountholly meeting, where very many Friends assembled from different meetings. I was very low going to this meeting, but ere I had sat long, the Word of life quickened my mind, and a favourable season it



proved; in which the testimony [of Truth] was exalted in the authority thereof, and I had to speak comfortably to several states, to my ease and comfort. I was much afraid of this meeting, as they have had great privileges by favoured instruments. Here lived Abraham Farrington, and to this meeting belongs that worthy exemplary Friend John Woolman, whose life and conversation shine in Christian purity. His concern is to lead a life of self-denial; pomp and splendour he avoids, does not choose to use silver or useless vessels that savour of the pomp of this world. His house is very plain, his living so also; and yet he enjoys plenty of the good things that are necessary for Christian accommodation: we dined with him, and were kindly entertained. In the evening went to see a widow Friend in affliction, with whom and many other Friends we had an opportunity of sitting together, and witnessed a little of the unsealing of the goodness that is hid in the invisible life.

26th.—I was at Chester meeting, it proved a low season, in which I felt my mind much straitened whether to say anything or be silent, the intelligence seemed so low, and the ability so small: but as I was brought into resignation to the Divine will, I felt the balance was for speaking a few sentences, which I did to more ease, and with more authority, than I expected. It was respecting the people of Samaria who said they believed not for the saying of the woman, but had now heard for themselves, and believed that He was the Christ the Saviour of the world; they were so reached and convinced by his preaching; which would be the case still, if people were concerned to look for Him where He does appear and preach, in their own hearts, and be drawn off from instrumental helps, looking to Him, the glorious author and finisher of true and living faith. This and more I had to drop, which greatly eased my mind and redeemed my spirit from the state of travail it was in and under for the slain of this people. It happens when a stranger travels, the intelligence becomes so universal, that the public assemblies, and those who seldom attend any place of worship then come, which adds to the weight and exercise of poor pilgrims; but out of these straits the Lord our God delivers all that put their trust in Him,—blessed be His great and glorious name for ever!

SAMUEL NEALE TO SAMUEL WATSON, IRELAND.  
Jersey, 27th seventh month, 1771.

DEAR COUSIN,—In my traversing the wilderness, I have sometimes felt my mind drawn to converse with thee and thy dear wife, in a nearness that prompts me to tell you so. The great Orderer of nature and the God of all grace has visited you, in order to make you His: as

inward care and feeling are kept to, I trust it will be so; and that you will more and more become serviceable in your day, by yielding obedience to that which influences and disposes to follow the Lord in His leadings and requirements. The way to hear the language of the Spirit is *to be within*; it is often slow of utterance unless we are willing and obedient; the quicker we are to hear and active in obeying, the readier and oftener it speaks to our instruction and furtherance in grace and sanctification. And as you have been made partakers of the power of the world to come, live near its quickenings. It leads into solitude and solitary places, and out of the spirit of the world and its inordinate love of visibles, and great anxiety for accumulating unstable riches; and it girds up the loins of our minds to serve Him, whose glory cannot be comprehended by mortals. In this state at times we feel a joy and rejoicing, that encourages us to persevere; in which we are ready to conclude that nothing shall be able to separate us from serving the Lord, in our day and generation. And perhaps this lasts for a season, when we seem to gain ground and to go on prosperously; but this abates with the withdrawals of life, and the world and the things of it, often gain strength in our affections, when we are apt to grow cool and easy, and to delight in terrestrials, with the plausible pretext of taking care for our families, &c., &c. But it is beyond a doubt with me, that a religious faithful discharge of our duty to God and his Church, is the way to prosper inwardly and outwardly, and to enjoy a kingdom on earth far superior in dignity and glory to any emperor or king that fears not God.

I therefore, dear cousins, fervently desire that you may mind Mary's choice—the one thing needful, which she chose, and which should never be taken from her; and then all necessary things will be added. The abounding disposition of this age, and even of many of the professors of the spotless Truth, is to join close as to the chariot of this world, by which they suffer loss greatly, and become disqualified from hearing distinctly the language of the Spirit, and what is required of them by Him, who called them with a high and holy call, to go and work in the vineyard.

Arise therefore, and take a solemn look into your progress heavenward: see whether the engagement is as powerful as it has heretofore been; whether it is growing from strength to strength. I shall not be surprised at your feeling coolness at times, or even affliction and death, and abiding even in this baptism for a season. But let us never be reconciled to it; but wrestle, as holy Jacob did, by which the appellation of prince was conferred upon him, for he prevailed with God and man. And be-

loved cousins, it is the wrestling seed that shall still prevail, and be serviceable amongst men, shall have influence and place with them in the Church, and even by labour so convince them as to have them reconciled who were in disorder and transgression, and alien from the commonwealth of Israel. I have felt a little openness of this sort towards you, and in it salute you, and desire your prosperity and advancement in righteousness for ever.

My journey in this continent hitherto has been to my own relief and satisfaction, feeling the evidence that I am here according to what I believed to be my duty; in which daily renewings are mercifully extended. I have been through North and South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and am now finishing East and West Jersey. There is a great body of Friends on this continent, beyond what I expected: many of them deep and valuable in the Church, and many of them too deeply settled in earth and earthly things; and though they are not in much pomp as to worldly splendour, the root and leaven of that spirit which dissipates and renders useless, very much hurts and weakens as to coming forward in the brightness of Truth, and in service in the Church. J. Churchman, William Brown, Joseph White, and several that visited Europe in our memory, are well, and keep alive in the Truth, in the living unity and spiritual bond. T. Lightfoot and Susannah I have been in company with several times, and at their house. Susannah is highly and deservedly esteemed, and so is her husband: I believe they would both be as well pleased to live there (I mean Ireland) as here. It is not all gold that glistens; that is enough to be gathered [as to] what I mean. There is a low vulgar education amongst the professors here, that if they do not feel and live to what they profess, they are very low indeed in behaviour and conduct, which by a spirit of obstinacy that prevails in them, is very degrading to Truth and the Society, and especially in the European's opinion, who are brought up otherwise. But where Truth prevails it polishes, and makes all beautiful and lively, and the members thereof are but one family all the world over. When I consider how soon the veil will be rent, and the spirit released from the confines of mortality, I cannot but ardently desire for myself and my kinsfolk according to the flesh, that we may so run as to obtain a mansion amongst the blessed. I am, therefore, in love that waxes not old, engaged to urge you, as I know the heavenly visitation has been shed on you, for a glorious purpose, to make you helpful to others, and happy in yourselves.

I have not yet had a prospect when I may return with any degree of confidence. I consider myself as bought and therefore not my

own; and if it ever will be, I trust it will be in the counsel of Heaven; but it looks most likely that I shall reside on this continent this winter. I am pleased to hear a good account of cousin Jenny; nothing gives me greater joy than to hear (that) my kindred walk in the Truth.

Your affectionate cousin, SAMUEL NEALE.

28th.—Being first-day, I was at two public meetings at Haddonfield, in which were many Friends from other meetings, and the expectation was so great towards the poor servant, that I had nothing to say by way of testimony, (my companion had) and my mind was preserved in peace, and in a humble dependence upon Him who lives forever,—who knows for what end He thus seals up the spring of ministry amongst his poor children who are endeavouring to fulfil his commands, and to follow the pointings of His holy finger. Went to visit the widow Hopkins, in whose family I had a sitting, and felt a little of the crumbs that fall from the heavenly table distributed amongst us.

After a meeting at Upper Greenwich on the 29th, my companion David Ferris returned homeward; we had travelled in great love and unity, and his company was serviceable and satisfactory.

Eighth month 8th.—Came to Springfield meeting, accompanied by my kind friend John Pemberton, &c.; here we had a solid comfortable season together,—life prevailed in this meeting, and we were refreshed one in another; it ended under a weighty sense of the heavenly presence being near and overshadowing us. Here lives my esteemed friend Mordecai Yarnall, with whom I staid all night. Next day went to Providence meeting, accompanied by John Pemberton and M. Yarnall: in this meeting my mind was made easy by bearing a short testimony to the Truth, after which I felt the [evidence] of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. Afterwards went to visit my ancient friend Mary James, who though far advanced in years, is alive in the root and spring of life, with whom I had a relieving opportunity in the fellowship of the gospel of peace and salvation.

10th, 11th, and 12th.—I was at the quarterly meeting of Concord, in which my spirit was mercifully sustained to labour according to present ability, and I felt the sweet incomes of peace as a shade to cover my mind, under which I departed in thankfulness.

28th.—At Bucks quarterly meeting, held at the Falls; the meeting of ministers and elders was a favoured season; I had to speak of faith, and that it still gives the victory; sometimes again when we think we are capable to do some little service, and begin it, like Peter we fail, and begin to sink and cry out "Lord save me or I perish,"—his Master stretched forth His



hand to help him, and rebuked him with this little admonition, "O! thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt." I had to mention the service of keeping close to the Master, and that as we look to Him in times of the greatest straits, we should not fail of heavenly succour. I went home after meeting with Joseph White. On the 30th was at the youths' meeting, where I was exercised in a good degree of that help which Truth gives, and departed in sweet peace.

Ninth month 11th.—I was at Maiden Creek meeting, in which I felt a spring of love and life very pleasant and sustaining: I was opened to speak something comforting to a sick state resembling that of Lazarus, who was first sick, and afterwards died; the Lord Jesus loved the family, and drew near unto it in order to raise him from this condition,—even He, who is the resurrection and the life still; and those who believe in Him, though they were dead, yet shall they live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in Him shall never die. As his power is believed in, it will cure the distempers of the soul, and thus raise from death; it is He who is the resurrection and the life, that does this great and solemn work, and therefore, [I exhorted] to receive Him and believe in him; and though we may have been in the grave, and lain three days, yet would He raise from the dead. I had also to encourage some states present to look to Him, who, as we are faithful and fervent, is graciously pleased at times to raise us into newness of life. It was a good and strengthening season which I trust will be remembered.

19th and 20th.—Was at Haddonfield quarterly meeting, where in the meeting for ministers and elders I was concerned to speak of Deborah, who was raised up for the Lord's work and service, when the high ways were left unoccupied, and the travellers walked through by-paths. After her victory she had a song to sing, and that the stars in their courses fought against Sisera and the enemies of Israel—this I applied to these gospel days, when the members, who draw their strength and influence from the Sun of Righteousness, and keep their places, may be counted as stars standing against the enemies of Israel and making war against wrong things. I was mercifully sustained and replenished this day; next day returned to Philadelphia, in order to attend the yearly meeting.

#### CHAPTER X.

*Attends yearly meeting at Philadelphia 1771—meetings in Nantucket—New England—New York—returns to Philadelphia 1772.—Sails for Ireland—arrives at Waterford.*

THE yearly meeting of Philadelphia com-

menced the 21st of the ninth month with the meeting of ministers and elders, in which Truth was felt to sweeten our spirits, under the influence whereof we were enabled to worship. My mind got a little ease in reviving the language, "Look to the rock whence ye were hewn," &c., and had to show the insensibility we were in, before we were visited by the Power of Truth; and the necessity we are under, of being renewedly quickened and raised from the deadness of the letter, to live in the Spirit unto the Lord our God. We were favoured during the various sittings of this yearly meeting with the renewings of heavenly help, for the carrying on the affairs of the Church in unity, concord, and sweetness of gospel labour. They proved satisfactory informing seasons, in which Friends were opened to unfold much instruction during deliberations upon the various matters that came before us, the seasoning of Truth being kept to, wherein instruction is communicated to comfort and edification; I hope it will operate like leaven amongst the members. The last day, (the 26th) was especially a season of heavenly favour; so that some of us could say in truth, our meeting for business was a meeting of worship. The solid power and life of Truth was sweetly felt in the closing meeting; and we came away thankful and humble under a sense of Divine favour, and that the Lord our God was revealed unto us; for which my soul adored His great and glorious Name; and I could say through living experience, that salvation and strength belong unto the Lord and to his Christ, for ever and ever. Amen.

Tenth month 6th.—We had a large meeting at Peach-pond, where were many Presbyterians: the people were well-behaved, and the way of life and salvation was freely preached to them; when the meeting was over they seemed even loath to depart: we may say, the Lord's blessed power was over all, and His great name was praised.

11th.—Set forward for Oswego meeting; it was mostly held in silence, except towards the latter part, where I had some close hints to drop to those who minister to the people,—to remember not to sacrifice before the prophet came, because it was foolishness, and would not go unpunished as in the case of Saul, who did it out of pity to the people.

19th.—In passing through Worcester we had conversation with a physician and a man of note in trade; they were both very civil, and seemed convinced in their judgments of the spiritual religion established by our blessed Saviour; they kindly invited us to stay and dine. Several seemed to importune us to have a meeting in this town; but not feeling that draft which sustains in such services, I de-

clined, being fearful to dishonour the Master's cause, or to bring reproach upon the reputation of the blessed Truth: being convinced it is more profitable to be drawn by the cords of Divine love, than to run hastily into services which we are not authorized to engage in by the leadings of that love, which desires the prosperity of mankind, and as it is obeyed gives us the enjoyment of Divine peace, and leads to quietness and assurance for ever.

Eleventh month 6th.—Had an afternoon meeting at Ippin; several Friends were present, and many other people also assembled, it was a good open opportunity; afterwards we had an evening meeting in a Friend's family, which was like a parting meeting to some who were with us for many days. The sweet influences of the love of our God were with us, in which I had to say, Who is like unto our Rock? and that as we have our settlement in Him, though distantly scattered, we shall be all preserved and enabled to sing unto Him; this Rock follows us, as it did Israel of old, in order that we may eat of it and drink of it, and be sheltered by it from storms and from rains. This was the same Rock that was seen to be hewn as out of the mountain without hands, which grew and filled the earth—breaking to pieces the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron and clay,—the clay figures out the miry things of this world, which seem to hinder our minds from going forward in the Lord's work,—and the gold, silver, brass and iron, the world's glory and honour, which so much captivate and fill the minds of men:—but as we know the power of this Rock to break and destroy those things, and way is given thereto, it grows in us, and then we become inhabitants thereof, and sing to the praise of His great name!

14th.—Attended the monthly meeting at Salem, [Massachusetts] where I was favoured with a relieving though close testimony to the Friends belonging to it, who appeared to me to be much at ease and leavened into the spirit of liberty and vanity, with which this age of professors of the pure Truth too much abounds. The meeting of business was low and flat, we had many remarks to make, which they accepted in love, and we departed in peace. We lodged at Samuel Collins's, at whose father's or grandfather's John Richardson and George Keith formerly had a close argument, when the latter was much confused and confounded.

15th.—I was at a large meeting of plain looking Friends, in which I had very close work to get into my service in the life and opening of counsel. I had to mention the sea-monsters that drew out their breast to their young; but now when the children asked for bread, no man breaketh it unto them, and the tongue of the

sucking child cleaves to the roof of its mouth for thirst; the daughter of my people (saith the Lord's servant,) is become cruel like the ostrich in the wilderness, to which I had to compare this people. I was helped forward in a good degree of authority and strength, and found my mind opened and relieved by the prevalence of Divine virtue.

26th and 28th.—I was at two large meetings for worship on the island of Nantucket: there are on this island 300 families of professors, [Friends] many of whom are sailors employed in the whale-fishery. I felt my mind sustained by the unction that qualifies for every service in the church, and had many states to speak to; afterwards I was at the men's meeting, in which I laboured a pretty deal with respect to several things that appeared on their books. I was enabled to be helpful to the concerned Friends, by joining in their service for the support of the discipline; the distempers appeared to be great, which had crept in among the professors, by much indulgence,—cases with respect to offenders in marrying, and other things, which a remnant were labouring to have reformed; there seemed to be some gaining of strength in the latter, which in time I trust will so far increase, as to make them firm stakes in Zion, bearing their spiritual armour under the glorious banner of Christ Jesus, who is the Captain of the armies of the living God. In the evening I had a sitting with pretty many Friends at our lodging, to my relief and the encouragement of several present in the way they should walk, even by being faithful to the manifestation of Truth; and then the Lord would delight in them, and fight their battles for them, and bring them into the peaceable possession of Divine enjoyment in the spiritual Canaan. I had a concern to see those who were sea-faring men, and on the 29th they came together pretty fully, and there was a large gathering, in which I laboured to the best of my ability: the result must be left to Him who blesses and sends home all such services to the witness within.

Twelfth month 21st.—First-day, I was at a very large meeting, said to be the largest at Friends' meeting-house, supposed to contain 2000 people; in the fore part I felt in a very low travail of spirit, and resigned to be like a fool; with which I seemed to settle; when I felt the gradual springing up of Divine strength, in which I stood, and was sustained beyond my expectation. The openings of counsel flowed greatly to my own relief and enlargement, as I felt very poor and weak on going to this meeting: supplication was offered at the close in the power and spirit of our Lord Jesus, and it ended greatly to my inward enjoyment of peace and consolation.



5th.—Finding our minds easy, [David Ferris was his companion,] we set sail for the main land. When I came on this island, I felt the love of our Lord Jesus Christ to operate in my heart towards this people, even before I left the wharf, which deeply affected my mind; and whilst with them, I was sustained in a gospel labour beyond my expectation; and now on leaving them, I found my mind sustained with the same love, in which I desire their growth in the Truth and increase in righteousness, and that the Lord our God may have a valiant people raised up for His name, whose works through them may praise Him, who lives for ever and ever!

11th.—This day I had a tender sitting with a Friend: I had to speak of those chosen separated vessels for the Lord's use, which as they are passive and resigned, a blessing awaits them and theirs; they are as channels through which counsel flows, and it is a favour and honour to be counted worthy to act in the Lord's cause: thus as the ark when with Obededom, was the cause of his being blessed, so as we keep our places, a blessing will rest upon us and our families, when employed in the Lord's service.

16th.—Was at the monthly meeting at Poryganset, in which I was favoured with some degree of ability to labour: the meeting for business was attended by several solid concerned Friends, who seemed engaged for the law and testimony of our holy Head and High Priest. We laboured together with them,—spoke to several affairs that came before the meeting according to present strength, and came away relieved in our minds: the decay of a right concern, or rather the want thereof, has greatly retarded, in these parts, the prosperity and growth of the Truth amongst the people, by which wrong things have got into the camp, wrong habits have been indulged in, and the children's teeth seemed set on edge by the parents eating sour grapes. Heads of families being destitute of the right knowledge, are incapable to instruct their children, and so all seemed too much in the way of forgetfulness by the indulging in present perishing gratifications. May the Lord arise and scatter his enemies and the people's, is my earnest desire, and then the Church will be qualified to come out of her present wilderness state in this quarter of the country; where the gates of Zion mourn, because so few come forward in a noble concern for Truth and righteousness.

[After visiting the meetings in the New England States and in New York, he returned to Philadelphia the 13th of second month, 1772, to the house of his kind friend John Pemberton.]

1772, Second month 14th.—Took leave of

my companion David Ferris, who went home to his family; he was with me in this journey oftentimes in cold weather, close exercise, and hard travelling; and his company was helpful as well as agreeable, he being a lover of Truth and its testimony.

20th.—At Radnor meeting, which was in a good degree lively, being favoured with the running of the heavenly oil, which was truly comforting to my mind: having been much stripped as to spiritual enjoyment, and under baptism for many days, though resigned. The evening of the 21st, some Friends were at my lodging, with whom I had a silent sitting, in a communion truly delightful, which I thought a reward for what I had passed through this week.

23rd.—I was at Pine-street meeting [Philadelphia] in the morning, in which I felt a concern on my mind to labour in doctrine according to present ability; the words that impressed my mind were,—that we must become followers before we are feeders of the flock; and I had to point out how we are prepared for the service of the Church,—the tribulation that is to be passed through, which works patience, experience and hope; thus preparing us for the spiritual work, and breaking us off from the spirit of the world, through the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which removes the dross, the tin and the reprobate silver. It was a season of favour, and the testimony reached several states present, and brought us near in the heavenly communion. Went afterwards to Burlington, and in the evening had a sitting at Benjamin Swett's to profit and enlargement of heart.

24th.—Attended the meeting for worship and discipline there; in the former I was exercised but did not express all that was before me, which lessened the reward of sweetness and peace which would have attended, but I got some ease of mind. My concern was to the elders and other members, who were concerned and active in the Lord's work, that they might feel their qualifications in the moving of the Holy Ghost upon their minds: as prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men spake as they were moved of the Holy Ghost; so this remains still to be the true qualification for service in the Church, amongst all the concerned members of different ranks and orders.

Third month 1st.—I went to Frankford meeting in the forenoon, and returned to the evening meeting in the city: I was exercised in a low travail in this meeting, but a spring of living comfort sustained me to labour to the ease and peace of my mind; the evening meeting was large, and through the seasoning virtue of Truth we were helped. I sat under a living sense of Divine enjoyment, as it were

under my own vine and fig-tree, where none can deprive of a living feeding, when it is the Heavenly Master's will to honour with his presence and goodness.

3rd.—I went with many Friends to Chester, to see my endeared companion, Joseph Oxley, embark for England, with Sarah and Deborah Morris; we had a sitting there before they went on board; and at our lodging in the morning before we set off, there was an effusion of love and goodness prevailed, which united us to each other in much nearness and brokenness of spirit, which is a mystery to the world and its spirit: in this frame of mind we parted, the ship got under sail, and we returned to Philadelphia.

22nd.—Was at the Bank meeting in the morning, and at the great meeting-house in the evening; in the latter I was silent, I had an impulse to duty but waived it on account of the smallness of the opening and the singularity of it, which was David's words respecting himself, "As the Lord liveth there is but a step betwixt me and death;"—this occasioned me distress, as I believe it was best for me to have dropped it, though I had said no more, but the largeness of the meeting and my own diffidence made me fearful and backward, which increased uneasiness and multiplied my burden.

Third month 23rd.—In the meeting for ministers and elders I had a sharp close testimony. I rather kept it too long in my vessel, which disqualified from getting that relief, and with that clearness, which was desirable:—it was respecting those who were in their chambers of imagery, and some who turned their backs on the temple, and were worshipping the sun towards the east: Demas-like they were preferring this world and its glory, before the discharge of their duty; and thus they had too much neglected the work unto which they had been called in the Lord's vineyard, &c.

25th.—This day I was amongst my friends, and visited my worthy friend Mordecai Yarnall at his son-in-law's, where with his family, we had a sweet refreshing opportunity under a sense of the overshadowing of Divine love: spent the rest of the evening with William Brown and John Churchman.

Fourth month 4th.—Continued in Philadelphia until the 19th; visiting the meetings and families of Friends, as Truth opened my way; during which time I had some dipping seasons, and trying exercising moments, but, amidst all, was mercifully sustained, and supported to get through in a good degree of the unity of the Spirit, which remains to be the bond that links and draws the Lord's people and family together in uprightness and simplicity. I had the company of dear Susannah Lightfoot in many of those families in which I laboured, whose

service was acceptable and enlivening to me and many more.

19th.—Went to Chester meeting, where I had a low season in travail; but towards the conclusion Truth seemed to be in dominion, and the meeting ended in supplication and thanksgiving to the Lord of power and praise, who is worthy for ever! In the evening went to John Smith's, where we had a sitting with many Friends, to our mutual help and comfort. Something close was dropped for a state present, which, like David, was for justifying itself and yet was guilty; the prophet having to tell him "Thou art the man," notwithstanding his zeal in saying, "the man that hath done this shall surely die;" he sat as a judge, was for punishing the iniquity of another, but was guilty himself. I warned such a state to get to the washing pool, for unless we are washed we have no part in Christ Jesus; and if we die in guilt and rebellion, we shall be excluded from the territories of light, and can have no entrance; whereas if we become washed, we shall be able to stand in the obedience, be faithful unto death, and so enjoy a crown of life!

22nd.—In Philadelphia, preparing for my journey to Oblong, having felt drawings for some weeks past to be at their ensuing quarterly meeting. It has been a sifting time; but my mind is brought into a disposition to be what the Lord my God would have me to be, and to follow the leadings of his blessed and unerring Spirit; for, though human frailty is great, yet weak things are sometimes made strong, even to confound the wise and prudent of this world.

Sixth month 6th.—Went on board a vessel bound to Cork, to feel if I could go in her, but found a stop, which brought me into close exercise; but as I know my motive is to be clear of this people, and to discharge my duty, I am easy; and have resigned myself to Divine disposal.

Seventh month 31st.—At the monthly meeting in Philadelphia. In the men's meeting we felt living uniting virtue; and the business was conducted in true desire for an increase of harmony and spiritual strength: many instructive hints were dropped in answering the queries.

Eighth month 1st.—The quarterly meeting for ministers and elders was held this day; which meeting was owned with the vital power and virtue of Truth, and the body, I believe, was edified in love. 2nd, Attended three meetings, in all which I was helped to bear testimony for the truth of our God, and to labour in the ability revealed; living praise be ascribed to Him who lives for ever, and who, through grace, enables dust and ashes to stand in dominion over the opposing spirits of carnal men.



3rd.—The quarterly meeting assembled at Fourth street, and was very large; I was exercised, much to my own ease, both in the meeting for worship and that for discipline; and strength was granted to drop several remarks, which much relieved my mind.

The youths' meeting was held the next day; it was large, and I laboured in the authority Truth gave: it ended in praises and thanksgiving to the Lord our God.

5th.—Preparing for my return home, and visiting and taking leave of my friends.

6th.—Was at Market street meeting; it was large, and though I went into the meeting very poor and empty, yet possessing faith in the sufficiency of that Power, which is not of man but of God, I was enabled to deal very closely with some there, who had chosen their own ways; also to hand encouragement to the young and rising generation, in a sweet stream of gospel love. The meeting ended under a solemn sense of the Lord's goodness and mercy; for which, and for every favour extended, may the humble in heart say, "Good is the Lord:—His works are wonderful, and His ways past finding out."

9th.—Was at three very large meetings, which were favoured with the Divine presence; tongue and utterance were mercifully administered; the blessed Lord of life strengthened my mind by the revelation of power from on high. It was a day of favour to my soul, and in all those meetings I was supplied and replenished far beyond my expectation; and I had to praise the Lord for his mercies and blessings to his creature man. Reverence and awe deeply impressed my mind, under a sense of the Lord's gracious dealings to such a poor weak being as I am.

I went on board a good vessel bound for Cork, but could not see my way in her, though in appearance, much better and more complete than another bound for Waterford, and not likely to sail so soon. But as my intention was to move in that which brought me from my native land, I committed myself into the keeping of a faithful Creator, and cast not my dependence upon outward observation, but on His eternal arm of strength, which led me into this service, has graciously sustained and succoured in the needful time, and has been a present help when all outward help was invisible:—for which favours and mercies, may my soul bless His great and adorable name, for He is worthy to be followed, served, feared and obeyed, world without end.

10th.—Took leave of many Friends in the tender love of God, in a manner suited to the solemnity; a multiplicity of words did not attend our separation, but a living sense of the

enjoyment of that life and virtue which goes beyond the grave.

I went on board the Charlotte, Richard Curtis, bound to Waterford; and, as the time was come to part, I rejoiced in the power of an endless life, and was quiet and composed. I was accompanied as far as Chester by several Friends; we came to anchor in the evening.

11th.—Weighed anchor, had a pleasant day, read the Scriptures, and was sweet and well in my mind; and thankful in soul, for the feeling of great nearness to my well-beloved friends on this continent.

The consciousness of having endeavoured to discharge my duty, sits exceedingly pleasant on my mind; thanks be ascribed to Him who is the Author of ability, wisdom and strength; for to man, as man, belongeth nothing that is good; but to the Lord, only wise, dominion, honour and praise, for ever.

20th.—Sat alone, and was desirous that a heart might be given and continued, to remember the kind dealings of a gracious God, who wonderfully sustained me in this journey, furnished for the labour of the day, gave me a place amongst the living in his family; and, at my departure, favoured me with an incontestible evidence that I was in my place, and had stayed the proper time and no longer; this is what I desired fervently; also that He would be graciously pleased to restore me to my friends, and unite us in the bond of spiritual fellowship.

21st and 22nd.—A pleasant breeze continued in our favour: read the Scriptures, and was pleasantly composed, under a thankful sense of the many mercies and favours communicated to this hour. May ability be further vouchsafed, to be more and more sensible of the innumerable obligations I am under, to the bounteous and inexhaustible Treasury of goodness, infinite and immense.

24th.—Spent the time very pleasantly and sweetly on my voyage, having an easy mind, free from anxiety and gloom.

28th.—My time much taken up in reading the Scriptures and other profitable works, which sweetened my mind; I felt myself secretly sustained, and kept in the harbour of resignation and patience, which I esteemed a great blessing and favour. May the sweet influence of Divine love so operate, as to make me more and more sensible of the benefit of keeping under the government of our Lord Jesus, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, and who crowns with immortality and eternal life.

Ninth month 5th.—A pleasant breeze in our favour. My mind composed, under a sense of the enjoyment of that peace, which is given to those who endeavour to perform their Master's will.

13th.—First-day. It blew a fresh breeze at south-east, which brought us near Cork harbour; but as the sea ran too high to attempt going on shore in a boat, I contented myself with going to the designed harbour, which was Waterford; and arrived there safely in the afternoon, after a passage of thirty-days, from land to soundings, and thirty-four from Philadelphia to Waterford.

Very merciful were the dealings of heavenly Goodness to me in this voyage! One thing worthy of notice is, that the vessel bound for Cork, in which I was not easy to embark, sailed ten days sooner than we did, and put into Waterford about three hours before us. This instructed my mind to trust in the arm of Divine help and sufficiency, which is revealed for all those who humbly confide therein. Some of my friends urged the age of the *Charlotte* as an objection to my going in her; but believing her to be the right vessel, and the monthly and quarterly meetings for Philadelphia coming on, I stayed, and resigned myself to Divine disposal, which yielded peace, and made my heart rejoice; for, by the detention, I was able to attend those meetings, which were much favoured; and it seemed to be a crown to my labours on that continent. Had I gone in the other I should have missed them, been ten day longer at sea, and should have come with only part of my reward; so that I can say, the Lord is worthy of adoration and praise.

After attending the week-day meeting in Waterford on the 15th, in which I felt afresh the spring of life and consolation to unite and refresh, I came to Clonmel; and on the 16th, of ninth month I got well home, and found my dear wife and family in health: for which, and all other mercies, I desire to bow in grateful prostration and dedication of soul.

On the 18th, attended our week-day meeting in Cork; through the mercy and goodness of the great Lord God, I felt my mind prepared to unite with the spirits of my friends present, and to reverence and worship His great Name, who lives for ever.

Ninth month 22nd.—When I consider the mercy extended to me in my distant travel in different climates, over dangerous rivers and swamps, the spiritual support I daily experienced, the unity of the living with my labours, and my safe return in peace to my native land; language will not admit of my commemorating the obligation I am under. Therefore may circumspect living express His praise; and may I, in holy awe and silence, contemplate His matchless mercy, for He is abundant in goodness and truth to His servants, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Amen.

In allusion to his labours in America, he thus writes about this time in a letter to a friend.

## TO A FRIEND.

Glanmire, 23rd Twelfth month, 1772.

DEAR FRIEND,—I know and feel, that often for the sake of others we are favoured, not for anything of us or in us at our command, and therefore it is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth, but God that showeth mercy; and this, beloved friend, is what sustained, supported, and gave me a place amongst my friends in America, and brought me home with a sheaf of peace, rejoicing, may it be, with fear and trembling. For I well know that unwatchfulness, elevation, or vain glory, may soon open a door where destruction may enter, and may speedily cast down to hell in torment, lamentation and woe!

Therefore, I will endeavour to trust in that Arm of strength, which began the work, carried it on and perfects it; and as there is a patient continuance in obedience, faith and well-doing, may glory, honour, and immortality be the crown at the end of my days; for which end I hope I crave the help of the spirits of my dear friends everywhere, and of their prayers.

With affectionate nearness, I remain thy loving friend.

SAMUEL NEALE.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Remains at home for several years.—Religious visit to Friends in and about London, &c.—Various services in his own country.*

[AFTER his return from America, he remained at home during the years from 1773 to 1777, duly attending the six weeks, quarterly, and half years' meetings, as they came in course. It appears that he was much occupied in attending to his business, but whilst thus engaged to be diligent therein, he was earnestly concerned to be also "servent in spirit, serving the Lord:" manifesting *where* his treasure and his heart were, by keeping best things uppermost, as the following extracts from his diary set forth.]

1773, Seventh month 14th and 15th.—Attended to my domestic affairs;—read a little to stay and sweeten my mind; for the perplexities of life are a great embarrassment to a person rather anxiously exerting his power to [obtain] ease therefrom.

Ninth month 7th, 8th, and 9th.—Hurried with worldly concerns, which have a tendency to unfit the mind for spiritual contemplation; but by the renewing of the heavenly virtue, the heart becomes mellowed, our views changed and translated. Grant, O! my God, this sustaining, warming influence, by which I may become saved from delusion of every kind, and



delivered from the noise of the archers, whether natural or spiritual.

11th.—My outward affairs engaged my attention, and I passed through them with more serenity than at some other seasons; may every dispensation work together for good, and show the vanity of things terrestrial.

1774, Eighth month 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th.—Domestic occurrences took up a pretty deal of my attention, I hope not to render me insensible of the duty I owe to Him, in whom I live and move and have my being.

Ninth month 17th.—My domestic affairs took up much time:—market-days prove days of hurry, which manifest that in the world there is commotion and discomposure, but in Him, who is the Source of life, there is peace and quietness for ever.

#### TO A FRIEND.

Spring Mount, 13th Second month, 1775.

DEAR FRIEND,—As to the appointment that is unanswered on our books, it gives a true representation of our state as a people; some have a will, but how to perform they find not; they apprehend they see the state of the Church, but how to restore and build up seems difficult, and involves in doubt. While this is the state of the vessels, half aground, it is best to wait the return of the rising tide, which comes in due season, and bears up above doubting, puts them in rank and order, and sometimes fills the sails with a prosperous wind to waft them into the destined ports. I would not be understood to throw the least discouragement on the service; I believe it is useful when rightly performed, and this can only be in the faith which gives strength. This I apprehend was Gideon's, when he went on the work he was appointed to; he was inexperienced, and yet because he had faith he succeeded, first trying the fleece wet and dry. But old warriors often exercised and inured to command and to war, if they feel the motion, let them proceed; until then, to wait is the wisest measure to be pursued in my judgment. I believe I shall have an engagement in our own province, Limerick and Cork meetings are to be visited. I think I have some little draught that way, notwithstanding it may be the province of elders; and I would there were many spirited up and down into that service by the power of love. Then neither schools, farms nor merchandize could prevent; all would be burst and be broken [that is] of an entangling nature, and the highways would be occupied by the feet of the redeemed elders, and indeed ministers, and they would go forward in rank and dedication in the services of Zion. I have thought sometimes of late that the day ad-

vances fast upon some of us; it draws towards evening, and it is time to shift the labouring oar into younger hands, to bear the burden and heat of the day of worldly toil, which only yields a perishing reward; and if we have the necessities of life, and a supply for the exigencies, where is the need of amassing and accumulating a mountain, that may one day fall upon the progeny of virtuous predecessors, and dash them to pieces; and also to purchase fetters and slavery in the evening of life for those virtuous parents, when they might have been beautiful at the meridian, and wear the polish brighter and brighter in the evening of life. Let us arise, dear friend, from a slumber into which too many have fallen, and shake ourselves. Worldly fame and worldly riches bear no comparison with the riches of immortality and the fame of serving the Lord in our generation; let us join in the rank of dedication, and aspire more and more to be unshackled from every concern but this one concern of living to Him that has died for us; and then we shall stand in a shining lot at the end of days! So wisheth, so prayeth him, who is affectionately and sincerely thy true friend,

SAMUEL NEALE.

1776, Fourth month 10th.—In town, and had some company to dinner about other people's affairs: it is a drudgery I do not like, nor is it compatible with the peace and quietude which it is my study to pursue, when best wisdom covers my mind; but in this world we have a variety of engagements, sometimes on our own and at other times on other people's account. May the Director of virtuous pursuits enable me to get through them with peace and reputation; and that in my running the race, I may feel an increase of spiritual strength to struggle on, and experience at last victory in Him, who is the strength of the battle and the pavilion of peace, safety and conquest!

[It may be well to remark that he was often kindly engaged for the help of the widow, the fatherless and the needy, which labour of love, though at times attended with much harass and fatigue to himself, he often mentions in his diary as affording him much peace and comfort. Indeed he seems to have been as a tender father to the whole flock, over whom he had been by the Great Master appointed an overseer: and he was faithfully concerned to pity and strengthen the weak, to plead with the backslider, to warn the rebellious, to arouse the careless, and to encourage and comfort the faithful and tender, in private opportunities as well as in public ministry, being truly a pattern of diligence in his Divine Master's business, not seeking his own things, but "the things of

Jesus Christ,"—being clothed with humility, and fearful of himself, but leaning only on the arm of All-sufficient strength!

He remarks on the 21st of eleventh month, 1776, on returning home from the National half year's meeting.] Found my wife and family in health, for which and every blessing, I desire to be made truly thankful; and as it is by living near the virtue of Truth that we are made and preserved so, I ardently wish I may be more and more sustained to feel after this excellent virtue, which preserves the mind in a fit state to meet every storm, and to be able to bear every besetment suffered to assault poor mortals, in their passage and pilgrimage through this vale of perplexity.

Spring Mount, 14th First month, 1777.

DEAR FRIEND,—Thy reply to mine respecting an excursion to England in the service of the day, I look upon as conclusive. If thou hadst felt thyself harnessed for a trip there, it would have been a strong inducement to me to look at it with more ease and fortitude; for though my mind has often felt a draft that way, yet not with sufficient force to venture without a good yoke-fellow, and this was my reason for sounding thee distinctly without hinting my own feeling; but if it had increased I believe I should have yielded in the simplicity to the impulse, even in a single state—because that which has heretofore drawn has never yet failed to succour, so as at least to yield the penny of peace. As to great things I never expect them: the sphere I have moved in has been little and low, the measure has been small, and yet in the discharge of that committed to my trust, I have the evidence of that reward the world and its spirit cannot comprehend. In the pursuit of this duty I desire to be preserved; but the present state of the Church is very discouraging, the living active members are but few, and some of these shackled with temporary cares. I have felt *my* portion, I have been favoured to view the inconveniences, and from ability received have got some of them taken off, and hope soon even to feel more liberty from those entanglements that have the delusive glitter of lawful things. Our call is high and holy, the day calls for diligence, the supineness of professors in their own individuals in the general, makes it more absolutely necessary to cleave to that which multiplies our strength. We have few examples of devotion and dedication, too, too many minding their own, and not the things of Jesus Christ; and is not this obvious in those even in the station of ministers and elders, who have received gifts, have known the day-spring from on high, have felt the arising of the nether-springs, and have been made to rejoice as in

the time of harvest? It obstructs the pure running of the celestial stream of unity in our general meetings, and prevents the dominion of that life, that in former days was as a diadem of beauty and a crown of glory. Thou hints to me, "some of you have been honoured with gifts which ye are called to exercise to the edification of others; I envy you not the honour, though I think it is great." Why was it not "us" instead of "ye?" Dost thou disclaim the favour when it is evident thou hast it, and hast been called and sent into the work, yea, and hast worked? Do not excuse thyself by any shelter of thy own creating, for it will not do; my dear friend, thou hast the talents, make the proper improvement; for all was to be left, house and land, wife and children, and even to hate the life, comparatively, that we have in this world, to win a better, to stand approved of Him who had not where to lay his head, though the very foxes had holes, and the birds of the air nests, so single he stood, and so glorious an example transmitted and diffused to his followers. And there are amongst the people professing righteousness, who may be compared to the foxes that have dens, that prey, and raven, and live upon the prey unto themselves, that are to be hunted by those the Lord has chosen for his own work; and others like unto the fowls of the air, that have built their nests on high in lofty imaginations, that are to be brought down by skilful marksmen, such as thou. But if the lawful things should interfere and interpose, and this work be neglected, at whose hands will this be required? why those whom the Lord of light has anointed and chosen for his work. Look around poor Leinster, view the monthly and particular meetings, in some places scarcely a man to stand in the gap where the vulture that makes desolate is creeping in; the same accounts from quarter to quarter, dead and deadening. Remarks are sometimes made which are very pertinent, but the disordered and distempered are not there to hear them, they are in their holes and nests. These remarks unexpectedly occurred, is there not something in them worthy of attention? The monthly meeting is the place to execute the laws and statutes; the dispensers, many of them are of weak hands and unclean lips,—in this state how can Zion arise and come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, the world and the unsanctified spirit of man. If the appointed and anointed, and fitted, bestir not themselves, the deluge will increase, and the standard of formality and unrighteousness will be substituted for righteousness and peace, which were to kiss each other. Farewell, dear friend, may we be "the preserved" from the guilt of negligence in our day, that by overcoming every enemy, we may obtain the white



stone and the new name, registered in the Lamb's book of life, which is the earnest wish of thy affectionate friend in sympathy, and I hope true friendship. SAMUEL NEALE.

[In the autumn of 1778, he paid a visit in gospel love to Friends of Leinster and Ulster provinces, previous to which his mind was deeply exercised, and he writes thus :—]

Ninth month 5th.—I have felt my mind much buffeted of late, some prospects at times arise, which are exercising; how gracious Goodness may dispose of me, I am a stranger to: but I trust I shall be enabled to bear the trials allotted me, and to persevere in seeking Him who is gracious in all His ways, and fully sufficient to save all that trust in Him.

7th.—I have for some time, met with the buffetings of Satan;—had a view opened of some particular things to be done, and yet felt very little strength to do them; but a willingness remained (which was a favour) to endeavour to do what my hands find to do. Another circumstance of trial seems to occur with respect to some of my family, whom I believe are under a visitation from heaven. The cross that is felt by them I seem to feel, and a sympathy and connexion that is exercising; but I trust the Lord of living mercy will stretch forth a hand of preservation, strengthen with inward might, and redeem with the joys of His salvation.

10th.—At meeting; it was exercising, though I had through this exercise some consolations and discoveries, which I trust humbled my mind, and helped to bind my spirit more and more to the testimony of the great Lord and Master.

12th.—Went to Glanmire about my temporal concerns, returned in the evening, I hope thankful and easy. I have of late felt heavy buffetings, but I trust the Great Master will deliver out of them all. I have sometimes looked at them as [in] the justice and mercy of God; at other times, as if they were suffered to come upon me to drive me home to more dedication and dependence, as poor mortals are apt to forget themselves; but I trust the great Lord will deliver from every opposition which the grand enemy may raise up in my own house.

21st.—A meeting for worship preceded that for discipline, [the quarterly meeting at Cork,] in both of which Divine Goodness was manifested, and our hearts were humbled under the evidence that Truth is strongest of all, and when it is in dominion it is beautiful, beyond the setting forth of men or angels!

27th.—First-day, [after attending both meetings, in which he was strengthened to bear testimony for the Truth, and visiting a sick Friend, he remarks,] I came home and felt a draft to

sit down in my own family, by which submission I felt my mind much enriched and replenished; and a season we had of much consolation and brokenness of heart; all present were touched with the holy virtue of Truth. Intending away [to Leinster quarterly meeting] in the morning, we had a sweet instructive parting in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ. One in my family has been made very near and dear unto me, whom I know is visited by the Power of the holy Jesus, to redeem from all things here below.

[He was enabled by Divine Goodness and Power to prosecute the journey he had in prospect, to the peace and relief of his mind; he remarks of the quarterly meeting of Lisburn, that "the meeting for ministers and elders was solid and instructive, and the sweetness of gospel love and virtue attended,"—and of the public meeting, that "Life gradually arose, in which ability was given to speak to various states present, and the meeting ended under a precious sense of Divine favour and virtue." He was permitted to get home on the 26th of tenth month, thankful and easy.]

Twelfth month 6th.—First-day, at meeting, which was favoured with the living presence. I then went to the funeral of my esteemed friend James Doyle, who, after a long illness and much bodily pain, gave up his spirit to the Giver thereof. He was a faithful labourer in the Church, and had been deeply baptized: whilst he lay on his sick-bed, his heart was like a spring well replenished, living counsel flowed therefrom to many who went to visit him, and to his family: their loss is great, and [that of] the Church considerable; but the Great Shepherd and holy Feeder of His people, can raise up many more to speak of His great name, and as he is visiting the young generation, I trust He will prepare their hearts and qualify them to serve Him in their day and time; for He is gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth! We had a large funeral, Thomas Carrington from Pennsylvania, and I were concerned; the way seemed open, the people were very still and attentive, and I trust the testimony was reaching to some states present, the effects of which may return after many days to their remembrance. Returned home to my house, where I felt an impression to sit down in my family; it was a tender good opportunity in the shedding of Divine love and goodness, which tendered our hearts and made us thankful in spirit.

22nd.—Our dear friends Samuel Spavold and Thomas Carrington were at our meeting; we had a good season together, which was as a parting meeting, for they set forward after this towards Carlow quarterly meeting. Dear Samuel Spavold had spent nearly six weeks

amongst us on the family visit; he laboured fervently and earnestly, was much favoured, and went through the families very particularly, those in unity, and those who were not, to good satisfaction.

1779, First month 2nd.—Preparing for my intended journey [a visit to Friends in London, and some meetings going and returning,] which I find lies heavy upon me on various accounts; discouragements attend on the one hand through the workings of an unwearied enemy, who is ever busy to keep the mind in commotion, when any work offers to strengthen and warn the Lord's heritage and people against his devices.

3rd.—First-day at both meetings, in which I was livingly helped to bear a testimony for the great Lord and Lawgiver of the universe. In the evening we had a sweet tender sitting in my family, after which read the Scriptures as usual before rest, and was comforted.

[It appears to have been his practice on a first-day evening to have a sitting in his family, for retirement and waiting on the Lord, to which the young people of his meeting, as also his fellow-labourers, were at liberty to come; many often availed of this privilege, and they generally proved seasons of refreshment and renewal of strength, through the tendering influences of the Heavenly Father's love; so that he was greatly encouraged to persevere in this wholesome exercise and fatherly concern for the flock.]

18th.—I feel my mind much exercised on account of my intended visit to London. I believe it proceeds from the opening of best counsel, and in it I have a trust of being sustained, as my great Master never led me forth in His service that He did not strengthen and qualify in my measure for it, blessed be His name!

29th.—At meeting, the fore part was low, the latter part more lively; and the opening of heavenly counsel was witnessed, in which several things were unsealed tending to comfort, edification, and confirmation, and I trust it may be as bread cast upon the waters. Some of my own family are under a fine visitation; may the great Preserver of men grant that it may be effectual, that it may be lived with, and that the holy Shepherd of Israel may take them into His keeping, and preserve them from harm on every side, that the enemy may not prevail over them, and may He perfect their salvation to His own praise!

30th.—This day a message came that the vessel in which I am to go to England is to go down to-morrow; so having long expected to be called upon, and having put my affairs in order, I commit myself and those I leave behind, into the hands of a faithful Creator, who I know is sufficient for every trial that may be

permitted: may our trust be fixed in Him the eternal Rock of strength!

31st.—First-day, at meeting; our Lord's saying to his disciples, "Lo! I am with you alway, even to the end of the world," was much enlarged upon, and we were comforted together;—blessed be the name of the great Author of every blessing! The afternoon meeting was less lively, but I was favoured with the opening of best counsel, which united my spirit to my friends; after which was the adjournment of our men's meeting, and in the evening several Friends coming up to sit with us, we had a uniting season in the love of Truth, which rejoiced my heart that our parting was in that which quickens, enlivens, and knits together: this was a day of favours, thanks be to the great Lord of his heritage! Next day went on board.

[He mentions being kindly received in Bristol, at the house of Lydia Hawksworth, and proceeded towards London on the 19th of second month, 1779, taking meetings in the way. He stayed in London till the 29th of fourth month, visiting meetings and Friends, and was also at the quarterly meeting at Guildford: he returned home by way of Sheffield, Manchester, Holyhead, and Dublin. Of this journey he remarks], I was mercifully sustained to go through this exercise far beyond my expectation; strength was proportioned according to the work; my companion [John Garrett] and I went forward under the influence of Divine love, and we were united to the living [in Israel], for which may my soul reverence His sacred Name, who lives for ever and ever! I got home the 21st of fifth month, easy and thankful in spirit, and through mercy found my family and affairs in an agreeable state; for which may the praise be ascribed to the Giver of every spiritual blessing, and a fervent disposition cherished to press forward and do the work of the day, that the answer of "Well done, good and faithful servant," may at last be administered, which is the fervent craving of my mind; and sure I am the Lord is good and greatly to be praised!

Twelfth month 5th.—First-day, in the forenoon meeting Samuel Nottingham was engaged in a strong and beautiful testimony suitable to the states of the people; afterwards I felt the movings of the Word of power to speak much in the same line of doctrine, and on the benefits resulting from humility, as in the examples of David and Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah, who were blessed, and the people for their sakes; and contrasted them with opposite characters in Rehoboam, Jeroboam, and Manasseh, who sinned themselves, and the people also by following their wicked examples, which brought down the curse upon



them and upon the land. I exhorted those present to fear the Lord, that they might be a sure seed and honourable plants growing in Truth and righteousness. Attended the adjournment of our meeting for business, and after coming home had a sweet sitting in the family as usual on this evening of the week,—it was a precious opportunity.

1780, First month 28th.—[After speaking of being indisposed and being obliged to keep the house a week, he says] felt myself pretty quiet within, but not without a sense of some of the fiery darts of a wicked enemy still unslain, that will be putting up his head when opportunity and his strength will permit him! May watchfulness and care prevent his ever getting power to rule in my heart and affections; but as he has been cast out, may he be kept out by the power of Divine grace, which saves and preserves, keeps alive, and animates to maintain a constant war with this enemy of all righteousness.

Second month 2nd, 3rd and 4th.—The pain in my side [with which he had been much tried of late] was increased by a fresh cold, but through mercy I feel much better, which is a favour indeed:—a little ailment stops our fervour after this world! May Divine grace operate more and more upon me, that I may show the reverence and obedience I owe to my gracious God, who has done so much for me, taken me by the hand, and enabled me, I trust, to be instrumental to the help of others.

Fourth month 12th and 13th.—Employed much, as for some days past, in having an eye to the work-people at home. Home seems very pleasant to me; when I can enjoy it in contentment and quietude, no place so pleasant! but there is a duty I owe to the Great and all-wise Benefactor. I trust in His influence which strengthens, and hope by and through it to be animated to perform my duty, to leave the nearest connexions to stand approved in His sight, who is holy, merciful and abundant in goodness and truth!

Sixth month 18th.—First-day, in both meetings to-day the virtue of Truth sustained, and the evidence accompanied, that our ministry is not by man nor of man; I felt great peace and composure after this exercise. In the evening sitting several young Friends attended, and we had a solid nourishing season together, I hope in the life and virtue of Truth, we being mutually comforted together. Afterwards read the Scriptures before resting-time [as he remarks somewhat later] to crown our day's work, which is a wholesome exercise fit for all Christians, strengthening as well as delightful.

Tenth month 6th.—It was rather a heavy season at meeting to-day, but ended in a degree of solemnity: we afterwards held our se-

lect meeting, answered the queries, and had a free and open conference about the state of things amongst us. Went to see my dear friend James Gough, [who had come there to visit the families, and had been taken very ill]; I found a swift advancement in the disorder, his visible decline was very moving to behold, and the same evening he quietly and sweetly departed this life to inherit a better! He was a living minister, and well instructed in the mysteries of the kingdom; he was adorned with the beautiful robes of love, and he eminently felt peace on earth to abound in him, and goodwill towards men: he was a devoted faithful labourer in the heavenly vineyard, and he delighted to see the youth, under a heavenly visitation, fitting and preparing for the Lord's vineyard. May the good Spirit which influenced him, descend upon the young and rising generation, that they may grow up serviceable men and women in the Lord's work, that a succession may appear, as the Lord's worthies are released from a militant to a triumphant state!

1781, Fourth month 22nd.—Our evening sitting was large and much favoured; it was a sweet season of encouragement to many present, and a melting opportunity, in which their minds were bowed and contrited. It certainly is of great service to have such select opportunities, they tend to the building up in the most holy faith in Him in whom we have most surely believed, and which gives victory over the world and its spirit.

Eleventh month 13th.—Third-day, at meeting, there was some favour felt to be extended, in which I had a short testimony towards the close: afterwards our men's meeting sat for business, in which several matters came before it, some rather disagreeable; but I hope things ended profitably to some present. The spirit of man bears too great sway in the conducting of our business, which makes things dark and gloomy. The mixture, the linsey-woolsey garment, is too much the covering of some well-intentioned spirits; but the true Spirit of judgment carries through our business with strength and clearness, gives discernment, and crowns with charity and love, covering weakness and restoring a weak brother in the spirit of meekness.

Twelfth month 19th and 20th.—Occupied in my domestic engagements at home and at Glanmire, in which there was little new but a constant attention peculiar to a life of business and of care; but in the midst of all had my eye turned at times to those things which make for peace, and things that edify, in reading, meditation, &c.

1782, First month 17th.—Heard the sorrowful account of the wreck of the *Elizabeth* packet, and the loss of our dear friends Edith

Lovell [who had been in Ireland on a religious visit] and Joseph Sparrow, and twenty-two other passengers, including the captain and some of the sailors. These sorrowful tidings could not but affect the friends of the lost, and many others. Such tidings are new, but though new, when we consider how unsearchable are the ways of Providence and past finding out, we have cause to keep silence, put our mouths in the dust, and learn instruction from the harms and trials of others; for what is man in comprehension, or to be accounted of, here to-day and gone to-morrow! One event happens to the righteous and wicked here in time, but the righteous hath hope in his death, when the hope of the wicked is driven away, in or by his wickedness, as chaff before the wind.

25th.—Attended our week-day meeting, it was low, the travail of spirit that is to be witnessed in getting to a degree of good is deep, and after all, unless Divine virtue moves, we can do nothing towards the glory and honour of the Great Name, so that to wait patiently for its arising is our true interest, and that in the depth of nothingness.

Fourth month 28th.—First-day at Clonmel; in the afternoon meeting I was particularly led to speak on the expediency of preparation for going to our long home. As the spirit is prepared and sanctified for the heavenly inheritance, all will be well and end well; it was the principal part of my concern, which I felt with weight upon my spirit, and as I uttered it, it administered much relief, ease and satisfaction. A Friend in that meeting [Joseph Grubb,] was taken ill in about three days after, occasioned by a cold, and died that day week, much regretted by those who survived him, for he was a valuable member of society, both in a civil and religious capacity, and left a fine hopeful family behind, who I believe all know the work of religion for themselves.

Fifth month 4th.—Attended the National half-year's meeting at Dublin, for ministers and elders, and was exercised therein, as was Thomas Dobson, from England, a very honest Friend, who, with John Foster his companion, are both on a religious visit to this nation.

5th.—First-day, both meetings were mostly held in silence; many Methodists were present who seemed to have their minds much out after words, but were disappointed, as were many also amongst our own people who delight in words. In the evening at my lodging there were about thirty youth present; we had after some waiting, a very sweet opportunity, to the tendering many minds, and I thought such a season was much to be preferred to any temporal enjoyment here upon earth, because it savoured of heaven and heavenly things.

6th.—Our National meeting met:—we waited to feel the arising of the savour of Truth to cement and quicken us; we proceeded through our business in much brotherly love, and though some things occurred which in prospect were painful, yet by keeping in the simplicity and to the feeling virtue of Truth, we stood measurably in that dominion which Truth gives, and in which there is victory. The parting meeting and the meeting for ministers and elders were held on the 9th, in both of which the prevalence, beauty and wisdom of Truth were manifested, I hope to the praise of the Great Name!

1783, Fourth month 27th.—First-day, at our evening sitting at my own house, we had a pretty many Friends, mostly young people, and it was a solid beneficial opportunity in the leadings and goings forth of the blessed testimony [of Truth]; the subject was respecting a good and honourable family—Truth is what makes honourable [as the Spirit thereof is yielded unto]—neither titles, learning, nor riches will do without it, because we see some of the worst, possessed of these things; but Truth, where it is cherished, beautifies and makes honourable; those who are in a state of obscurity are made conspicuous in time, and when they are removed out of time, it joins to the generations of the just, and all the living, since the creation of the world, in a state of glory!

Seventh month 2nd, and 3rd.—About my outward affairs, in which there wanted not a mixture of perplexity, as is often the case in the affairs of this life, but certainly too much of temporals, dulls and loads the spiritual life that is in pursuit of celestial enjoyments!

11th.—Felt a low heavy exercise at meeting, but towards the close a serenity seemed in degree to spread over us, which made us thankful for every degree of the Divine blessing, and the least [glimmer] of light from the influence of the Sun of righteousness, when shed upon us, ought to be prized and lived unto with humility and fear.

1784, First month 11th.—First-day, both our meetings were silent. Great lowness and heaviness prevail in our assemblies; the Divine life seems very much veiled from us; we seem as though we sat in darkness, and the beauty and comeliness of Truth very much shaded from us. May heavenly favour return, or we shall be a frozen people! In our evening sitting, several young people were present, and I thought we were favoured with the lifting up of the light of the heavenly countenance upon us.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Attends the yearly meeting in London, in 1784; religious service in Ireland continued—death*



*of Sarah R. Grubb at his house—conclusion of his journal—testimony concerning him from Cork monthly meeting.*

[It appears he attended the yearly meeting in London in the year 1784, at which he states] there were no less than ten ministering Friends from America; it proved a profitable time to many: the sittings thereof continued to the 5th of sixth month. It was moved both among the men and women, and Truth evidently owned it, that a yearly meeting for women Friends be established. The proposition was brought forward thirty-one years before, when John Churchman and William Brown were present; it was a time evidently owned by Truth, a variety of sentiments appeared, many Friends spoke of the utility and expediency of the measure, but opposition being made to it at that time, it was then postponed. It was again revived some years after, when I happened to be at the yearly meeting, and was again prevented from being carried into execution, and I remember that I then hoped to live to see it. On the 5th, twelve women Friends came into the men's meeting and made their proposition with great solemnity, Elizabeth Robinson, Esther Tuke, Alice Rigg, Martha Routh, Mary Proud, Sarah Grubb, and the American Friends. The evidence of Truth strongly impressed the minds of those present with a sense of their concern being right, and Friends concurred so heartily with them, that a minute was made to that purpose at the next sitting of the meeting; and a copy of the said minute was handed to the women Friends by a deputation from the men's meeting. Robert Valentine, William Tuke and I were the deputies; we had a good time among them, and left them in sweet peace: we returned to the men's meeting, and the Epistle was read, and the meeting of business ended. Great harmony prevailed this yearly meeting, which was comfortable and consolatory. The American brethren had a good service at it, and I hope impressions were made that will not readily be erased; talkative men were kept down, and I trust the Truth gained ground this day in our Society and amongst its professors.

7th of Sixth month.—Our concluding meeting of ministers and elders was held; it was very solemn, and many living testimonies were borne by various Friends under the sweet influence of Truth, which closed this yearly meeting.

On the 10th, I set forward for home, with Joseph Inman, John Gough, and James Lecky; after attending several meetings in Liverpool, we embarked on the 15th for Dublin, and were favoured to land on the 19th, thankful I hope for our getting safe, under the protection of the Most High, who leads out, and

brings home, blessed be His holy righteous Name for ever.

Twelfth month 4th.—Our quarterly meeting for ministers and elders was held at Cork; it was rather low in the beginning, but ended in a degree of strength and living virtue. Mehetabel Jenkins from New England, was with us; she is a sweet-spirited laborious Friend, much in the innocency and simplicity of the Truth.

1785, Twelfth month 7th.—I have of late been sensible of declining health and debility of constitution; what it may amount to the Lord only knows, and his mercies are over all his works; He has all power in heaven and earth, and can control every malady, and make hard things easy, and rough things smooth, if he sees meet: but may every dispensation be sanctified, and then all will end well!

[After speaking of attending the quarterly meeting at Mountmellick, on the 10th, 11th and 12th of second month, 1786, which he says was a very favoured season to the Church, the merciful sheddings of Divine love being witnessed both in the meetings of worship and discipline, and they were made to rejoice together, he goes on]. On the 14th we went forward to Tullamore and Moate: on the 15th was at the week-day meeting at the latter place, and the meeting for discipline; the life of religion seems very low here, the world and worldly connexions have very much impeded the Divine work from going forward, and have tarnished the heavenly brightness that ought to be on the countenances of those who make profession of the pure Truth. The business that came before the meeting was harmoniously conducted, and some of us who were present felt our minds united for a family visit, which being agreed to, we stayed in that service some days, and were enabled to complete it to our mutual satisfaction, having also some private visits in making up a difference, which I hope we effected. After staying some time, visiting my friends and attending meetings at Rathangan, Edenderry, Mountmellick and Garryroan, I returned home on the 13th of third month, and though I felt myself much weakened, I was thankful to have got this little journey well over.

14th.—Was at our week-day meeting, and after all the favours extended whilst abroad, when the Divine power withdraws we are as nothing,—poor empty creatures, like empty pitchers!

[In the year 1786, he was visited with a severe illness, which continued several weeks: after his recovery, he writes thus:] The doctors attended from the 21st of the ninth month, for about eleven weeks, in which time I went through abundance of bodily suffering. The Lord was good and gracious, and replenished

my mind in an extraordinary manner, and opened the fountain of life in me to speak to divers states and conditions; many of whom were deeply affected under the influence thereof. The inward support I felt was very remarkable; the patience and resignation of my mind, amidst the violent pain attending, were marvellous in my own eyes; the sympathy of my friends, far and near, was very sustaining; and I look upon it as one of the greatest blessings in this life, next to Divine favour, to have the unity of our friends in the time of bodily affliction.

1786, Twelfth month 7th, &c.—I am still confined with my complaint: I am sensible of the continuance of merciful regard, and am desirous to be obedient to the manifestations of Divine goodness. On first-day evenings [during this confinement to the house] we had the company of some Friends, which was very pleasing and consolatory, and some of these seasons were much to my edification and comfort. The mercies of the Lord are as a great deep, flowing upward, and replenishing the poor and needy. We are under innumerable obligations: may a proper sense hereof remain on our minds, impress our spirits, and live in our actions!

1788, Twelfth month 11th.—We had the company of several Friends appointed to sit with us in our meeting for discipline, William Fennell, Benjamin Grubb, Robert Grubb, James Malone, and Thomas Taverner. Their company was very acceptable, and I hope of service, in the present low state of our meeting, in which the authority of Truth seems much wanting, and instead thereof the zeal and fire of man is too prevalent, which will never do the Lord's work, or bring honour to His name and power; for the wisdom and passions of man can never work the righteousness of God.

[After this time he seldom had good health, though frequently engaged in religious services. In the year 1788, he wrote thus:] 15th of twelfth month. Not well of late; my mind feels mercifully resigned to my great Lord and Master:—I find my natural strength gradually declining, and a great change in my constitution since the severe illness I had about two years ago. My greatest consolation is, that I have faithfully discharged my duty to the best of my knowledge, and followed the pointings of the Heavenly Shepherd, who went before me, and sustained in the performance of His own requirings;—blessed be His holy name for ever, saith my soul. The consideration of these things is now a staff of support to lean upon in my present declining state of health. I may in reverence acknowledge, that since my feet have been turned to follow the Lord my God, he has blessed me in basket and in store,

has hitherto helped me in a spiritual sense, and made me to hope in His salvation, which is a crown of rejoicing to me in my present confinement.

1789, First month 16th.—Bodily infirmity continues to be my lot, and great inward stripping and poverty of spirit; which I resign myself unto, because I think in the due and appointed time I may be delivered from it, by the power of Him who can change a desert, and make it a fruitful field!

1790, Second month 7th and 8th.—We had the company of our beloved friends Martha Routh and Martha Haworth, also of Robert and Mary Dudley, who came to attend our Province meeting: the meetings were favoured and large. Little was expressed in testimony; the expectations of the people were great, which often is a considerable block in the way of ministry, because they eye the servants instead of the Master, and He is jealous of his honour and will not give His glory to another, neither His praise to imagery; it is impossible for the best instruments to do any good of themselves, it would certainly be imagery, only a likeness, or a picture without life, power, or edification!

Sixth month 9th.—Preparing for our quarterly meeting to be held at Limerick;—it is a time of much exercise to me on account of the debilitated state both I and my wife are in [for this journey]; the Lord our God is sufficient to uphold us, and to increase our faith and strength; may His holy arm be our strength and refuge!

12th.—Our quarterly meeting for ministers and elders was held, I thought it a savoury season, where much good counsel was imparted. In the other meetings we had some good opportunities for the strengthening each other in the way of Truth and righteousness.

24th.—We set forward for the Leinster quarterly meeting held at Moate, which was a favoured season; the Great Master was pleased to bless with help, to testify to His name and power. We attended Mountmellick monthly meeting, and the week-day meeting at Rathangan, and arrived in Dublin on the 10th of seventh month, where we staid till the 22nd. I had divers relieving opportunities at meeting and in private sittings with my friends; one of which was a conference with J. D. respecting his great fortune, and the danger his family are in who are likely to possess it,—setting before him the utility and expediency of dividing it with those who may merit help, &c.; he seemed to take it well, and this little discharge of duty gave me great ease and made me thankful. Taking Ballitore and Clonmel meetings in our way, we returned home on the 3rd of eighth month, where we found all things well, which is a renewed mercy, and that we were



so well supported in this long journey of eight weeks.

Eleventh month 27th.—Our meeting of ministers and elders was held; it was a season of profit, some things were spoken to in the authority and life; dear Sarah R. Grubb was with us, and as usual was sweet in her remarks and opening of counsel, and also in both meetings next day.

29th.—In the meeting for discipline Sarah Grubb gave some account of her late journey [on the continent of Europe] with diffidence; she gave in great humility some good advice before she left the meeting, and though very poorly, was helped through her service wonderfully. She returned to my house, and became so ill that she took to her bed, and there continued until the 8th of twelfth month, when she quietly departed this life. She was a worthy, who dedicated her time and her talents to the service of her great Lord, and few are more universally regretted by the Church in this quarter of the nation. My mind was much exercised on account of our dear friend, and I had hopes she would have recovered, her days not being long in this life in comparison of many others, she being between thirty-four and thirty-five years of age, and had the appearance of a branch that conveyed a prospect of much fruit; her loss is a great stroke to her surviving relatives and friends.

Our men's meeting was solemn, and Friends were under a travail of spirit for the prosperity of the Church: many Friends called on us after the meetings were over, and we had several precious sittings in the evenings during the illness of this beloved deceased Friend.

At the interment on the 12th, we had a very solemn opportunity; the doctrine of the gospel flowed both in the meeting and at the ground. In the evening, in a solemn sitting, several Friends were concerned to speak to edification and comfort; and thus closed this solemn scene. I sympathize with the poor husband, who returned home the next day, accompanied by many relations and friends, in a very humble frame of spirit.

1791, Ninth month 16th.—Left home in order to attend our Province meeting at Limerick, and from thence to that at Moate, and so to join the Friends (appointed by the National meeting) on a visit to Leinster Province, which meetings were favoured in a good degree with the Divine presence and the opening of living counsel. Elizabeth Gibson [from Essex] and Ann Till Adams [from Bristol] were at Moate. We visited the schools at Mountmellick to good satisfaction, and the members of the select meeting, as also at Ballitore, Enniscorthy, Cooladine, &c., and were

favoured with the opening of best counsel, which though close, was, I think, in the spirit of love. At Wicklow, the 28th of tenth month, none of us had anything to express, all seemed closed up. The 29th we reached Dublin, where we staid, attending the quarterly, National, and other meetings to pretty good satisfaction; in which Divine Goodness was pleased to reveal His ancient kindness to His Church, and in the ability He was pleased to give, the business was carried on, I hope, to the honour of His great Name. Here we had the sorrowful tidings of the removal of our dear friend John Gough from works to rewards; a man very eminent for his extensive gifts and talents, and his great humility made him beautiful in the department he filled in the mystical body. His loss seems to be great as a living member of the Church. May the great Qualifier of faithful members raise up others to fill the vacancies that appear so obvious, that we may still have a Church and people capable to show forth His praise!

On the 11th of eleventh month, I set forward for Ballitore, and concluded to stay over first-day there, being in good company and feeling much united to them. I was at two good meetings, and at one in the evening at dear Richard Shackleton's, where were divers Friends, and it was indeed a tender season to several then present!

On the 15th, we got to Anner Mills to Sarah Grubb's, and stayed there the 16th, and had a sweet opportunity in the family in the evening. The 17th was at the monthly meeting at Clonmel, the meeting for worship was solemn, but that for discipline was very exercising, the wit and wisdom of the creature being too prevalent, and the innocent Life not being enough kept to, which is the crown of our meetings for discipline! Lodged this night at Mary Dudley's, and next morning set forward for home, where I arrived safely the 19th, and found my family mercifully enjoying health.

20th.—First-day, I attended both meetings, in the forenoon I was strengthened to bear testimony to the goodness of a gracious God, and the meeting concluded in supplication.

[This was nearly the last entry in his Journal. It does not appear that any account has been preserved among the relations and descendants, of the last illness and close of the life of Samuel Neale, beyond what is contained in the subjoined testimony from Cork monthly meeting, which now only remains to be given to the reader.]

*A TESTIMONY from the men's meeting of Cork, concerning Samuel Neale, deceased.*

As the Lord hath seen meet to deprive us of a living minister of the gospel, raised up, quali-

fied, and sustained by the influence of His Holy Spirit; whose extensive labours of love, after a long residence amongst us, are fresh in our remembrance; we find our minds engaged, from the best information we have received, and from our own knowledge, to testify concerning this our dear and honourable friend.

He was born in Dublin, in the year 1729: his mother died when he was about six years old; and his father soon after went to reside in America.

It is worthy of remark, that, although he was deprived of many of the advantages which numbers of our youth are favoured with, in a religious guarded education, yet he was an object of the peculiar notice of the Great Preserver of men, having at times, felt the incomes of Divine love at so early a period as scarcely to understand what it was that so visited his tender mind: but as he grew up, he gave way to youthful follies and vain amusements, for which he often felt the reproofs of instruction; but slighted these gracious visitations.

About the age of eighteen, he was placed apprentice in Dublin, where he was much exposed, and suffered great loss; associating with the gay and licentious, and with them rushing into iniquity, and indulging himself in most of the pernicious amusements of that city. During this period he was not forsaken, being followed by conviction and remorse; nor was he suffered long to run on in that path, which with awful certainty leads down to the chambers of death, but in the career of vanity and dissipation, he was met with in a memorable manner.

Soon after his apprenticeship he came to this city, for the purpose of forming connexions in business: where, as well as on the journey, he met some of his associates, and again gave way to irregularities; yet, having in his worst state frequented meetings, and being at a meeting for worship here, which our friends Mary Peisley and Catharine Payton, then on a religious visit, attended; the latter was enabled to speak to his state with such clearness and authority, that the witness in his heart was powerfully reached, and the strongholds of sin and Satan broken in him. Happily this gracious call was not rejected; he submitted thereto with full purpose of heart, and in the prime of life making an unreserved surrender of his will to the Divine will, and turning his back on sensual, sinful gratifications, he afforded a remarkable instance of the blessed effects of an entire dedication of heart. This precious, powerful visitation was in the twenty-second year of his age; and being through infinite Mercy, preserved in and under it, it was not many months until he came forth in the ministry, evidently attended with the baptizing power of the Gospel; which had so reaching

an effect on many of the hearers, divers of whom had been his former companions, that it afforded abundant cause of humble admiration and thankfulness.

About this time, our friend William Brown arrived from America, on a religious visit to these nations; and, not having a companion, he, with the concurrence of his friends, joined and continued with him, through most of his travels in this nation, parts of England, Holland and Germany, we believe much to their mutual consolation, and to his own establishment.

In the year 1753, he removed to reside with in the compass of Edenderry monthly meeting, and continued in the exercise and improvement of his gift.

In 1757, he was joined in marriage to that dignified instrument Mary Peisley: this connexion was dissolved within the short space of three days; it having pleased the All-wise Disposer of events to remove that valuable woman after a few hours' illness. This heavy trial he bore with much resignation to the Divine will, manifesting the inward support which was afforded him, by the lively exercise of his gift at her interment.

In the year 1760, he was married to Sarah, the daughter of Joshua Beale, a valuable elder of this meeting, and, in her, experienced a tender faithful companion during the remainder of his life. Soon after his marriage, he settled within the compass of this meeting, and, we believe, that it was under the direction of best Wisdom; his Gospel labours, through the Divine blessing upon them, being very helpful and strengthening to this part of the vineyard.

Having for several years felt a weighty concern to pay a religious visit to the meetings of Friends in North America, with the full unity and concurrence of his brethren, he embarked in the eighth month, 1770; and was enabled to visit the churches generally on that continent, to the consolation and strengthening of many, and to the peace of his own mind. He returned in the eleventh month, 1772, and, at a suitable season, with great brokenness of spirit, gave a diffident, tendering account of the said visit, ascribing all praise to that Power which had qualified and sent forth, and so marvellously to him, conducted through the various probations attendant on such a service.

He was often engaged in visiting Friends in sundry parts of this nation; was several times in England and Wales; and once in Scotland on the same account.

While favoured with health, he was exemplary in the attendance of our particular and general meetings; and divers times attended the yearly meeting in London. Thus he continued occupying with his gift at home and



abroad, until increasing age and infirmities of body, became some impediment to his labours in that line.

His last journey was on a visit to Friends in the province of Leinster, in which he felt a concern, to join some that were appointed by the National meeting. In this service he evidently appeared replenished with the love and tenderness of the gospel; steadily moving under the cover of it, and bringing forth the fruits of charity, patience, and meekness of wisdom.

Having returned home, he found himself still more indisposed, unable to attend meetings much afterwards; and, in some short time, he was affected with a mortification in his foot, which put a period to his existence here. The means and medicines which were judged necessary to be used in his case, tended in a great degree to stupify his mental faculties; which is much to be regretted: but, while reason and recollection were continued, his expressions bespoke a mind peaceful, calm and resigned: In this trying illness, he was preserved meek, humble, and patient: and quietly departed this life the 27th of second month, 1792, aged 62 years; a minister 40 years; and we doubt not, is entered into the joy of his Lord, and into his Master's rest.

His remains were interred in our burying ground the 2nd day of the month following, after a meeting previously held at the meeting-house on the occasion, which was gra-

ciously owned by Divine favour, and several living testimonies were then borne.

His ministry amongst us at home was truly acceptable and edifying, being renewedly under the precious influence of the gospel, and often, in commemoration of the manifold blessings graciously extended by our bountiful Creator: and having himself, as he was wont to express, largely experienced Divine mercy and compassion, he was much clothed with charity towards others.

He was generally and much beloved; benevolent, hospitable, and kind; an affectionate husband, and a sincere sympathizing friend.

Signed in and on behalf of our three weeks' men's meeting, held by adjournment in Cork, 15th of fourth month, 1792.

Signed by many Friends.

Read and approved in our quarterly meeting for Munster province, held at Clonmel, 23rd of fourth month, 1792, and in, by order, and on behalf thereof, signed by

SAMUEL DAVIS, *Clerk*.

Read and approved in our National half-year's meeting, held in Dublin, by adjournments from the 29th of the fourth month, to the 3rd of the fifth month, 1792, inclusive, and in, and on behalf thereof, signed by

JACOB HANCOCK, Jun., *Clerk*.

The testimony was finally taken up to the yearly meeting in London, in the fifth month, 1792.

## SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND RELIGIOUS EXERCISES

OF

# MARY NEALE,

FORMERLY MARY PEISLEY.

PRINCIPALLY COMPILED FROM HER OWN WRITINGS.

### INTRODUCTION.

THE following Christian experiences [of MARY PEISLEY,] falling into my hands, I thought well to collect and put them into order for the perusal of others.

She led an exemplary life, being watchful over herself, and zealous for the prosperity of Truth; her mind was so much to its centre, and her attention so inward, that she often drew others, by her awful sitting, into silence in

Friends' families; and as her cup overflowed, she ministered to them as one having authority; so that it may be truly said, she was fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.

Ample accounts have been received of her services in both England and America, in which the Lord was pleased to bless her labour, and sanctify it to many.

She mourned for the obvious declension of our Society from its primitive simplicity in manners and conduct; often declaring that ere it shone again in its ancient beauty, the rubbish

must be removed;—that there must be a division between the precious and the vile, those who served the Lord, and those who served Him not; but that before this day comes, greater degrees of darkness would prevail amongst us as a people, and more of the night come upon us before the day of beauty and reformation would again revive in splendour. And therefore she was fervently engaged, that the faithful every where might stand upon their watch, and discharge themselves as watchmen and watchwomen upon the walls of Zion, having their armour on and their lights burning, to be able to discover, as well as oppose, the approach of the enemy.

The latter part of her time she was attended with much bodily weakness and indisposition,

which often rendered her unfit for travelling; these she called visitations of the mercy of God to her soul, in order to preserve her to Himself, and stain the beauty and glory of this world in her view; that her affections might be weaned from terrestrial objects, and fixed upon those things that are above—permanent and enduring to all eternity.

That the perusal of the following experiences may be blessed, and that the footsteps of this handmaid of the Lord may excite and encourage all to press into the path of self-denial, the sure way to sanctification and the rest of the righteous, in which she delighted, is, reader, the fervent desire of

Thy well-wishing friend,  
SAMUEL NEALE.

## THE LIFE OF MARY NEALE.

MARY NEALE, late Peisley, was the daughter of Peter and Rachel Peisley, and was born in the year 1717, at Ballymore, in the county of Kildare, in Ireland. She was educated in the Society of Friends; but a disposition to keep company, unrestrained by the cross of Christ, led her from Truth's simplicity in manners and behaviour. On reviewing her early life, she thus expresses herself:

"I count it an infinite mercy and high favour, that the omnipotent God suffered not the thread of my life to be cut, during the many years that I lived in disobedience to his holy will; and though often by the operation of his grace inwardly touched and convicted of my errors, and the veil so far rent from off my understanding, as to let me see that I stood on the brink of ruin, yet I did as often suffer the enemy and adversary of my soul again to darken my understanding and benum my spiritual feeling; and the tumultuous noises, pleasures and allurements of this world stifled the intelligence of the still small voice, which would have directed me, saying, 'This is the way, walk in it.' Our meeting also was favoured with a living and powerful ministry, which I often slighted. Thus have I, with my hard and impenitent heart, stoned his prophets; and by my unbelief and uncircumcised spirit, persecuted them that were sent to declare and proclaim the glad tidings of the gospel, to invite and call to those who were in captivity, held by the chains of sin, to come away to the glorious liberty of the Truth. I have to remember, as an inexpressible favour and mercy to my soul, that in the height of all my

vanity and stupidity, I was not suffered to run into the gross enormities of the world;—I was kept from those loud, crying, hardening, black crimes, which had I run into, might have so highly provoked my Creator, as to have caused Him to say in his wrath, 'Thou shalt not enter into my rest.'

"A short time before my conversion I had a fall from my horse, by which I was apparently in danger of having my neck disjointed, and a sudden end put to my life. As soon as I arose on my feet and recovered my senses, the Lord by his grace and good Spirit showed me clearly that I was not in a fit condition to meet Him, the just and holy Judge of heaven and earth; and caused me solidly to consider the dismal consequence of being hurried off the stage of mortality, in an unprepared state; the impression of which never left my mind, until God, by his grace, had made me more fit for his kingdom;—the glory of which be given to his everlasting name."

About this time two Friends in the service of Truth appointed a meeting within the compass of that in which she resided. Their awful reverent sitting before the Lord, waiting upon him for his presence and aid, struck her in an unusual manner; and raised in her mind a fervent inquiry after the revelation of the Father through his Son. She had often heard of the comforts of the Holy Spirit, the instruction of the light that comes by Jesus Christ, and the way of spiritual worship: but she still remained a stranger to the true manner of seeking and breathing after it in her own experience. She has expressed how deeply her



mind was affected, by the silent and humble waiting of the before-mentioned Friends, and by the operation of the universal spirit of grace shed in her heart, so that she was aroused to inquire for herself; and as she pressed to wisdom's gate her seeking mind was satisfied.

During this dispensation of inward inquiry, she was helped forward to diligence by the ministry of some of the Lord's messengers, who spoke comfortably to her state, and encouraged her in perseverance and well-doing,—speaking prophetically, that the Lord would raise up in that meeting some, who should bear his name among the gentiles, and be messengers of peace and glad tidings to the people, if obedience and faithfulness to the heavenly manifestations were kept to.

By an humble resignation to the Divine will, forming the vessel in what manner the heavenly Potter pleased, the work went forward prosperously. She appears to have been an instance of great fervency and devotedness to whatever the Divine influence dictated, watchful to hear the voice, and obedient to fulfil the command, though it might be in giving up that which was as a right hand or a right eye.

She left in writing "A commemoration of the mercies and tender dealings of the Lord" towards her at this early period of her life, when, as she stated, "He saw meet to divest me of all things here below, that were near and dear to me, and left me no inheritance on earth but his own Providence; and like himself, when in the prepared body, and his immediate followers, he made me to have no certain place of abode: yet did he raise up friends for me where I least expected them, and when I was deprived of the care and help of my natural father and mother, he became a Father to me, and made others willing to act for me as though I had been their own offspring; and no sooner did one friend seem to fail me, but there were others raised up in a fresh quarter, where he would have my lot to be cast. Thus as a child was I given up to be disposed of according to his good pleasure; but my stubborn heart would often rebel against him, and presume to enter into expostulations with him, and reason with him thus: 'Why am I come into this situation? Why receive I thy blessings at a second hand, and must thank my fellow mortals for all the temporal good I receive?' Thus ungratefully did I upbraid and murmur against my kind Benefactor, which drew down his wrath and displeasure, and caused him to hide his face and leave me to the buffeting of the enemy, who would have had no mercy on me, had not the ever-merciful God limited him and shortened his chain. Thus did I by times count myself the most miserable of all creatures, bereaved of all inward and outward com-

forts. The sorrow and anxiety of my soul were unspeakable, yea, inconceivable by all that had not felt the like. But the Lord tried me if I would walk by faith and not by sight, follow him through bushes and brambles, and in an untrodden path, to see if I could embrace religion with all its rigors and discipline, without its soul-supporting consolations; to see if I could love and follow him for the favours I had received without hopes of future: or if I could live on the commemoration of his beauty and excellency when he had drawn as it were a curtain between my soul and him, so that no ray of light pierced through to my benighted soul. Yet at times I was sensible the Divine Arm was underneath, though invisible, which kept me from sinking into the pit of despair; even that hand of power that was reached to Peter when he began to sink in the storm, when he ventured to walk on the seas. During the time of this my probation, there was made me an offer of a place in a worthy family in the neighbourhood where I lived, which seemed to be much to my advantage as to the outward: this led me to seek counsel of the Lord, and to desire his direction in this undertaking. After having weighed it in my mind in the best manner I was capable of, I found freedom to make trial of it for a time,\* where I was received with all possible kindness and respect, and wanted nothing this world could afford: but I wanted the consolation of my Beloved and the light of his countenance; all other enjoyments were embittered to me, and wanted the relish they otherwise would have had. And this I found to be a trial to me, to see if I could rest in the creatures without the Creator; which I could not do, blessed be the name of my God; who had opened an eye in me that could look beyond this world, and gave me to see the emptiness of all things here below, unless he filled them, and the danger that was in them, unless he sanctified them to us. This made me resolve I would not enjoy them without him, which brought upon me a great conflict and warfare between flesh and spirit.

"Having left my former place of settlement, I had no place to go to but my father's cottage, which was very mean to what I had ever been used to: but this I resolved, by the blessing of the Lord, I would not endanger my soul, let what would become of my body. The seeds of ambition and self-love, which I thought had in a good degree been bruised to death, began now to struggle, and powerfully to exert themselves against the pure, lowly, humble Seed of life; and all they wanted to overcome was, that my will should join with them; which the ever-merciful God kept me from, and raised strong

\* At the widow Ann Strangman's, of Mountmellick.

cries in my soul to him, that he might be pleased to give me victory over my grand enemies, the flesh, the world, and the devil. And he was graciously pleased to hear and answer my petition, and have regard to my tears and sighs, and brought up his own royal Seed into dominion in my soul; and so he bruised the serpent's head, that every thought, wish, and desire of my heart was brought into perfect subjection. Then could I say in truth and righteousness, and in sincerity of soul, 'Not my will, but thine be done, O! God: let me possess this quiet habitation, this peaceable and happy state, and divest me of what else thou seest meet beside. May I be secure of thy love and favour,—it suffices me; let worldly-minded men laugh at my folly for denying myself and the world; I can pray for them and pity their blindness.'

"Thus did the Lord in matchless love cast into the ocean of annihilation, these passions which, had they been suffered to reign, would have made me unhappy here and miserable hereafter. Now was my father's humble cottage become so pleasing to me, that I did not envy the greatest monarch on earth; nor would I change with them if I might. How would the Lord often raise my heart in humble thankfulness to him, in that he fully supplied the demands of nature; and everything that would gratify a haughty aspiring mind, he as kindly denied. When I had a leisure hour to meditate in the fields, behold the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field, how contented thought I they are in their present state, who are to have no happiness but what they receive here; it teaches me that whatsoever station or situation in this life, Providence has been pleased to fix me in, I ought to be fully satisfied, seeing he knows best what is good for me, and that I only crave a passage to endless felicity. And when I find in myself that capacious mind which cannot, like the brute animals, rest satisfied with the enjoyments of this low creation or the gratification of sense, it helps to confirm me, that there is a part in me that was made for Divine enjoyments, and which struggles to be released from this cage of clay, that it may come to the full enjoyment of that, of which I now have but glimpses and tastes. When I behold the innocent fowls of the air fly from bush to bramble, wander up and down, carefully seeking every lost grain, the worms, little insects and wild fruits, for the sustenance of nature, it convinces me that I ought to labour willingly with my hands, and not to be a burden to the creation; seeing that my limbs were formed for activity, and that Adam in his angelic state, or state of innocency, was to dress the garden and to keep it. How freely now could I relinquish popularity and vain applause,

which the generality of mankind have such an insatiable thirst after! but I am sensible there is no having general applause, without envy and calumny; for there is a set of mortals so wrapped up in pride and self-love, that they cannot bear to hear any one well spoken of but their own dear selves. And besides this, it is a dangerous breath of air which cherishes vain glory's root; it will never waft us to heaven, but rather clip the wings of towering virtue. On these considerations, I cried from the bottom of my soul, 'O! my God, give me the thorough knowledge of thee and of myself, let me possess a mind rightly cultivated, with all my passions in subjection, and a total resignation of my will and purposes to thy holy will, a mind truly humbled, satisfied with few things, filled with humble thankfulness; let me thus enjoy my happy and innocent solitude, and I shall not envy, nor desire, the glory of this fading, perishing world.'

"MARY PEISLEY."

Her entrance into the work of the ministry was about the beginning of the year 1744, near which time she had unexpected domestic trials, which brought her very low in mind, from a sense of the singularity of her situation; but her trust being in the Lord, she was eminently supported. About this period she wrote thus to a friend:—

TO A FRIEND.

"I DOUBT not but thou art touched in some degree with a sense of my deep and heavy afflictions which are of various kinds. Many are the probations which I have passed through, and still am under. I can by no means set forth the wise, prudent and merciful manner, in which my tender and heavenly Father has dealt with me; by fortifying my mind beforehand, and likewise in supporting and upholding me under my trials. In the infiniteness of his wisdom and boundless mercy, he stained the beauty of this world in my eyes, wiped off the varnish and gilding, and let me see before they were snatched from me, that they were but momentary, fading enjoyments; and the greatest and best of them were but short-lived blessings, and shadows that would vanish away. Neither did his kindness end there, for he likewise showed me what *was* substance, the pearl of inestimable value; at the sight of which my soul was so transported, that I cried out in an ecstasy of joy, 'Cause me, Lord, to possess this treasure, and for the sake of it divest me of whatever seems good in thy sight;'—this was my covenant with the King of kings. So great was the goodness of my God, dispensed and proportioned in wisdom, that he did not at



that time reveal himself to me in so full a manner as he has since done, at a time when I most of all wanted it. In my deepest plungings he has caused my soul to taste of joys and consolations, to which I was before a stranger. Nor would I have presumed to ask for the favours of patience and resignation and fortitude of mind, which he has undeservedly bestowed on me an unworthy creature. M. P."

An opportunity presented for her to reside in the family of a Friend, within the compass of Mountmellick meeting, of whose daughter she had the care. In this station she continued for some time, until she apprehended herself thereby deprived, in some degree, of a full liberty to exercise the gift received, and to live to Him alone, who had quickened her anew in Christ Jesus. She wrote thus to a relation at this period.

#### TO HER COUSIN.

Edenderry, 2nd of Second month, 1746.

ESTEEMED COUSIN,—After the salutation of dear and unfeigned love, I may inform thee that by the wonderful mercy of Providence I enjoy health of body, although I have been of late in the midst of infection, and have suffered more hardship by constant care and labour, than I ever knew.

I suppose that thou hast heard that I have been for some time past at Ann Strangman's, where several of the family have been ill of a fever; so that it unavoidably fell to my lot to be assisting at that time, as it so fell out that all the women servants were ill at one time, and others of the family; and before that happened, I was not without a large share of trouble and care, I being entrusted with the care and oversight of the family, which I find to be a great load and oppression to my mind, and a hindrance to my spiritual warfare, which I think far worse than my bodily hardship. But I am come to this result in myself, that if Providence do not make way for my task to be more easy, that I will quit it, as I am not bound to it: for I am resolved by the blessed assistance of Israel's God, not to bury that talent which he has given me (in the earth,) nor to quit the occupying of it for any outward employment. Better would it be for me to wander, as the prophets formerly did,—destitute, distressed and naked, than to sell an unfading inheritance, for any prospect of advantage here. For I am sure, to drudge for the sustenance of the body, as do the beasts, and to live for no nobler ends, than to eat, drink and sleep, such a life is not worth living for: not that I am against moderate honest industry, for I am convinced it is good for both body and mind;—

but I never experimentally knew the hurt and danger of inordinate care as at this time.

M. P.

About this time a concern attended her mind, to visit Friends of the three provinces; this she pretty generally performed in company with Elizabeth Tomey of Limerick, in sweet unity and concord. They met with low times and seasons, deep baptism of spirit; they travailed for and with the seed, and at times were set at liberty in the authority and power of Truth, to minister to the various classes of the people. Of the quarterly meeting of Ulster held in Lurgan, she gives the following account:

"We attended the meeting of ministers and elders, where we had close work; but the power of the Lord upheld us above the fear of man. Next day had some encouragement to the faithful and well-minded, but could not that day reach the libertine spirit; however we waited for renewed strength from the Lord, to engage against the Goliaths, who defy the armies of the living God. The day after being first-day, we sat in a low humble depending state, until the Lord gave the spirit of supplication; after which his power was set over all, and testimony was borne to his name, and transgressors were shown their errors, in the demonstration of the Lord's Spirit and power."

After this journey she went to reside with a relation at Borris in Ossory, from whence she writes as follows:

#### TO A RELATION.

I AM at times concerned for the whole bulk of mankind, but in a more particular manner for my kindred according to the flesh, and especially those who were my companions in my former vanities, as well knowing what the life I then led would have ended in, had not my God, in his infinite mercy opened my eyes, and stopped my race to ruin; and though I was in the broad way that leads to destruction, yet was I innocent of, and free from the gross enormities that are in the world; and because thereof the enemy persuaded me that I was safe enough. But alas! I found I was living as without God in the world, in forgetfulness of him, a stranger and unregenerate; in short, that I was an enemy to God, and under his just wrath and displeasure. And now I may say, that I am jealous with a godly jealousy, that thou art yet in that unregenerate condition. Thou wilt say, perhaps, thou art not called to the same work that I have been called to, viz., the work of the ministry, and hast no need to know what I have experienced. If this should be suggested to thy mind, it is of the enemy; for if thou hast not been called to bear a public testimony, thou hast I doubt not been called to

holiness, without which we are told, "no man shall see the Lord." Thou hast the same pure holy God to fear, the same subtle unwearied enemy to war against, a soul as precious, and which must abide as long, as mine, either in happiness or misery; therefore it behoves thee to be as strict in thy life, and as holy in thy conversation as any other; that so thou mayst be a terror to evil doers, and a praise and encouragement of them that do well. For I am sure if we be lovers and true followers of Jesus, we cannot take pleasure in hearing his great name profaned, and taken in vain: and their company that are guilty of such things we should carefully avoid, as we would an infectious person.

It is, I think, impossible to be frequent in ill company, without being somewhat leavened into the same spirit, except we keep a strict watch, and have our minds armed with the pure armour of light and righteousness. This alone can make us proof against the fiery darts of the wicked, which insensibly pierce and wound the unwary soul. It is our interest and duty, all in our power, carefully to avoid temptations, for those that we must inevitably meet with, are enough for us, poor weak creatures, to grapple with. Take care of poisoning thy mind with vain and idle books, for I know them, by experience, to be very pernicious; let thy leisure hours be spent in retirement and reading the Holy Scriptures, with other good books. Remember thou art the head of a family, and it behoves thee to have a super-added care, for if thy example be not good, thou wilt have much to answer for. Watch over thy sisters in love, and be not an instrument of bringing evil company in their way.

There is an evil that thou art guilty of, which is visible to more than me, and that is thy slighting and neglecting week-day meetings. If thou had appointed a day to meet any of those styled noblemen of the earth, and thou slighted and neglected the appointment for weeks, yea, months together, would it not be a great affront and indignity to them? Yea; and I am persuaded thou would not do it, for fear of offending them; and is the King of kings and Lord of heaven and earth, less noble, less discerning, when He is slighted and neglected? I observe thou hast time and leisure to ride many miles to sports and diversions, such as hunting, horse-racing, and other sights; does not this show thou art a lover of pleasure more than a lover of God, such as the apostle declares are "dead while they live." Dear cousin, bear with my dealing thus plainly; I have no view in it, but the good of thy immortal soul, and the ease of my own mind; and I sincerely wish that thou and I may be prepared for our great and final change.

We have daily instances of the young and the strong being snatched away in their bloom as with their bones full of marrow: and why may it not be our case? we cannot promise ourselves one hour to come; the present time is only ours; and O! it is a dismal consequence to launch into eternity unprepared, where the worm never dieth, nor is the fire quenched. If we are so fond of a few transitory pleasures in this world, how can we bear to be shut out from eternal felicity, and doomed to everlasting misery? I beseech thee solidly to consider these things, and I pray the God of love and mercy to give thee a wise and understanding heart.

MARY PEISLEY.

TO ABIGAIL WATSON.

Borris, 6th of First month, 1747.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I received thy kind epistle of the 6th of last month: I am thankful to the Lord that He caused thee to remember me. Thou desires me to bear with thee; I would be very sorry to be in that mind in which I could not bear counsel or admonition from the least, meanest or youngest of the Lord's servants, who would do it in the spirit of love (as I am well assured thou hast done), much less from thee, whom I look upon as a well-trained, disciplined soldier, on whom the Lord has put his armour and sent forth in the spiritual warfare, and hast known the wiles and subtlety of that grand enemy;—one that has seen the mystery of iniquity, as well as that of godliness; which lies hid from all but those whose eyes the Lord opens. Such a one is surely fit to instruct a poor, young, raw, unskilful stripling as I am, and I will freely confess a coward too; for if my Captain does but a little withdraw Himself, I am ready to say with David, I shall one day fall by the hand of my enemy. Therefore I would beg of thee to remember me, when it is well with thee. It was not to please the ears of men that I first became a fool; nor are men to be my rewarders; it was for the sake of that peace, which the world can neither give nor take away; and for this do I still strive, and hope by Divine assistance I shall ever prefer before all other things. I would have thee and all my friends be free in speaking or writing to me, as Truth opens to you; for I doubt not but I have need of counsel, and to be stirred up to my duty; for I think myself far short of what I ought to be.

MARY PEISLEY.

TO ANN STRANGMAN, Mountmellick, on the death of her husband.

Dublin, Third month 14th, 1747.

DEAR FRIEND,—This goes with a salutation of unfeigned love to thee, with whom I truly



sympathize in thy present affliction. Yet thou hast not cause to mourn, as one without hope; for thy late companion has left behind him a sweet savour in the minds of many of the sensible; and he being dead yet speaketh, and his memory will live for generations to come. But this is thy greatest joy, that thou hast been made acquainted with, and thy soul espoused to Him, who can never be snatched from thee, whilst thou art willing to cleave to Him. He who has promised to be a husband to the widow, will I am persuaded be so to thee, and doubly make up the loss, by a superadded degree of His own Divine presence, as thou art resigned to His holy will in all things, which is our reasonable duty. All His dispensations are for good, though we are so short-sighted, and His wisdom is so deep, that it is many times beyond our comprehension. This is certain, that no afflictions are joyous for the present, but grievous; but as we know the Lord to sanctify them to us, they will work for us “a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory:”—such I hope and believe thine will prove to thee. And though thy trial is great, thou art yet favoured above many in being blessed with a fine offspring, who at this time look promising to be a comfort to thee; and thou art sensible the Lord has visited and reached to some of them in a near manner; and hath so replenished you with the things of this world, that with His blessing you need not fear want or penury. But above all this, is to be prized, that the Lord has given thee a heart, which I believe more strongly desires for thyself and children an inheritance in Christ, than all outward enjoyments;—that both may be added to you, used in His fear, and to the glory of His name who gives them, is the sincere desire of thy sympathizing friend.

MARY PEISLEY.

About the eighth month, 1747, she returned to Mountmellick, to the house of her friend where she before resided. Her continuance at this place was but for a few months, during which time she was attacked with a disorder in her stomach, which occasioned great weakness, and brought her very low. In a letter to a friend she thus expresses herself.

#### TO A FRIEND.

I gratefully acknowledge thy unmerited kindness in the concern thou shows for my health. I am sensible it is our indispensable duty to endeavour to preserve life and health, by all lawful means that Providence is pleased to afford; were it not so, I often think that mine is not worth caring for. Instead of being useful to any, I fear I shall be a burden to the creation, and miss the end of my being. Surely none

whom he has sent into life, and visited with His matchless love and kindness, is more weak and unworthy than I am; and were it so that He, by his divine power, was pleased to make use of me in any good work, it was all His own, of and from Him alone; I could have no part in it, but as passive clay in his hand. And blessed be his name, He is not limited, nor his power confined to any instruments. He that found me in a polluted state, can raise up and sanctify many more for his work and service, and that he may do so in these dark and perilous days, is the travail of my afflicted soul.

MARY PEISLEY.

During this dispensation she wrote as follows to her brother, who had frequently occasioned much anxiety and disquietude to her mind.

#### TO HER BROTHER.

DEAR BROTHER,—For so thou art by nature to me; would to God thou wert so in a two-fold sense, viz., by adoption or new creation in Christ, which far exceeds all the ties of affinity or consanguinity, and will last beyond the grave, never, never to be dissolved. Mayst thou happily experience this, before time to thee here be no more; for which end Providence has, in matchless love and condescension, wonderfully prolonged thy days, amidst imminent dangers and difficulties. May this be deeply pondered and wisely laid to heart by thee, otherwise it will add weight in the balance against thee, in the great and notable day of account, that hastens on us both. Thou knowest, dear brother, it has often been my concern thus to remind thee concerning the important business of life, and thy neglect of it has almost discouraged me from further attempts: this may perhaps be the last; and I do with all the ardency my soul is capable of, joined with natural affection, earnestly desire that it may have the wished for effect.

I am in a very poor state of health, and with little human probability of my being restored. My disorder is attended with acute pain; but blessed for ever be the name of my God, patience equivalent thereto has been administered. How it may be with me as to life or death, I cannot say; but this is my greatest consolation, and such a one as is beyond the power of my tongue to express, or pen to set forth, viz., that I have not spent my health and strength in the gratification of my passions, or sensual appetites, but in some degree in the pursuit of that which now stands by me, and will go with me beyond time,—a good conscience towards God; whose love I feel to flow in my soul in such a manner, as to admit of no doubt that He is my friend,—or in other words, that He is in me,

and I in Him, and will be so to all eternity, if I forsake him not. Believe me, brother, when I tell thee, at a time when dissimulation must vanish; at a season when we are best capable of knowing ourselves, and judging of all things in the clearest manner,—when the mists of the world are removed from before our eyes, and eternity presented to our view,—at such a time as this I may tell thee, I am not afraid to die; nor is the sound of mortality and eternity frightful to my ears. No; I cannot look on death as a king of terrors, but as a welcome messenger, who comes with a happy release from all my trials, temptations and afflictions, to summon me to an eternity of unmixed felicity, to that which I have most loved and delighted in for years past, though favoured with but a glimpse and foretaste of it, whilst my soul is loaded with its companion, flesh; but what will it be when the face of the Divinity will be for ever unveiled, faith turned into vision, and the full fruition come to? These are words of truth and soberness. I know there is a kingdom of heaven, because I already feel it within me,—Christ in me, as said the apostle, the hope of glory; and because he lives, I live also;—not merely an animal life which must perish, but a life hid with Christ in God. Without a new creation in Christ, it is impossible for us to enjoy God; or, in the words of his Son Christ Jesus, to see or enter the kingdom of heaven. Had we not bodies taken from the earth it would be impossible we should enjoy or live by the same; and if we have not a new birth begotten or formed of God in us, it is likewise impossible we should live to or in Him. More I might say, to illustrate this important truth to thy understanding, if bodily strength would admit; but unless thou centrest down in true sincerity and humility to the pure light of Christ in thyself, by which alone what is to be known of God is manifest in man, these things, with all the other truths of the gospel, will for ever remain a mystery to thee, as it has done to ages and generations, and to the wise and prudent of this world; but is revealed unto the babes, that are begotten and born of the incorruptible Seed and Word of God.

I conclude thy affectionate sister in the hope, and O! that I could say fellowship, of the gospel.

MARY PEISLEY.

About this time she felt a weighty concern to visit the churches in England; and having obtained the concurrence of her friends, accompanied by Elizabeth Hutchinson, she set forward from Mountmellick in the seventh month, 1748. They attended the Province meeting held at Carlow, and went from thence to Baltimore, where they had a blessed helping meeting. The testimony went forth to those of other

societies. They had a meeting at Timahoe, and went thence to Dublin; where they had refreshing and comfortable meetings, the Lord's eternal Truth being over all. "We were," she expresses in a journal kept of this journey, "comforted one in another, and enabled renewedly to bless the name of the Lord. The 27th of seventh month, we took ship for Whitehaven, and landed there on the 28th; on the 30th we went to Pardshaw, where was held the quarterly meeting for Cumberland: the public meeting proved a glorious one, and was a time of solid worship; the testimony of truth was exalted over all, and the everlasting gospel freely preached. After this meeting I had great consolation of soul, and we spent the evening in company with several Friends, in agreeable edifying conversation, and in much freedom and openness of spirit. Next day, being the first of the week, we went to their general meeting at Cockermouth; on the 3rd to Whitehaven, low and depressed in spirit. Next day had a meeting there, in which I cleared myself; I was led therein to set forth the call and qualification of a true gospel minister; left it in peace of mind, but was much spent in body with the service thereof. The 5th, had a meeting in Broughton, where we were led to speak closely to some who had been visited in their young years, and were now grown lukewarm and indifferent. The 6th, had a good meeting at Isell, though small. Next day were at Keswick, the service chiefly to those not of our Society; had some close things to deliver to those that were. The 9th, at Allonby, whither came many Friends from other meetings, to whom Truth was freely declared. From hence to Holme, where we had a silent meeting, and understood they seldom sat free from disturbers. The 10th, had a low season at Kirkbride, the 11th at Bolton, the 12th at Wigton, which was large but low as to the dominion of life; next day at a meeting at Moorhouse, we had things close and hard to deliver. At Carlisle we had a good open meeting, my mind being much enlarged amongst them; yet I felt a concern rest with me to have another meeting in that city, which Friends readily agreed to. On the 15th, we had a meeting at Kirklington, which was large and satisfactory; and another at Carlisle in the evening, in consequence of the concern already mentioned, to which there came a great number of town's-folk. When I got there I found myself so weak in body and poor in spirit, and the people so unsettled in their minds, that I almost feared I should not be able to answer the service of the meeting. I earnestly desired that the cause and testimony of Truth might not suffer, let me suffer what I might. I had not sat long, before I found a flow of doctrine open



in my mind; I stood up in the fear of the Lord, and the people soon became quiet and solid. I was strengthened beyond my expectation, and the meeting ended well; and blessed be the name of the Lord, I had great peace and satisfaction after it was over. Went thence to Scotby, and had a meeting; so to Ann Grenup's, and was at the monthly meeting in that quarter, where my mind was under much suffering; but as I waited, the power of Truth arose, and I found ease and liberty of mind; was led in a very close manner, the Seed had dominion, and the authority of Truth was over all. Went next day to Mosedale, and had a travelling season in that meeting; thence to Terrill, and had a poor meeting there; thence to Isaac Thompson's, being very poor in spirit and low in mind.

"Next day we rested, spending the day much in retirement, which proved very helpful to me; and as I waited on the Lord to have my spiritual strength renewed, I felt a concern to have a meeting with the inhabitants, and one in the afternoon at Penrith on first-day. After I had well considered and weighed these things, the Friend with whom we lodged said, they were a people of no religion; which did not discourage me, for it immediately arose in my mind, that they had the more need of help, and that, perhaps, they might more readily receive the Truth, than those who were more bigoted to ceremonies. We went to Penrith next morning, when the Friends asked me if I would have an afternoon meeting; I replied that I could better tell at the conclusion of the first meeting. We went to meeting, and it proved a good one, for Truth had dominion and was over all. Then I felt strength to have an afternoon meeting appointed, which was large and to great satisfaction; some of the town's-folks being at the forenoon meeting, and the town pretty large, the report spread, and the people came until the house could hold no more with convenience. After this I spoke of the meeting which my mind was drawn to propose at Amenbridge, where a Friend said there had been none before. Friends seemed willing, but knew of no place to hold it in, except the house where we lodged, which was large enough, and would have done well for the purpose, but the Friend said he could not admit of it, for fear of his landlord, who was a priest. I said I could not force their hearts nor houses, but hoped, as I had laid it before them, I should be made easy; and if not, I did not doubt that if I went to some of those who professed not with us, I should be accommodated. He said, there was a town a mile off, that he thought would answer better for a meeting, and that their town's-people would go thither; I told him I dare not go in my own will to have

meetings where I pleased, but where Truth led me. He replied, if the folks of Penrith heard of the meeting, the streets, much less the house would not hold them; then, said I, we may go to the fields. This, I believe stirred him up; he went away, and in a short time returned, and told me not to be uneasy, I should have a meeting:—accordingly it was appointed to begin at six o'clock next evening at another Friend's house in the town, which proved quite too small. They made all the room they could in two apartments and a hall, but many who could not get in were at the windows. We had a meeting at Strickland in the forenoon, which had before been appointed. When I came to see and sit amongst the people at Amenbridge, they seemed so ignorant of our manner of worship and principles, that my faith almost failed of doing any service; or administering help to them. After some time of waiting for Divine aid, I stood up; and they appeared to me as still and attentive, while I was speaking, as ever I observed any assembly. I laboured amongst them until my natural strength failed; and after meeting was over, I had great inward peace and comfort. Next day we waited for their monthly meeting at Aldstone, and paid a visit to a Friend's family, where we had a sweet consolatory opportunity; and the same evening went towards Northumberland.

"The 25th of eighth month we continued our journey, and had a very difficult and dangerous road, much of it mountainous; and though reckoned but fourteen miles, it took from nine in the morning till six in the evening, save that we stopped a little to refresh ourselves; my mind was preserved tranquil and easy. Next day we had a hard laborious meeting, but I was mercifully helped through to the ease of my own mind. The following day we went to Cornwood, where we had a meeting. The 27th rode to Allondale, and the way being rough and mountainous, it was dangerous. My companion was thrown from her horse, and I seemed in imminent danger,—the way being narrow, and a considerable precipice just by where my horse stood, which being interrupted by my companion's falling became very uneasy; but at length, through the merciful interposition of Providence, she was taken up, very little hurt; and they got me safe off my horse. We arrived wearied with fright and fatigue. In a short time Friends got together, and we had a comfortable good meeting; which amply made amends for all we went through. The 28th, we had a large meeting. My spirit was under deep suffering, before I went to it, and for some time after; but through Divine aid, I fully cleared myself. When I came to my lodging, I was

under a baptism of spirit, and could not tell the cause. I examined myself, and brought things to the closest scrutiny, to know whether I had done or omitted anything contrary to Truth, but could find no condemnation. At dinner I felt the spirit of supplication, which I gave way to, and found my mind free and easy. Next morning, the 29th, set out for Benfield; it was such hard weather, Friends would have had us stay, but as the meeting was appointed, I could not be easy so to do. It blew such a violent storm, that it was with difficulty we could sit our horses, or they keep their feet, being several times blown out of the path. It was fourteen miles over a black moor, where there was no shelter; our guides missed the way twice, once on the open moor. My companion, who was a young traveller, was discouraged,—stopped several times, wept and said she thought she could hold it no longer. I encouraged her to hold out to the end, and told her there was no abiding there. By the Lord's mercy, my mind was kept quiet and still, and about seven at night we got safe to our quarters, where we had a hearty welcome. The meeting was appointed to begin at nine next morning; it was small, but greatly to my satisfaction. I was led in particular to some person, who was under a temptation to join in marriage with one of another society, and likewise to declare that I had no outward information. After meeting, an elderly Friend told me that I had hit the mark to an hair's breadth; for there was a young man, who he knew was under such a temptation, and had been advised against it. Went that night to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, eleven miles, stayed there several days, had a good meeting on fifth-day, being 3rd of ninth month, though some states were hard to speak to, there being some deistical principles I believe cherished amongst them; and so close was the testimony, that they could scarcely bear to sit. After this meeting, a Friend told me I had spoken by revelation; but was so prudent as to say no more, as we were to stay until after the next first-day, to equip ourselves for continuing our journey. In the interim visited the aged, who were confined from weakness. First-day, Truth eminently helped with its ancient beauty and brightness, dispelling all mists and clouds; a glorious time it was to the comfort and edification of the church. The afternoon meeting was very full of Friends, and those of other societies; it proved to me a sweet consoling time, the spring of life being opened for my own help and furtherance in best things; but I had not anything to communicate to the people. On the 6th, went to Shields, and had a small meeting: thence in the evening went to Sunderland. The 7th, had a meeting in the forenoon, to an increase

of comfort; praise be to Him who exalts his own testimony in the hearts of his children, and gives tongue and utterance to magnify his name and power. Had a refreshing season in the family where we lodged, the Lord breaking to us the bread of life for the nourishment of our souls; afterwards we had an evening meeting appointed, which was large and to good satisfaction. The 8th, had a meeting at Shotton; the 9th, at Durham; the 10th, at Auckland, which last was a good meeting. I felt a concern to have another there in the afternoon, of which I acquainted the Friend with whom we lodged; he pleaded many excuses. I told him, I apprehended it was not the business of a minister, to proceed contrary to the minds of Friends, especially one so young as I; and that as I had mentioned my concern, I hoped I should be easy; if not, I could but come back again. My mind was soon relieved of its burden; as the Lord my God knew my willingness to obey him, he required no impossibility of me. Next day went six miles to Raby, had a large meeting there, several Friends coming from divers places to meet us; but that spirit was amongst them, that obstructs the spring of the ministry, and made it hard to speak; yet by Divine assistance, I was enabled to clear myself, and came away with peace of mind. My companion was so ill that she was detained from meeting two days.

“On the 13th, we went to Lartington meeting, and returned in the afternoon; next day to Darlington, and had a meeting there on the 15th; it ended well, though hard in the beginning. The day following went to Stockton; had a full meeting and came away in peace. The 17th, had a meeting at Yarm; it was small, several young people came from Stockton, and it proved on the whole to good satisfaction. Next day, was at a small meeting, where I sat a pretty while in silence, and a state of mourning for the cause of Truth. I eased my mind amongst them, and came away in peace. On the 21st, had a meeting at Gisborough; and 23rd, at Moorsome. The 24th, was at the monthly meeting held at Castletown, where were many plain, honest, sincere Friends, and we were comforted in the Lord and one in another. Next evening at Hinderwell and Roxby. The 26th, went to Whitby, and that evening had a meeting with several Friends, who came to see us. Next day, attended a large meeting; my spirit was under great suffering, and continued so until the afternoon, though I had delivered in the forenoon meeting what appeared to be given me; but in the afternoon the power of Truth was in dominion, and every opposite spirit made subject; things were spoken to closely and clearly, and Babylon threshed as with a sharp instrument, that



she could not get from under. Then was my spirit made easy, and my soul rejoiced in the Lord, who is worthy; and prayer, praises and thanksgiving, ascended unto Him that lives forever. Had the company of several Friends this evening, which was spent in, I hope, profitable conversation. The 28th, had a meeting at Stentondale. The Friends in this quarter are but few, I think eight families composed the meeting; it was with these few a memorable season of humbling gladness.

"Came to Scarborough in the evening of the 28th, and next day had a large and satisfactory meeting. In a Friend's family where we spent the evening, had a reaching affecting season, manifested by much brokenness of spirit. The 1st of tenth month, had a meeting at Pickerington; and the 2nd at Kirbymoorside, which was large, and attended with the going forth of some seasoning instruction. Went after meeting to John Richardson's; he is near eighty-four years of age, a man very remarkable for sweetness and liveliness of spirit, full of love, clear in his understanding, and his memory strong. He sat up till late with us, relating the wonderful dealings of the Lord with him, which was truly edifying, and such as I had never heard before. He was quite open with us, which I looked upon as a favour from the Lord; I wept much at parting with him, and when we took leave, he desired the Lord might bless us. Next day went to Malton. The day following, had a large meeting, and passed through a laborious exercise amongst them. The evening was spent to spiritual profit, in waiting for a renewal of strength, and imparting some of the bread handed to my soul to others, whom I visited in their families; left this place with peace of mind.

"On the 6th, I was at a monthly meeting at Bridlington; it was a season of suffering, my mind being very low after it, which caused an examination, but finding nothing to accuse myself of, was made easy. The 7th, we were at Hornsea meeting; the Lord's eternal power broke in upon us, to the comfort and refreshment of our souls, and it was a time of solemn worship. Next day we were at a meeting at Oustwick, to our great comfort and solid refreshment. The 9th, at Eastend. The 10th, had an evening meeting at Hull to profit and edification, through the aboundings of that life which enlightens and sanctifies.

"On the 11th of tenth month we went to Beverly, a town where no Friend lives, having felt a particular draft to have a meeting there; several Friends from Hull attended, and the people flocked in until the house was nearly filled. I stood up and began to speak, but people rushed in so, that I was under the necessity of stopping until they were settled; I

then proceeded, and a glorious meeting it was, the Divine power and authority of Truth commanding silence throughout the multitude. Next day we went to visit a few at Skithy, who were lately convinced, with whom we had a good meeting, and some open, profitable conversation. The 13th, we went to Northcave; Friends from several parts adjacent came thither, which made the meeting large, but not open and lively; we had hard labour, yet it ended pretty well. The 14th, had a meeting at Howden; there were but few Friends, and some of the town's-people; who being in the Ishmaelitish, mocking spirit, the true Seed did not reign amongst them. The 15th, were at Rateliff; the 16th, at Thorn; the 17th, at Braithwaite; and the 18th, again at Thorn. These meetings were generally small, and low as to the life of religion, which caused laborious work for us to get down to the Seed, so as to minister to the states of the people. The 20th of tenth month, had a meeting at Beltoft, which proved satisfactory; some who were not of our Society attended, who were very solid and attentive; some were tendered, and several came in the evening, with a desire of having a meeting with us; but feeling no concern for it, I could not encourage it. On the 22nd, visited the meeting of Blyth in Nottinghamshire, which began at two o'clock. I was led very closely in it, had to remind them of the practice of our elders, and told them, if they would search from whence that custom of deferring meetings until afternoon had its origin, they would find it was not in the Truth. The meeting ended well, in the sweet consoling love of the Lord my God. The Friend we lodged with not being at meeting, but engaged in his shop, I had some close discourse with him concerning his duty to God; at first he seemed to put it off, but was brought to acquiesce with what I said. Next day had a small, but good meeting at Warmsworth; had a loose, libertine spirit to speak to; which the authority of Truth helped me through with, to the enlargement of peace in my own bosom, and the exaltation of that power, which, when it rules, causes the righteous to rejoice. The 25th being first-day, was at Pontefract meeting, which seemed very weak and dwarfish, as to the life of religion; their undue liberty in externals, manifesting that their dwellings were not with the humble Seed, that crucifies to the world, and tarnishes its beauty: had little to communicate, yet felt a revival of light and strength to my own state. I had a concern to have a meeting with those not of our Society; a great number attended, many of whom were light and vain, but while I was exercised in speaking, they were mostly quiet and attentive, and I hope the opportunity was to edification. The 26th,

had a meeting at Selby, which was but small. That evening went to York, and attended the quarterly meeting, which began at five o'clock; it was a season of travail and exercise to a living remnant. Next morning at nine, the meeting of ministers and elders began; when the baptizing power of the Lord was witnessed by the faithful, and through the succeeding meetings help was graciously afforded, and the church was edified."

Her written memoirs contained particular accounts of the meetings visited throughout England, which are omitted for brevity sake, having given the above specimen of her travels and baptisms; there is one extract however which has been preserved of her journal, which is too remarkable to be omitted: it appears to have been written when travelling in Yorkshire, at Knaresborough.

"Having been under deep baptisms and poverty of spirit, as I quietly rode along the Lord was pleased in mercy to break in upon my mind, by his life-giving presence and power; and it became the language of my soul,—‘Speak, Lord, and thy servant will hear.’ After which, many things were divinely opened to me, wherein I greatly rejoiced, and was thankful to the Lord my God. Then I found a sudden but gentle rebuke, and heard as it were a voice, that said in the secret of my soul, ‘These dispensations thou most delightest in, are least pleasing to me and not so beneficial to thy soul, as that pure poverty of spirit, brokenness and contrition of heart, which bring into humility of mind; and the reason why this is so little desired, and so unpleasant to the creature, is, because it can have no part therein, but is wholly and entirely excluded and set at naught—can discover no beauty or excellency in it; and this is the reason I love the offering of a broken heart and contrite spirit, as it is most pure, and without any mixture of the creature. For, whether there be prophecies, Divine openings, revelations, consolations, joyings or rejoicings in the Holy Spirit, gifts of healing or tongues or utterance, in all these self can rejoice and have a share, being obvious to it, and bringing it honour.’ Then said I, ‘Lord dispense to me what is most pleasing unto thee, and best for my soul, so long as my weak faith and patience can endure it; but when I am ready to faint, give me a little of the wine well refined on the lees, that my soul may rejoice in thee, the God of my salvation.’"

The following letter was written from Bradford in Yorkshire, 2nd of eleventh month, 1748.

TO JOSHUA STRANGMAN.

A FEW days ago thy acceptable letter reached me at the city of York, which I read with a mixture of satisfaction and sorrow; satisfaction to find, that thou still retains thy love to the Eternal excellency; and sorrow, that the powers of darkness should still so far prevail, as to cause such strong struggles of soul, and sore conflicts of spirit, as thou writest of. But I have not the least doubt of thy deliverance, and firmly believe thy God will magnify and exalt his own Divine power in thy soul, and make bare his holy arm for thy salvation, by revealing it in thee, an unfailing preserver in every needful time. This I write not altogether from myself, nor from the impulse of friendship and gratitude; it is from a degree of that assurance and humble confidence, which Truth has at this juncture communicated. It is reasonable to think by thy conflict, that the time of thy release is at hand; it was so with Israel of old when they were to be brought out of that dark land, their task-masters were harder, and their burdens made heavier. I believe there has no temptation befallen thee, but what has been witnessed by thy brethren who have trodden the same steps, even through the region and shadow of death, by the gates of hell, yea, out of the belly of hell have some called as Jonah did, and He heard them. His righteous ear is not grown heavy that He cannot hear; but for the sighing of the poor, and groaning of the needy soul, He will yet arise; and then it is that all our enemies are scattered, and one enabled to chase a thousand, and two to put ten thousand to flight.

Though it must be confessed it is a day of darkness, famine and distress, yea, thick darkness, that may be felt; yet blessed be the name of our God, he is as a Goshen to his children, giving them light in their habitations; and setting a mark upon them, who sigh and mourn for the abominations of the people. Thou seems willing to give me an idea of thy spiritual state and condition, even by an outward representation; but I think I may say of a truth, I have both seen and felt it, even by sinking down below all that is of the creature, to the pure humble Seed of life; where the visions of light are seen, and the voice of the great oracle heard, distinct from any other sound. Here have I found thee present, in Him who is omnipresent, and tenderly sympathized with thy soul, according to my small measure. In this do I desire to have our friendship renewed, and fellowship kept stedfast, which is with the Father, and the Son.

I take kind thy seasonable warning to watchfulness, which I surely stand in need of; in this time when drowsiness and spiritual lethargy



have generally infected mankind. Thou wilt, perhaps, like to hear an account of my spiritual progress and travel Zionwards, and of the states of the churches here, so far as my small sight can reach; and I may say, it has been a real grief and affliction to my mind, to see the desolation, darkness and insensibility that generally prevail; having been made to go mourning on my way, with this language in my soul, "Lord, to whom hast thou sent me? Where shall I find thy flock and family upon earth? I see very few who like even to hear or speak of thee, and surely if thy love had the pre-eminence, out of the abundance of the heart the mouth would speak, or, at least, the soul would love to wait in silence for thy Divine appearance." But alas! many seem to have nothing further to inquire about, than whence we came! whither we go? our names or parents, or if we be married? To which last question I often answer, I hope I have been honourably espoused to one husband; but they are quite ignorant of Him whom my soul loveth, and of my meaning. Yet although it be thus, there is a living remnant in this part of the world, though under great suffering and oppression; with which I have been made deeply to sympathize, and have greatly admired the Lord's goodness and condescending love; his forbearance and long suffering to a disobedient and gainsaying people, not willing that they should perish.

As to my own particular, I find the truth of that saying of the apostle, that "they who preach the gospel, live by it," in a spiritual sense; and though the Lord has been pleased at times to cause his candle to shine upon my head, and clothe me with his royal robes, yet I often witness, a being entirely emptied, stripped and destitute almost of daily bread, and have had, as Mordecai, to go down and sit at the king's gate, all which I see is for my good; for when a cistern is let dry, the earthy sediment is discovered, a fit time for cleaning it, that so the water may flow from it with greater purity. Therefore I strive to learn the great lesson, of being content in all states, and may say to the praise and honour of my kind Master, that he hath (since I have given up to serve him) caused his peace to flow in my soul as a river: whose current is not long to be controlled by all the impediments which can be laid in its way. Blessed for ever be his holy name, he has afforded me strength to discharge myself faithfully and honestly wherever my lot has been cast, both publicly and privately; so that I have no condemnation on that account, nor have I ever yet repented leaving all to answer his holy requirings, but do humbly thank him, that he enabled me so to do; and were crowns and diadems laid at my feet, I would not give

His approbation for them all, for it is surely a dreadful thing to fall into the hands of an incensed and omnipotent Being.

Before I conclude I would say, beware of Esau's crime; it was when his soul was ready to faint, that he despised his birthright; when he had been eagerly pursuing something he delighted in, (I observe-it was not the Truth) he came to this unwise conclusion, "Behold I am at the point to die, and what profit shall this birthright do me?" He wanted patience and solid reflection, and afterwards had bitterly to repent when too late. Had he not resigned it none could have taken it from him, neither can all the powers of darkness, from thee, if thou resolve to keep it; this must be done, by cleaving to the Lord with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and all thy strength, which that thou mayst be enabled to do, is my fervent prayer. M. P.

#### TO SAMUEL JUDD, IN IRELAND.

Mankinholts, the mountains, in Yorkshire,  
23rd of eleventh month, 1748.

DEAR UNCLE,—In the bowels of unfeigned love do I salute thee, sincerely desiring thy growth and increase in that which is most to be desired by the children of men. I have thought of writing to thee for some time past, but waited for better tidings, having been of late in a poor state of health by a violent cold which I got from lying in a damp bed. I strove with it, and kept travelling for some days, still growing worse, but was forced to submit, and was laid up for nearly a week. Kind Providence directed my steps to the house of an eminent physician, a rich and good Friend; where they were all ready to do every thing in their power for me, and he skilful and free to administer what was suitable to my weak condition; so that my mind was quite easy and resigned to the Divine will, and I could not accuse myself of being the cause of it. At my parting from them I would have made him some gratuity for his care and kindness, but he answered in the humility of his mind with tears in his eyes, it was the desire of both him and his wife, that they might be found worthy to be the servants of the servants of the Lord,—in whose love we parted.

The night before last I thought myself the nearest to my final change, that I ever was since I received life; [occasioned by a large sulphureous fire in her bed-room:] the family were much frightened, and fain would have sent eight miles for a physician; but I positively forbade it, and told them I should soon be better one way or other. And indeed I was by the infinite mercy of God entirely resigned, and as willing to go as stay. I looked upon

death but as a happy release from all my probations, dangers and troubles; I had no condemnation in myself, the accuser of the brethren being cast down, and a lively hope given me, that through the mercies of Christ my Redeemer, I should rest with Him in unembittered felicity for ever and ever. It was the secret language of my soul to Him, who knows the intents and purposes of every heart, that my life might not bear a later date, except it was more fully to answer the end of my being. Oh! may the eye of my mind be made more single, and my heart thoroughly fixed on Him who alone deserves it; that by dying daily, I may know Him to live, and being thoroughly emptied and unbottomed of [having no reliance upon] myself, let Him be all in me; that so in Him I may live, move and have my being, who is the saving health of His people, life in death, and strength in weakness: may this be the desire of all my well-wishing friends for me in their entrance into the sanctuary. Oh! how desirable is that pure fear, which brings to obedience, and exempts from all other fear, even of death itself, which is to the disobedient a king of terrors!

Many are the dangers and hardships we meet with by very bad roads and cold stormy weather, which I often think no worldly motive could move me to; but as it is in the service of the best of masters, His Divine arm is underneath to support under all, giving the rich reward of solid peace and satisfaction, which far excels all this world can give or take away! I have never yet repented my coming into this nation, but do humbly thank Him, who thought me worthy of such a call; and if my lot in this world should prove too hard for my natural strength, I shall have no cause to regret that my pilgrimage will be soon over, seeing the danger I am placed in here in an enemy's country, having a continual warfare to maintain against three potent adversaries, the flesh, the world and satan. And oh! how many seeming brave soldiers have cast off their spiritual armour, deserted their Captain, and shamefully quitted the field of battle; which makes me fear always, lest it should be my unhappy case! So that if I can live long in a short time by living well, it will be better than if I could live a thousand years twice told, to worse than no purpose.

Having poured out my thoughts freely as into the bosom of my friend, I shall strive to draw to a conclusion, desiring thou may give my dearest love to thy daughter and the rest of the family, with all my kind inquiring friends as if named, and accept a part thyself, my companion joining, from thy truly affectionate and much obliged friend and cousin,

MARY PEISLEY.

. From London she wrote to a friend after this manner:—

To ———

THERE are many hindering things to obstruct us in our journey, enemies within and enemies without; with the general lukewarmness, and indifferency about religion, that prevails among the professors of Christianity of all sects and denominations, so far as I see. Their example, instead of inciting to zeal for the cause of God and the pursuit of virtue and piety, their deadness, dryness, carnality and insensibility, are in great danger of leavening into the same spirit. I find occasion for a strict and constant watch, with fervent prayer to the God of my life, for help, strength and deliverance from the flesh, the world and satan, which war against my soul. I bless His great and glorious name, in that the Lord still continues, by the insinuing of His Divine light, to keep me sensible of my weakness, frailty and manifold infirmities, and the need I have of looking steadily to my holy Head; and of the help of my fellow members, in the mystical body. I have often desired, when scarcely able to pray or breathe [in prayer] for myself, that He might be pleased to hear, and have regard to their good desires for my preservation; and I think I have often witnessed the benefit of the help of their spirits.

I have been through the north, south, east and west of this nation, at the meetings generally, great and small; there now remain several of the midland counties, which I believe will take me up most of this summer; and then I hope to see my native land in peace, which will be matter of comfort to me. A large share of suffering has fallen to my lot, in this land; but none of those things move me, neither count I my life dear, in comparison, that I may win Christ, the hope of glory. I have rejoiced to be found worthy to suffer for His sake, knowing it is such that shall reign with Him. Surely of all perils by sea and land, there is none so hard to bear, as that from false brethren, which I have not been exempt from: but through all, I am preserved in peace of mind, and restored to a far better state of bodily health, than I once expected; for which great blessings, with all other unmerited favours, I humbly desire to be made and kept truly thankful.

M. P.

#### TO TWO FRIENDS IN THE MINISTRY.

MANY things have occurred to hinder my writing to you sooner; not that I have any thing material to communicate, except what concerns my own particular, which I hope you are not altogether strangers to; if I may boldly lay claim to a part in the mystical body,



whereof Christ is the head; members of which, I fully believe you are, and doubtless have had a feeling in spirit for a weak member suffering, though far remote in body, yet present in Him who is omnipresent. For I may truly say, of late, it has been a time of deep trial to my poor soul, its Beloved having withdrawn as behind the curtain; and not only so, but suffered the accuser of the brethren, to cast some of his most fiery darts at me, and roar upon me like a lion; yet was the Lord's good Spirit lifted up as a standard in the most needful time. I humbly hope, it was for the refining of my faith, and fitting for further service; because we can never so effectually or certainly speak of the wiles of satan, and God's deliverance from them, as when we have seen them in ourselves. If I know my own heart, I am truly willing, to be emptied as from vessel to vessel; that so I may have no lees or dregs to settle on. I do not complain of the Lord's dealings with me, but rejoice that I am counted worthy in some measure to suffer; and desire I may be humbly thankful, that He is using means, such as comport with His infinite wisdom, for my preservation from the epidemical disorders, which abound in the visible churches professing godliness.

I travelled a week in the county of Suffolk in silence, was at six appointed meetings, and had not strength to open my mouth in any of them; a path I am ready to think more will be called into, if rightly subject to the Divine will; for the Church in many places groans under a lifeless ministry.

M. P.

She wrote the following letter to a Friend in the ministry, who had been instrumental in the Lord's hand to impart such help and counsel, as had a tendency to awaken her, when in the sleep of carnal ease and forgetfulness:—

To J. T.

SUCH a jealousy as possessed the mind of the eminent apostle, concerning the believers in his day, hath laid hold of me concerning thee; which was, lest he that beguiled Eve, should beguile thee, from the simplicity that is in the Truth. As I was this day in my solitary retirement, it was brought to my thoughts to write thee a few lines, and I reasoned thus with myself: What shall I, who am a poor weak child, say to one who was in Christ before me, and instrumental in the great Hand, to beget me in the Truth? I likewise remembered, the apostle travailed in birth for his little children,—made mention of them day and night in his prayers,—wrote them excellent epistles, and especially to his son Timothy, who was engaged in the weighty work of the

ministry. What excellent fatherly instruction does he give him, but none from the son to the father. Where is thine to me, in this the day of my great trial and exercise? Ah! where is that which should come upon thee daily, the care of the churches, or at least the heritages of thy God? I wish no other care may have intruded itself in the room thereof, which may have caused thee to fall asleep, in this lukewarm, backsliding, degenerate age.

Be aroused, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, thy soul's and the churches'. Consider what thou art doing with these excellent talents, which the great Lord has committed to thy trust. If thou should cease to use them to the honour of His name, those who are as the stones of the street, will cry out against thee; and I, if I keep my place, shall be a witness to the sufficiency of that gift which thou hast received. Do not again become a slave to the world. Consider the dignity of thy high and holy calling, which is no less than that of a king's son, to be an heir with God, and co-heir with Christ. Suffer not a sensual worldly tincture, to pervert thy taste from that fountain of life, which thy soul had once so quick a relish for and thirsted after, even as the hunted hart does after the water-brooks. Bear with my freedom and jealousy, which proceeds from the universal love of God, that wishes well to all. I would not have thee think I write from prejudice of mind; thou knowest there is no cause for that;—nor yet from information. No, I never heard one word against thee, since I left you.

I should be pleased to hear from thee, how it fares with thee; for I long to hear of thy prosperity in the Truth, which would be a great comfort to my poor soul, that oft goes mourning, as between the porch and the altar, for the desolation of spiritual Jerusalem. Let us so run, as not uncertainly; so fight, not as beating the air; but keep under the body of sin and death, as well as the mortal body, bringing all into pure subjection, and obedience to the holy cross of Christ.

The following letter was to a relation:—

To ———

THE one thing needful is only worth our care and constant pursuit; and surely there are many impediments and hindrances in this dangerous deluding world, that are often ready to turn us out of that narrow path, which leads to life. This has my soul experienced, by being drawn aside through unwatchfulness, and the prevalence of temptations; and I have found it hard work to return into the right path. I have many times thought, a soul rightly influenced, and affected with the love of

God, is like the needle touched with the loadstone; that whichever way it be turned, rests not, nor settles, till it comes to its true centre; that is, while it retains the virtue of the loadstone. Thus it is with the soul, that has been quickened and renewed by that efficacious power, which has been extended to draw our souls from earth to heaven; for certain it is, they have a natural tendency to sink into the earth, or earthly enjoyments. But unless we renewedly witness the visitations of that warming heart-melting love of God, which keeps the soul alive to Him, and brings into that holy fellowship, which is with the Father, and His Son Christ Jesus, by livingly feeling Him to be in us, and we in Him, all religion is but dead form and empty show. As the branch cannot bring forth fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can we, except we abide in Him, and draw sap and nourishment from the pure root, bring forth fruit acceptable in His sight; who looks at the purity and sincerity of every heart and soul. He sees nothing in us, pure, amiable or lovely, but as His own work of grace is suffered to be carried on; that so Christ may be made of God to us, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption; and to do all in our power to facilitate and help forward this great and glorious work, is the important business of our lives.

M. P.

TO JAMES GOUGH.

Lancaster, Second month 9th, 1749.

DEAR FRIEND,—I received thy acceptable letter some weeks since; I likewise heard of thy near trial, in losing thy bosom friend and dear companion; in which trouble I have sympathized with thee, and sincerely desired that this with all other of the Lord's dispensations may be truly sanctified to thee, and tend to the bringing home and centring thy mind on that which is immutable, and which cannot be snatched from thee, so long as thou cleaves to Him, and art united to Him in spirit. May all these things be as seasonable warnings to us, the few moments we have to stay here, to turn our eyes from this transitory world, conducting ourselves, or rather being conducted by our Great Pilot, as passengers seeking the haven or port of rest; not entangling ourselves with the unnecessary incumbrances of this life, by which many have been drawn to perdition and error, and have pierced themselves with divers sorrows. But as our worthy elders, who pursued their lawful affairs with moderation, acting from a principle of justice and honesty, to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man; demonstrating abundantly by their converse and commerce amongst mankind, that

they sought not to advance themselves or families to wealth, honour, and dignities in this world, but contrariwise, to promote their Master's kingdom, having a single eye to His honour in all they took in hand, whereby their bodies became full of Divine light, and in that alone were all the snares of satan discovered, and power given to escape them. Ah! my dear friend, may this be our happy experience, that as the Lord has seen meet in his infinite goodness and mercy, to call us with a high and holy calling, we may walk in pure fear and watchfulness, so worthy of our vocation, as that we may be made and kept sanctified chosen vessels, meet for His heavenly use, and so become pillars in His house; that we may never go out, demonstrating whose servants we are, and what life we are governed by, even that which is hid with Christ in God, which deadens and crucifies to this present world, and the life and delights of it, and leads the soul to seek and obtain celestial joys, while in these tabernacles of clay, knowing that we shall shortly put off these bodies, and the soul appear naked and bare, having no advocate but Him who has been in us. Let us therefore use our utmost endeavours to make Him our friend, by yielding perfect obedience to His dictates and blessed manifestations, diligently waiting to know what His will is concerning us, that so it may be as our meat and drink to do His work, which He is pleased to count us worthy of, and to call us to.

Often is my mind brought very low under the sight and sense of the few in this day, who are made rightly willing to bow their necks to the yoke of Christ, whereby they might be made nothing to, nor of themselves, thoroughly emptied and unbottomed, that so Christ might be all in them. It is indeed lamentable to behold many up and down in the churches who are elders for age, and should be grown to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, bright way-marks and leading orbs in the firmament of God's power; instead thereof, the dragon by his tail has drawn them to the earth. Wells they are without water; dry withered fruitless trees, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, being rich in words and expressions of former experience, but out of the power of Truth, which alone can give a savour of life unto life, and death unto death, and a certain alarm unto the battle of the Lord. It often falls to my lot to sit in silence, as a fool, under suffering, and in deaths oft; for I believe it is the will of our God to have his people drawn from sounds to Him the living substance. May it ever be my care and concern, to keep with the precious Seed, whether in bondage or oppression, for it is only such can truly reign or rejoice with it; knowing the Lord to be my



emptiness and fulness, having no other fountain, well-spring or treasure; for it is in this alone I can find solid peace, lasting satisfaction and safety, even in being nothing but what He is pleased to make me. And the longer I am exercised in the great work of the ministry, the more weighty and mysterious I find it to be,—the less capable and [more] unfit I find myself, that is of myself, to meddle, or do any thing in it,—and the more need entirely to depend on and wait for the coming and opening of the Word of life, (in which the state of the churches is felt and spoken to) and *that* is the very quintessence of a true ministry. Often are the secret cries of my soul to the Lord that he would cause true judgment to begin at the sanctuary, at the head and at the heart, that so right soundness might be found therein: then would the whole body be built up and edified in love. And blessed for ever be the holy name of our God! I hope and believe there is yet a remnant preserved on the face of the earth, who prefer Jerusalem before their chiefest joy, and the peace and welfare of Zion more than their lives: but oh! they are too few.

Friends in a general way are very kind and tender to us, bearing with our infirmities and weaknesses of mind, which are many, though by Divine mercy I am much better than when I left home. May I be found worthy of being brought by the Eternal Spirit into the remembrance of the living body in my native land, when they are made glad in His holy house of prayer; for surely I have need of every help, considering the great engagement I am under in these perilous backsliding days.

MARY PEISLEY.

The following letter was written to a Friend in the ministry.

To ———

SINCE we parted, thou hast been so much in my thoughts, with strong desires for thy preservation and growth in the ever-blessed Truth, that I could not avoid saluting thee by a few lines, in that love which seeks the peace and welfare of Zion, with the enlargement of her borders; which a remnant are at times deeply concerned for. And ah! saith my soul, may no other concern whatsoever, erase the remembrance of it from our minds, so as to hinder us from preferring it before our chiefest joy. This is what will make for our peace here, and eternal salvation hereafter; which it is our business and interest to pursue, with the utmost vigilance our frail nature is capable of, seeing our adversary goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour; and not only so, but as a subtle serpent, working in a

mystery of darkness, by which he has drawn down to the earth many bright stars, causing them to contend for the glory, honour and friendship of this wicked world, instead of the precious faith delivered to the saints; which powerfully works by love, to the purifying of the soul, and making them pure and holy, as He that hath called them is holy. Oh! may my soul fear always, lest I, or any of my dear brethren and sisters in the Truth, should fall short of an admittance in the great and notable day that draws near apace.

When I consider the very few bright shining examples that this age affords, who have disinterestedly devoted themselves to the service of Truth, and been kept unspotted of the world, having on the white linen which is the righteousness of saints; my fears are augmented, and my cries to the God of my life increased, not only for my own preservation, but that of his heritage in general. In a peculiar manner, am I concerned for those whom he hath called to the weighty work of the ministry; that the eyes of our souls may be kept so single to the honour of God, as that we may minister suitably, from the Divine Spirit, to the states and conditions of the people, without partiality, or respect to persons; for in this case, (as saith the apostle) if we have respect for persons, we commit sin. In order to avoid this heinous, dangerous crime, we had need to take notice of the wise caution frequently mentioned in the writings of our worthy elders and faithful ministers, in the morning of this latter day; not to be taken by the affectionate part with any, lest it should prevent seeing rightly the situation of the lowly seed of immortal life, and hinder ministering suitably to it, but minister life and strength to that which should be slain, famished, and brought to the death of the cross! O! may we fulfil our ministry, so as to be pure from the blood of all men, in the tremendous day of account, studying to show ourselves approved unto God, as labourers that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of Truth. M. P.

TO SARAH BEALE.

Lancaster, 11th of second month, 1749.

DEAR COUSIN.—I heard of the death of thy worthy mother, who I doubt not is removed from a place of affliction, pain and probation, to the full fruition of unembittered felicity, endless joy and peace; whose loss to you, my relations, to whom she stood in the place of a parent, I am sensible is great, and perhaps more than you can at present conceive or imagine. For I know youth are apt to think the greatest happiness in this life, consists in having liberty to gratify their will without control, which till they know to be governed by

the will of God, is one of the greatest trials and dangers that can befall them. I well know by experience the disadvantage it is to want the care and instruction of a good mother, which makes me the more to pity thy case. Had not Infinite Goodness arrested me in my headlong race, it would have brought me to the gates of destruction and the chambers of death, terminated in my utter ruin both of soul and body, by bringing me to infamy here and eternal misery hereafter;—and all this by gratifying a vain and carnal mind, which hurried me so precipitately into youthful pleasures, that I had not time to see and consider the danger I was in.

And now my dear cousin, I have to reflect on the difficult station thou art placed in, and the great duties that will necessarily fall to thy charge in thy tender age, as that of a mother to thy younger sisters and brothers, a help and companion to thy father, and a stay to his family: all which I have sincerely desired thou might be rightly enabled honourably to acquit thyself in; and that must be by timely and carefully applying to the Fountain and original Source of all true wisdom; entirely disclaiming and renouncing all strength and sufficiency of thy own without Him, who is power and perfection itself.

Let it be thy care to gain the love and affection of the younger children and family; and yet keep an awe and an authority over them, as an elder and superior; and the way to hold that is, not to suffer word or action of thine to be but what thou couldst with pleasure have brought to light and discovered to mankind: otherwise instead of being their governess, thou wilt become their servant and a slave to the fear of their discoveries of thee. Thou canst hardly think how much thy prudent conduct and good example will contribute to the good and well-being of thy brothers and sisters, both here and hereafter, and redound to thy credit and satisfaction; and if they should not tread in thy footsteps, when guided in the path of virtue, then wilt thou be clear in the sight of God and man. And above all things be sure carefully to avoid and shun vain, profane and loose company of every kind, and all converse with them, and unprofitable books and writings;—both insensibly tincture and poison the mind, gradually leavening it into their own wicked nature, dropping malignant dews on virtuous tender plants. But let thy communications be with the most solid religious Friends; and when such cannot be had, choose rather to be alone and conversant with thyself, attending on the reproofs of instruction and the manifestations of Divine light, which is the very way to eternal life; acquainting thyself with the Holy Scriptures, and the writ-

ings of learned and pious persons. Thus wilt thou gain to thyself a valuable treasure of wisdom and knowledge, which possesses a mind rightly cultivated, and be made fit for converse with God thy Creator and his saints on earth; having thy body a sanctified receptacle for His blessed Spirit to make His abode in; which is the height of perfection and excellency that our nature is capable of. Let moderation and the limits of Truth bound thee in all things, eating, drinking, sleeping and apparel; being adorned with a meek and quiet spirit, which is the ornament of our sex. Yet doth not this lead to a dull inactivity of mind,—no, but rather awakens the soul to a sight and sense of duty; and to exert ourselves in the places Providence has placed us, that so we may not become burdens and drones in the creation.

These things, dear Sally, have I written in much love, and hope thou wilt excuse my freedom, and accept them in the same from thy affectionate cousin,  
MARY PEISLEY.

TO E. AND T. ECROYD.

Exeter, 26th of Sixth month, 1749.

My DEAR FRIENDS.—I have been with my dear companion Mary Weston, since the yearly meeting, through four of the southern counties; a fine well-cultivated country, whose fields seem to want no improvement, being richly adorned with plentiful crops. These, with beautifully enamelled and fragrant pastures, with dumb eloquence abundantly praise and magnify the great Creator, setting forth to every intelligent mind the magnificence of His power, wisdom, goodness, bounty, and long-suffering to a race of degenerate unworthy mortals, whose tongues are filled with cursing and profaneness, instead of thanksgiving and praise for the unmerited favours of Him who maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust!

So far as I am capable of discerning, religion is at a very low ebb in this part of the world, amongst all ranks and societies of people. Perhaps you will say I want charity, or upbraid me as Joseph did his brethren, of coming to spy the nakedness of the land. I tell you nay, but to buy food for the sore famine of my soul, by obedience, which could I have had at home I would not have come here. Though I thus freely write my thoughts as they occur, I have no doubt but I am known by you, as well as Joseph's brethren were by him, though to many where I come I am unknown, and remain so.

I have far passed the limits of my letter, but feeling my heart enlarged in that love, which neither length of time nor distance of place can



extinguish or impair, hope you will excuse the freedom, and accept of my salutation in the unchangeable Truth, in which I greet you with love unfeigned, also to your father, mother, and family, with any other inquiring friends, as if named, from your truly affectionate friend.

MARY PEISLEY.

A letter written to two Friends, to whom she was nearly united in spirit, runs thus:—

To ——— AND ———

I RECEIVED your acceptable letter at London, and would have answered it ere now, but for want of leisure, and sometimes a fit frame of mind, being many times deeply bowed and dipped into suffering, with and for my fellow members, and the Seed of God, which lies loaded and oppressed in the minds of very many, even the professors of the blessed Truth, as a cart under sheaves. This makes the true ministers of Christ go heavily mourning on their way, often strewing their tears in solitary places, for the slain of the daughter of this people; yea, for His sake we are killed all the day long, and accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Surely, of all perils we meet with by sea and land, there are none so dangerous or hard to bear, as by false brethren: such are they who have lost the spirit and power of godliness, but retain the form; being clothed with a pharisaical righteousness, they, as our Saviour said, sit in Moses' seat. What they bid, we may do; but their example is to be shunned: instead of coming up in their footsteps, we may justly cry, my soul come not into their secret; unto their assembly mine honour, be not thou united; for their steps tend to the chambers of death, and their ways to the gates of destruction. O! the great loss we that are young have, for want of steady elders to go before us, who might take us by the hand with this amiable language, "follow us, as we follow Christ." And as this is the lot of our day, we must strive to keep to our great Pilot, who is the alone safe conductor of His followers, through all the storms, difficulties, and dangers, that attend this pilgrimage and vale of tears. Though He may sometimes suffer us to walk by faith and not by sight, yet as our eye is steadily looking unto Him, He will be found near at hand to help and direct; whose holy life (while in that prepared body,) remains to be an unerring pattern—He in whom there was no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth, who was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. Alas! how hard a lesson is this to our corrupt nature, poor, frail, weak creatures! Ah! what need we have of boundless mercy, and the mediation of a tender compassionate Saviour, an

holy High-priest, that was tempted in all points as we are; and who well knows how to succour all the tempted, whose care is cast upon Him, the government of whose hearts is upon His shoulders; those who have surrendered their wills to his. These, and only these, are made truly free from the thralldom of sin and death—know an overcoming of themselves, the world, and the devil,—the only conquest worth our labour and constant pursuit. May we ever keep so near that holy, animating seraph love, as that we may witness it to fill us with a generous indifference to earthly and transitory objects; that so we may in reality, count all things here as loss and dross, in comparison of that excellent treasure which we have in our earthen vessels; the efficacy of which has at times given a disrelish to everything that would impede its pure arising in the soul. It is the constant care and work of our adversary to strive to blind the eye of the mind, which can discern the transcendent excellency of the eternal Truth.

M. P.

TO HER FATHER.

Bury in Suffolk, 3rd of First month, 1750.

DEAR AND HONOURED FATHER,——I rejoice to hear of the welfare of my dear brothers and sisters in the best things, and sincerely desire that the dew of heaven may rest long on all your branches—the blessing of the everlasting hills; that so you may be a sweet savour of righteousness to Him who hath called with a high and holy calling, to be heirs of His kingdom, which is far beyond all the kingdoms of this world. O! may you and I press after it through all the crowds of opposition that may stand in our way, so as to touch the hem of His garment from whom alone healing virtue comes.

I have, by Divine mercy, been favoured this winter with an uninterrupted state of health; for which favour, with many more I am partaker of, I desire to be made and kept truly thankful. I have not had the least touch of my cough, which has been so afflicting for many winters past: it has been the most favourable season for travelling, the time of year considered, that ever I knew. I am just got through this county; I think of going next into Essex, and from thence to London, in order for a visit to the city, which I have not yet performed. A young woman has accompanied me through three or four counties; she is to leave in a few days, and my dear Mary Weston is to meet me, and take me home with her. Thou desires to know how I am horsed, which is as well as I could desire, a fine-going, sure-footed, free, pretty creature as ever I rode; it has no fault that I know of, except full much

spirit, which is nothing to me now I am used to her.

It has been for some days past a very poor low time as to my mind; I have now got to a worthy family, with whom my spirit has this evening, in a little family meeting, been much refreshed and comforted. O! how good is bread to the hungry, and the water of life to the poor thirsty soul; and how pleasant is that fellowship which is with the Father, and His Son Christ Jesus;—surely it is beyond and above all the nearness of affinity or consanguinity outwardly; but where they both unite, they are the two-fold cords not easily broken. May we, my dear father, know an increase of this pure unchangeable love, and grow in it as we grow in years. From thy dutiful and truly affectionate daughter,

MARY PEISLEY.

She mentions, that at the city of Cambridge, she had a meeting with a few professors, in number about five; where she was greatly favoured in her mind with the living presence of God; in whose light, she says, “I saw and was made to believe that there would be a people raised up in that place, who should stand for the honour of His name, and be valiant for Truth on the earth. This I was led to declare to the few present, though at this time in a place noted for contrary fruits. At Burford had a large and precious evening meeting, though in the early part it was a very suffering time, there being divers priests, justices of the peace, so called, and rude people, in whom the prince of the air had dominion; but the Lord, whose power is above every power, manifested His own Arm, and made it bare for the help of His depending children, who have none in heaven but Him, nor in the whole earth in comparison of Him. His testimony was set over the heads of transgressors, and evil spirits were made subject to His power: everlasting praises be given to His excellent name!

“At another place where I had a meeting, the professors of Truth had heard of my being silent at several meetings, and were afraid of the cross and reproach of men, so took me a back way to the meeting, for fear (as I apprehended) their neighbours who were not of our Society should see us, and come there; yet Providence so ordered it, that a large number came to the afternoon meeting, to whom Truth was declared, in the wisdom and demonstration of the Spirit of God; after which I had to speak closely to the professors.”

TO HER FATHER.

Wapping, 28th of Second month, 1750.

DEAR AND HONOURED FATHER,—I have been in this city near a month, which has

proved a time of deep travail, having been much shut up and under suffering of spirit; but I think it a blessing that my lot is cast with such tender sympathizing friends as my dear M. W. [Mary Weston] and husband; but I am soon likely to lose her out of this nation, she being prepared for an American journey, only waiting for the ship's sailing. I am glad for her and the cause' sake, that the Lord has so far prevailed by His love as to make her willing to leave all these near and dear enjoyments, and her good husband to give her up cheerfully. Her company has been a great comfort and service to me,—the Lord reward her for all acts of kindness and love to poor unworthy me.

MARY PEISLEY.

TO PETER PEISLEY.

High Wycombe, 30th of Third month, 1750.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Live thou in the pure fear of thy God, which is a fountain of life, that preserves from the many snares of death, which the wicked enemy is laying for the feet of the youth. O! what need have we at all times to keep near the Divine light in ourselves; and to watch in the same against every appearance of evil, and above all, our own heart's lusts; seeing the devil our adversary goes about as a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour. Dear brother, I cannot but warn thee in the love of God, to have a strict guard to thy words, as well as actions; and at all times to speak the truth from thy heart, whether it be for or against thee: neither equivocate to excuse thyself in a fault, for that is next to, or one degree of, lying; but rather suffer blame, if thou hast omitted any duty, than provoke thy Father and Master in heaven; for if thou anger Him and make Him thy enemy, thou wilt never prosper in the Truth. And not only lying, but vain talking and foolish jesting grieve the Holy Spirit; therefore let no corrupt communication proceed out of thy mouth, but such as is good for the use of edifying. Remember that for every idle word we speak we must give an account in the day of judgment, and all liars are to have their part in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone, except they know a true and sincere repentance.

But dear brother, I hope better things of thee, and things that accompany salvation; nor are these hinted at as charges, but as cautions from one who has seen the workings of Satan divers ways, and who sincerely desires thy welfare and preservation every way, and therefore I must again in pure love entreat thee, to watch against all vain and unprofitable thoughts, as well as words, and especially in religious meetings appointed for the solemn worship of Almighty God. If thou suffer the enemy to carry thy mind from the pure gift in thyself, thou



wilt sustain great loss, and bring death, weakness, dryness, and barrenness over thy soul:—Satan working in a mystery of darkness, filling the mind with vain thoughts, and lofty imaginations of self, which must be crucified and slain, before there can be a right resurrection of the soul in the Life of God. And though thou mayst frequently find it very hard to have thy mind composed and staid on the Truth, when coming out of a hurry or multiplicity of business, yet be not weary of striving, watching, and praying, according to the ability thou hast received; watching for the manifestations of the Divine light; that so thou mayst see thy state and condition, and from that sight and sense know how and what to pray for as thou ought: for we know not how to pray acceptably, but as the spirit helpeth our infirmities.

I understand thy master and mistress are kind to thee, the former entrusting thee with a share of his business, in which I hope thou wilt acquit thyself with the same strict care and industry as though it was thy own, yea, and more so; for we may make much more free in omitting or neglecting our own affairs, than when entrusted for others: and I have to say for thy encouragement, it is my belief if thou keeps near to the Lord and art faithful to Him, He will do more for thee than thou canst now think. This is the testimony of one, whom He has deeply tried in the furnace of affliction, yet who has found Him a God near at hand in every time of trouble, and besetment, and exercise: to whose protecting care I commit thee with myself, body, soul, and spirit, and in His love I salute thee, and remain thy affectionate sister,

M. P.

#### TO HER FATHER.

MY DEAR AND HONOURED FATHER,—In a fresh and renewed sense of that love, which is far surpassing natural affection, but joined with the latter, do I at this time tenderly salute thee, my mother, and the family; greatly desiring your growth and preservation in that which as much transcends all temporal enjoyments, as light does darkness. May you be found in close union with the Eternal Spirit; wherein you may read and feel me in the life, and see my situation and standing in the ever-blessed Truth, and make intercession for me according to the will of God. It is *here* that we come rightly to discern one another, not by the sight of the natural eye, and report only; but the soul finds out the excellency of the soul, that is, the beauty which Truth has invested it with, by its own light; for, indeed, we have neither beauty, nor excellency, but what we derive from Him, who is the unexhaustible fountain and treasury of all the saints' jewels. If we take them to deck self with, when He is not pleased

to have them exhibited, it is robbery;—a sin (I bless His name) He has hitherto preserved me from. But He has made me willing to pass along in my journey and pilgrimage as a fool, naked, bare, destitute of help, excepting as I received it from Him, who is the Helper of his people, to the astonishment of professors and profane. This has exposed me both to their censure and ridicule, with grievous mockings and scoffings, hard to be borne by flesh and blood. But He, to whom my eye has been, and whose honour I have sought and not my own, did not leave or forsake me, under my many and great trials; but the right arm of His power has been underneath in all my exercises and probations: so that my soul yet lives in the existence which is invisible and eternal, through all insults of the enemy within and without:—to His excellent name, who is everlastingly worthy, be all praise!

O! how is my mind filled with admiration, when I consider the multitude of His mercies and admirable preservations, in imminent dangers, both inward and outward, by sea and land, as well as His mercies to you my dear parents, brethren, and sisters, with others of my dear relations, who are near to my life, and who are brought to my remembrance at this time as at many others, with great sweetness; and for whom I bow the knee of my mind in reverence at this time before their God and my God, their Father and mine. To these my love flows freely in the blessed fellowship of the glorious gospel; to any of these dear children, co-heirs with Christ, who inquire for me, in that love that is immutable, thou mayst communicate this account of my welfare, as freedom and opportunity permit; knowing these will rejoice to hear of my preservation in the Truth, as I do of theirs: and I trust by the permission and ordering of Providence, shortly to see some of their faces, and enjoy a sweet communion in that love, which first united our souls and cemented our spirits, making us witnesses of that incomparable fellowship which is with the Father and His Son.

I have nigh accomplished my great journey, and to my inexpressible consolation, possess that peace which surpasses the understanding of man; finding myself quite clear of the several parts of this nation that I have visited, which I look upon as an inestimable favour from Him to whom I am abundantly indebted. I have left but a few meetings and two small counties, which I hope to accomplish in about a month; but if it should be longer, I would not have you uneasy, as I am in the hands of a powerful and gracious God; to whose protection I commit myself, thee and thine.

I had thy letter at Leicester, three weeks since, which I was glad of, and pleased with

thy seasonably reminding me of the many obligations thy family and I lie under to Almighty God; which cannot be too frequently remembered, nor gratefully acknowledged. O! how doth it humble my mind, when I reflect that many accounted as valiants in Israel, who had enlisted under Christ's banner, but who for want of keeping in the valley of humility, and near the Captain of their salvation, have suffered themselves to be wounded by their adversary, and have fallen as on the right hand and on the left, whilst I, a poor weak worm, who have no strength nor might of my own, am still preserved in the fear and love of my God, though dangers surround me on every side!

I am favoured with the agreeable company of a young woman from Worcester, who has been with me about six weeks; though she has not a gift in the ministry, yet she is one of those who travail in spirit, and who sympathize with the ministers, a plain, humble, meek-spirited woman, though in the possession of a plentiful portion, and that at her own disposal, being fatherless and motherless; three sisters of them live together in good repute; yet she willingly left her comfortable habitation, to partake of harder fare and difficulties with me, doing what was in her power to make her company serviceable and agreeable to me. I wish there were many such examples in this and our nation.

I shall conclude in that love wherewith I began, to self, mother, sisters, brothers, friends, and relations, as opportunity serves; which please to accept from thy dutiful and affectionate daughter,

MARY PEISLEY.

"In the latter part of this journey, I was seized with a violent intermitting fever, which illness detained me several weeks, and caused me to travel in great bodily weakness; yet the Lord was graciously pleased at times, to strengthen me for the service he had called me to, beyond my own and others' expectation. I waited near a month for a passage to my own country, which seemed tedious to me, and some of the time at a public house at Parkgate, destitute of friends or acquaintance, but dared not repine at the will of Providence. In this journey I rode about five thousand miles, and attended five hundred and twenty-five meetings. I landed at Dublin the ninth month, 1750, having been about two years and nine months absent. Had the company of my esteemed friend, Samuel Fothergill. We had a rough, but swift passage, and were in danger of driving upon the Welch coast, but the Lord was our preserver. My friends rejoiced to see me, as I did them; some were concerned at the state of my visibly impaired health.

"In this city I felt great weakness of body

and mind, being stripped, emptied and tried, as before the great Judge; by whom I was willing to be examined, and to bring my deeds to His Divine light, where my own weakness and manifold infirmities might be more fully manifested; it was several days before I was able to go out to meetings. Though my life was despaired of by several, I mended in my health faster than I expected, when I repaired to my father's cottage, where all the wants of nature were fully supplied, excepting that which would gratify the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and pride of life. Some were against my coming, fearing the journey would be too much for me, and the accommodation not suitable to my weak condition; but I bless the name of my God, who never suffered me to want any good thing, since my first knowledge of Him. I had great peace in coming to my aged father, who much desired my company. Invitations I had, to stations of great affluence, but I denied them; and found the Lord my God deserts not the poor and mean of this world, but visits them in their lonely situations and humble retirements before Him: this I am a witness of, for He was often with my spirit in this time of weakness, speaking peace and comfort to my soul that could not live without Him. One day in particular, as I rode to meeting, being much better in health, His living word ran sweetly through my mind, thus,—“For this purpose have I raised thee up, to show forth in thee my power of preservation and mercy,”—which greatly rejoiced my soul, and caused me to praise His excellent name, who is everlastingly worthy, for all His mercies.”

She kept pretty much at home during her weak state of health, and about this time, wrote to a Friend as follows:—

To ———.

By the mercy of Providence, I am now much recovered. Ah! saith my soul, may I answer the end for which I am continued longer among dreams and shadows, mingled with deceit. What soul that rightly knew its true centre, would desire to continue here longer than till it had performed the will of Him who sent it into life. This is a state of infirmity and dependency, environed by the most subtle, potent, unwearied enemies; which loudly calls for the greatest vigilance, fear, humility and watchfulness that our nature is capable of. Let us therefore sink down in our minds to the lowly humble Seed of everlasting renown, where the visions of life and light are seen, and the voice of the great Oracle heard distinct from every other sound, in the silence of all flesh, freed from the noise of archers; where none can make us afraid.

M. P.



In another letter she says :—

"I **OFTEN** wonder, why the Lord and his people should show so much regard to a poor and unworthy creature, who am the least and last of his family, if meet to be esteemed of that happy number. My soul sinks low under the weight of obligations to Him, to whom I can make no returns, but of His own begetting, who measures not His mercies by our merit, for then would they be a scanty portion; but they are proportioned to His matchless love and kindness."

The summer following she accompanied Catharine Payton, who came to this nation on a religious visit, finding a draft to join her to Munster and Ulster. She set forward on this journey in the Fifth month, 1751, and they joined as companions at Waterford. They had many meetings amongst those of other societies. They visited the towns-people of Sligo in Connaught, and felt much satisfaction; she thought they were well worth visiting, and said there seemed much more openness to declare the Truth amongst those of other societies, than amongst them that go under our name. After this journey, she stayed most of the winter with her father.

#### TO ROBERT BELL.

THY epistle of the 19th instant, is now before me; and though I am not one of the dignified people, a scholar, or a woman of strong natural parts, yet find freedom to send thee a few lines, divested of all the embellishments, which might proceed from the above endowments: having nothing to recommend me except a considerable stock of simplicity and sincerity, I am under no temptation to begin a correspondence to show my wit or learning. In the first place, I may let thee know I am in health of body, except a cold, and fear this part prospers better than my soul prospers; as the former breathes in good clear air, has bread to the full, and I know of no enemies that seek its life; the latter is in an enemy's country surrounded with treble danger, in a land of infection, where fogs of sense and damps of spleen are at times ready to suffocate and stop the breath of life; and had not the sovereign medicine, the balm of life, been applied, it must inevitably have perished long ere now.

When thou mentions the honour done to thyself in conducting thy friends, I would gladly hope thou means the honour thy soul received in feeling the love of God amongst His saints; for surely all other is from beneath, and therefore ought to be condemned by every noble-hearted Christian, who seeks and aspires

after that which is from above only. As to what thou observes concerning spoiling the feast, it brought me to recollect an observation I the other day made, on beholding a considerable number of bees resort to a rosemary bush in full bloom: I stood with attention to see and hear these little busy active creatures, and at length singled out one that I might more particularly observe its manner of proceeding, in order to accomplish its design; which I apprehend to be a provision for the approaching winter, though at a considerable distance, it being now the middle or early part of the season; yet their diligence seemed to be as though it was the last day:—but to proceed with my remark. The one I fixed my eye upon swiftly fled from flower to flower, perhaps to the number of ten, only just stayed long enough on each flower, to find there was not the sweets it wanted; and then quickly fled to another, not spending its time idly, buzzing about the empty flowers, nor did it sting or stain, at least not obvious to my naked eye; indeed I thought, could it have left some private mark easy to be discovered to its fellow-labourers, without defacing or hurting the empty flowers, it might save many the trouble of lighting thereon: but this was not to be the case, they were all on an equal footing, each to try for themselves. Nor were they discouraged by their fruitless endeavours, but persisted in close labour, until they found what they wanted: life seemed precious to them, for the preservation of which they bent all their endeavours. If thou canst draw encouragement or instruction from these broken hints, my end is answered. I have sometimes seen these above-mentioned creatures rest on a loathsome dirty sink, and have been ready to think it was not bare curiosity, or to stand as idle spectators on the meaner insects that resorted there; no, I believe they extracted some of their materials for completing their work. This I think I know, the laborious faithful Christian, draws instruction, warning and caution from the worst examples. M. P.

#### TO ELIZABETH CARLETON.

Paddock,\* 17th of Tenth month, 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Be assured that it is not because I have forgotten thee, that thou hast not heard from me sooner,—no, thou hast been much in my thoughts, and that with considerable love and sweetness; but divers cross occurrences have happened to prevent me telling thee so till now, among the latter of which was, a bad sprain in my right thumb, which rendered my writing impracticable. I received it by a violent fall from my mare the fifth-day

\* Paddock was a farm in the occupation of Mary Peisley's father; it was situated near Mountrath.

before I got home. This, with the enclosed, is the first I have been able to write, which was not performed without some pain and difficulty; but I have the utmost cause to be truly and humbly thankful, that some of my limbs were not broken, or my life suddenly taken away. O! how wonderfully kind has God's protecting Providence been, to one of the most unworthy of all His servants.

Dear E., I have often considered thy lonely situation, and compared it with my own; but mine is abundantly more so than thine, not having one of my own sex in all this quarter, that I can make a friend or companion of. But I am greatly satisfied, and contented with the will of an wise Providence, in this and all other of His dispensations; as it gives me a better opportunity of communion with myself and Him, who is the chiefest among ten thousands. This is indeed an employ best becoming the nature of my being, and the highest use of my intellectual faculties; and if I could not repose myself in the quietude of my own mind, and serenity of my conscience, with the refined pleasures arising therefrom, in vain would I rove in these regions of woe, to seek happiness. But I bless the name of my God, who makes the lonely cottage more pleasing to me, than a palace can be to those dark souls, who live as without Him in the world. Of a truth, the heaven of heavens cannot contain the Beloved of our souls. He delights to be in the habitable parts of the earth amongst the children of men, even with the empty, the poor in spirit, the contrite ones, the temples of whose souls He has caused to be emptied, swept and garnished with His own righteousness: and as He has made them clean, He loves to visit them, and sup with them, and they with Him. O! unparalleled kindness, matchless love, and astonishing condescension of our heavenly Father, and noble Benefactor, to the despised children of His kingdom, whom He has chosen out of the rudiments, customs, and fashions of this world. "Fear not, little flock," said He,—“it is your heavenly Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.”

I had not the least thought of writing after this manner, when I began, but have just let my pen run as matter opened in my mind, and thus enlarged my letter beyond my expectation, as love has enlarged my heart, without premeditation, form, or connexion: if it conveys to thee the least comfort or satisfaction, the end is answered; for I have been ready to think thou needs consolation, and say unto thee, in the unalterable love of the gospel,—Trust in that God, whose truth and righteousness never fail: He will arise in his own time, and expel darkness, and dissipate sorrow! M. P.

#### TO A YOUNG MAN, THEN UNDER THE BAPTIZING POWER OF TRUTH.

—THERE is one caution that has dwelt for some time on my spirit to give thee in pure love and good-will, that is, that thou may be particularly nice in the choice of thy friends, now in thy setting out in a new and spiritual life, which is a point of great wisdom. Have special care of being too readily taken with strangers, and of giving thy sentiments in word or writing of persons or things not well-known. This thou wilt find, when duly considered, to be a hint of singular service. Wait for the freedom and direction of Truth, before thou enters into converse or familiarity with any, though it may be on religious subjects; for there are many more talkers of the Truth, than walkers in it. This thou wilt find, as I have done, to tend greatly to the health and well-being of thy precious soul; for there is a set of mortals, whose very breath diffuses poison and infection to the mind; their throats are as an open sepulchre, the poison of asps is under their tongues, they flatter with their lips: I might enlarge on this subject, but a watch word is enough. M. P.

#### TO A FRIEND.

Paddock, 30th of First month, 1752.

RESPECTED COUSIN,—Thine of the 30th is now before me, which I have read and considered in the best manner I am capable of, with desire that I may draw from it whatever instruction it can possibly afford me.—I have renewed occasion to see and admire the kindness, love, and benevolence of my dearest tender Father and best of friends, who has hitherto supported my mind under a multiplicity of uncommon exercises and trials, both inward and outward, for a series of time, to the alone honour of His most excellent name. I write not this boastingly; no, my spirit reverently bows towards its true centre, in a deep sense of my own unworthiness of the least of all the Lord's mercies and truth that He has showed to me; and, blessed for ever be His power, is still manifesting, and I trust will continue so to do during the short time allotted for my continuance here. He it was, the Beloved of my soul, whose I am and serve with my spirit in purity of conscience, that fortified my mind for the reception of thy letter; which came to my hand at the close of our week-day meeting, which had been to me a time of favour; wherein my will was so far annihilated and spirit subjected, as to feel no desire of being anything, either in the Church or the world, but what might contribute most to His honour, not my own, who had sent me into life for a



purpose of His glory. Oh! saith my poor soul with the utmost sincerity, may the glorious end be answered, then come life or death, prosperity or adversity, shall I not bid welcome to all the dispensations that are sent to effect it; yea, surely, and be willing to be anything or nothing, do or suffer for His name's sake, who has deeply suffered for me. I shall now endeavour to obviate thy false surmises respecting me, with no other view or intent, but to prevent the evil tendency thy entertaining them may have in destroying that union and fellowship which ever did and ever will subsist between the true members of the one mystical body, so long as they keep their places and act under the direction of the Holy Head. But really when they quit this beautiful order and harmony, they are subject to hurt and trouble one another, which I have found by sorrowful experience. Ah! may such crooked, decrepid, weak, members, who have made themselves so by acting in their own wills, be timely reinstated and brought into union with the body and subjection to the Head!—As to the path which my feet were turned into, out of the broad way (in which thou wast made an instrument in the hand of God, and I hope I shall remember thy agency with gratitude so long as thou keeps in the Spirit in which thou began—may thou nor I never seek to be made perfect by the flesh)—I bless the name of my God I find by experimental knowledge that I am still in the same strait and narrow way which leads to life eternal, nor are my trials and self-nothingness diminished but augmented, though custom has rendered them more tolerable to bear. But I hope thou wouldest not have me always remain in a state of infancy and weakness as to religion; no, I desire to grow from stature to stature, and from one degree of strength and faith to another, till I come to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ: in malice I would always be a child, but not in knowledge. Yet I hope I have kept to the simplicity in innocency, honesty and plainness of speech, not boasting myself in another man's line; and though the terms in which I convey my sentiments may differ from thine or another's, yet it is to me free, easy, and natural, such as I am accustomed to in my common converse,—not laboured, strained, borrowed or picked up as thou terms it,—and I think intelligible even to weak minds, and those who with myself may want the privilege of a liberal education; for indeed I lay claim to no embellishments, neither natural nor acquired, but such as I have been assisted to bring from the school of Christ. True it is I have been careful in the discharge of my ministerial function, to convey the Word as much as possible free from the workings of

my own spirit, or mixture of the creature, seeing clearly that in these things Satan would transform himself as into an angel of light; setting sound for substance, and passion for power. And as I dare not add to the Word of prophesy, neither do I think it right to diminish anything from the beauty of the gift I have received by disagreeable tones, unbecoming gestures, unprofitable tautology or vain repetitions; yet have fervent charity for them who through unwatchfulness fall into these errors, well knowing how hard it is to steer clear of them; and in beholding the weight and the importance of the work (in the light of Truth) and the many mistakes we are subject to, have oft cried out in the secret of my soul, O Lord! who is sufficient for these things; surely only such as thou makes so by thy own Divine wisdom! But I bless the name of my God, who has condescended to rectify my spiritual senses in such a manner as to fit me to relish the true spring of ministry through his meanest instruments, with all the tinctures it may carry with it of the pipe or casket through which it is conveyed. The patriarchs and prophets all spoke with profound judgment, sense and connexion, and divers of them were noted for their elegancy of speech, as were many of our worthy ancestors, insomuch that they came under the censure of being Jesuits, men noted for their subtlety and learning; and Christ our Lord, chief Speaker in his Church, and holy pattern to his people, was observable for his wisdom and excellency of speech, so that it might well be said of him, sure “never man spoke like him” (of Divine and heavenly truths), insomuch that it drew this remark from the unbelievers, “from whence hath this man this wisdom and learning?” They were such as were strangers to that Source whence he derived his wisdom, that thus presumptuously questioned the eternal Son of God! And shall any now in like manner dispute the unsearchable wisdom of God in the distribution of his own gifts for the edifying and building up of his Church! who gives to one the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge, by the same Spirit, to a third faith, and so on, as the learned apostle has elegantly described. But said he, “I show unto you a more excellent way,” that is charity, without which he beheld himself, though endowed with all other gifts, but “as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal,”—and indeed he gives a beautiful description of it, well worthy the observation of thee and me: “it thinketh no evil,” said he, and I believe it is because it would do none. I could write more on this subject, which for brevity sake I omit.—I know not that I have given any just cause of offence to Jew or Gentile, nor to the Church of Christ, and I thank Him who

helpeth his children, I can and do forgive injuries; I am not for war, except against the three common enemies of our happiness. Thy manner of writing would have given me much trouble, had I not seen thy willingness to judge me before thou hadst entered into the merits of the case, which is the most favourable construction that I can put on thy hints. For such has been my unwillingness to contend, that I have repeatedly received the most false accusations and bitter reflections without any answer or reply, when I might have justified myself.

MARY PEISLEY.

#### TO THOMAS GREER.

Paddock, 28th of Second month, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—As thou art often the subject of my thoughts, I make thee so now of my pen, and inform thee that I read thy favour of 5th of eleventh month, which was satisfactory to me, as it always is to hear from my friends. I observe thy cordial advice respecting ———, which I take kindly, and have strictly adhered to it; let them be doing, it seems my place at present to rest still and quiet, having committed my innocent cause to the Author of my being, with sincere desires that He may work as will contribute most to his glory, and the good and preservation of his heritage, let me suffer what I may. I confess they have touched me in a tender part, by endeavouring to asperse my character, but it is not my life, which is hid with Christ in God; had *that* been in the applause of men it would now be in danger, if not lost. But oh! how inestimable a blessing it is to have a treasure laid up in heaven, where neither moth nor rust can corrupt nor thieves break through to steal! May thou and I labour for it with all the powers of our souls; for I am sure we have seen it in the glorious light of Truth, to be a pearl worth selling all for; and in that light and sight have we clearly discovered the emptiness, nothingness and insufficiency of all sublunary enjoyments, to make us truly happy here, or contribute to our well-being, hereafter; but as they were sanctified to us and consecrated to His service that gave them. Yea, have we not begged and requested that He would not give them, except on these terms, seeing clearly there was a curse in these very blessings, except his blessing fetched it out. Well, my dear friend, do we still retain that rectified sense of things which Truth has given us, or is not the god of this world endeavouring to blind the eye of our minds, so that we cannot make a right estimate of things celestial or terrestrial? for as the one heightens in our view or opinion, the other consequently lessens and seems of but small value, which verifies the truth of that

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memorable saying, “ye cannot serve two masters,” and that of John, viz., “if any man love the world, or the things that are in the world, the love of the Father is not in him,” that is, it is not prevalent in his soul, for when it is, as I before wrote, all things else are of little value in comparison of it. But why write I thus to one who knows all these things as well as I do? I think it is not merely the result of my imagination, for I am oft so shut up that I can neither speak nor write of religious matters; and not only so, but I have felt my mind clothed with a little pain and concern for thy welfare and preservation, as for my own, and cries have been raised in my soul to the God of my life on thy behalf, that He might condescend safely to pilot thee from that dangerous rock whereon so many well-fitted vessels have split, to wit, the inordinate pursuit of the world. Thou knowest right well the havoc this gilded bait has made amongst the lambs and sheep of Christ; therefore let me entreat thee as a sister, in love, that thou wait daily for that Power which alone can bring to silence all flesh, and capacitate thee to hear the voice of the true Shepherd distinct from every other sound, and if thou follow it, it will lead thee out of the reach of the paw of the lion and the bear, and deliver thee from that uncircumcised philistine spirit, which bears rule in the hearts of the children of disobedience. It is by hearing and obeying, our souls must live to God. I would not multiply lines on this subject; a word is enough for the wise.

May God Almighty keep thee in the unity of His spirit and fellowship of the saints, and build thee up in the most holy faith. I have some thoughts of sending this by my highly esteemed and much beloved friend William Brown, or his companion Samuel Neale, if they go your way soon. I am persuaded if thou retains thy spiritual senses in their proper rectitude, thou wilt prize the company of the former, as a father in Israel, if it be proper to give any man on earth that appellation. May his labours of love be blessed amongst you. I must conclude being in haste, thy real affectionate friend,

MARY PEISLEY.

She wrote to another of her friends, thus:—

To ———.

——— It is not forgetfulness of my near and dear friends, that makes me slow in my answers to them, nor yet because I have not a singular pleasure in hearing from them; their converse by letters or otherwise, is, next to the Divine good in myself, the greatest satisfaction in this life; but thou knowest, that even all of this kind, must be through Him, who is the



Source of all good, and can command the clouds, that they shall or shall not rain. He can stop both the upper and the nether springs, and cause a famine in the land, and who shall say, what doest thou? It is the Lord that worketh in and for His people, and who shall let or hinder him from doing it His own way, and after the manner that He sees best? He is about to try His people every way, even as He did Israel of old, by famine, captivity, and sore distresses, because of the hardness of their hearts, and stiffness of their necks, in refusing to return to Him, who had done such great things for them and their fathers. This is the case, my friend, of people in this day, who are gone into captivity, and refuse to return at the command of the Lord; who has long waited, and loudly called, immediately and instrumentally, to them to return. And for this reason, a little remnant, who like David, prefer Jerusalem above the chiefest joy, have hung their harps as upon the willows, and dare not sing the songs of Zion, neither can they in a strange land, for such as desire it from them, who are of the number of those that spoil them, and yet require of them a song, or mirth. May all do as Daniel did, in their private chambers, set their faces towards Jerusalem, oftener than the morning; and not be afraid to suffer for the law of their God.

It has been my lot, since my return from England, to be much shut up as to word and doctrine, and to sit in great emptiness and poverty of spirit, amongst a people big with expectation of words, and who have too much departed from the light and life of the pure Word in themselves. And of late, since this expectation has been disappointed, and their hopes frustrated, the Lord has often made use of me in his hand, as a sharp threshing instrument, and put such words in my mouth for them, as they could hardly bear; so that on all sides, the poor creature is greatly despised and rejected, by the high and lofty professors and pharisaical righteous, who can speak their own words, and work their own works; and indeed I am well content so to be, and expect no better treatment, than our blessed Lord and his disciples have met with in all ages: we are not greater than our Master, if they persecute him they will also persecute us. I only wish we may be found building on the same foundation, and then the gates of hell will not prevail against us.

M. P.

TO R. SHACKLETON.\*

Paddock, 28th of Eleventh month, 1752.

DEAR FRIEND,—I have often a secret plea-

sure in spiritual converse with thee and others of my friends, when my hands are employed about my lawful business; in this I believe I have the advantage of thee, thy occupation, though honourable, being such as whilst thou art engaged in it, must, I suppose, employ thy thoughts as well as hands: may thy heart often be secretly inclined to withdraw thyself from it and all other engagements, to seek that which will stand by us, if we make choice of it, when all things here, as to us, will be at an end.

Though I saw thee lately on a solemn, I will not say sorrowful, occasion, because I think the nearest friends of the deceased could hardly regret her being taken from pain and trouble to her everlasting rest, I had no opportunity of more than just speaking to thee; yet methought thou looked like a child that had lost a mother, or a young soldier who had had his leading officer taken away, and he left to consider how he should make the next step to preferment. Thou writest of expecting to be nursed at Kilconner, methinks it seems high time for thee to be weaned, and come up to more manly stature than that of a sucking child. Remember, dear friend, that many of our elders are taken away, and some others by the course of nature cannot be expected to continue with us long, so that the affairs of the church are consequently likely to fall into the hands of a younger generation; the consideration of which often deeply bows my spirit in humility and fear, and causes frequently that cry to be in my soul, when my Master is putting me forth in his work and service, that was uttered by the young prince Solomon, from a sense of the weight of his calling and his incapacity to perform it without Divine assistance—he cries out “Lord give me wisdom,” or to this import: may this be the language of our spirits while of the church militant on earth. There seems to be a renewed visitation of Divine love in this

little band, young in years, but increasing in the experience of those things which belong to peace, became closely united. Amongst these, Mary Peisley, Samuel Neale, Elizabeth Pike, Richard Shackleton and his wife, and Elizabeth Carleton, often met, and were a strength and encouragement to each other. Their union is expressed thus, in a letter from Richard Shackleton to Samuel Neale; My cry was to-day, dear friend! for us who are young, who are known by one another to have good desires begotten in us for the blessed cause, that we might be preserved, and plentifully filled with Divine wisdom, of which I saw a great necessity,—that the Lord would take us, being children, and teach us himself; and that we might be drawn into near unity with one another.

\* Samuel Neale, who had been forgiven much, loved much; and having been obedient to the heavenly vision, became a vessel of honour, replenished with good, and pouring it forth for the refreshment of others. He was one, who, remembering the trials which attend youth, compassionated them; and in advanced life, his winning affability towards young persons, his fatherly love and care, his heart and house open to receive them, made a deep impression on their minds, from which many received lasting advantage.

\* The compiler of the Memoirs and Letters of Richard and Elizabeth Shackleton remarks;—‘About this time a

quarter, extended even to the outcasts of Israel and dispersed of Judah; it looks to me at times as if the Shepherd of Israel would leave no labour of love untried, for the bringing home of the lost sheep. I wish it may not add to their condemnation in the great day of account, for having slighted such unmerited favours. I am, through the mercy of a kind Providence, much better in health, I hope both of mind and body. I judge of it by the symptoms I feel, namely, a keen hunger and thirst, and when food is administered, a good relish for it; it being received with pleasure and thankfulness lies not undigested, but leaves an activity and willingness to labour for more, from a sense that the manna gathered yesterday will not serve to-day. Yea, I feel a willingness in my soul either to do or suffer for His great name sake, who has both done and suffered much for me. I write not this boastingly; no, it must forever be excluded, with all glorying save in the cross of Christ, and in my infirmities, which are only mine; I write it to the praise and honour of Him who has called me from darkness to light, and is the repairer of breaches, and the restorer of paths to dwell in. I remain thy real well-wishing friend,

MARY PEISLEY.

TO A PERSON UNDER RELIGIOUS IMPRESSIONS,  
WHOM SHE WAS MADE INSTRUMENTAL TO  
HELP.

— Does it not behove me to study thy preservation, as I am unavoidably led in the wisdom of truth to do? It was for this end that I was chosen of the Lord at this time for thy friend. I see it clearly, and feel it perfectly; thou art to tread the same dangerous steps that I had to stumble over, with this advantage, that she who has gone the road before thee, is made willing to lend thee her hand, and to point the snares and traps that lie in the way. And now it is in my heart to give thee a short account of my own experience, in the work of religion. When my soul was first thereby awakened to a life of righteousness, I saw such beauty and excellency in the Truth, that I thought no temptation would ever prevail upon me to turn aside in the least degree from what I knew to be my duty and interest in the Truth; and all my passions seemed so subjected and engrossed in admiration and contemplation of the one great and good object, and His wonderful works in me and the whole creation, that I seemed to have no life in or relish for any other employ. Nor could I hear with pleasure any converse that did not savour more or less of the Spirit of Truth; and even such as did, I delighted more in the feeling sense of it in my own heart, than the hearing of it from any mortal: and to hear any speak of it, that were

not in the life and power of it, was the greatest pain to my spirit that it could be tried with. All the wisdom of men seemed foolishness to me without this, and it is really so in the sight of God and all good men. Alas! this state lasted not long, till my trials came on apace, and all my fortitude was proved; nor will I, nor dare I, ascribe my preservation to my own watchfulness, stability, prudence or wisdom: no, it must be forever attributed to the watchful eye of the Shepherd of Israel, who sleeps not by day nor slumbers by night. The enemy of my happiness strove to draw me from the true light, and to set me upon acting by imitation, rather than from the sense and judgment of the Truth in myself; and here self began to plead, what need is there for me to be more mortified, in this or that particular, than others of my fellow-labourers, who are greater ministers, and have seen farther into the liberty which Truth allows of, they being persons of far greater abilities than I, and some other weak persons who make scruples of small matters? and what is there in this, that or the other trifle of dress or behaviour?

Thus did the enemy work as in a mystery, to deceive my poor proud heart, that liked well this doctrine of his, and would have reasoned the secret, gentle dictates of Truth out of my mind; not considering that the enemy was leading me to imitate the weaknesses of my fellow-mortals, and to overlook their virtues. Thus did he strive in another shape and form to open that eye in me, which had been shut to all the glory of the world, in every kind and degree of it. All this, and much more did the implacable enemy of my peace whisper in the ear of my soul, and caused his agents to speak to my outward ear; yea, even some of the Lord's servants, who were taken by the affectionate part, would have persuaded me from the cross, as Peter would have done his Lord, when he said, "far be those things from thee;" but what was His reply,—"Get thee behind me, Satan, thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." Nor is there any mortal, that rightly and truly savours the things of God any longer than they are under the immediate influence of His own Divine grace, and that in a greater or smaller degree as they partake of it; let us therefore cast this part in all the disciples behind our backs, and look to Him with a single eye, who was never overcome in battle. He it was, who let me see that no mortal could be a perfect pattern to me, in all things; and that He would lead me in a manner different from most others, both as to my gift and conduct. And though the manner in which Truth led me was often misconstrued, and wrongfully censured, as the object of pride, singularity, temper, &c.,



my God knew it was in obedience to Him, and in refined love and charity to my fellow-mortals, which would not nor dare not, draw the hearts of the people from their true King, as Absalom did, who perished for the same. And those innocent practices in converse and behaviour, which I saw used by others of my sex and condition, whom I preferred before myself, were to me forbidden, though they might be to them lawful, and for what I know allowable: especially towards the other sex, I found it my duty to act with the utmost caution; if I found no danger on my side, yet I saw it needful to consult the good of those with whom I conversed. And had I not been obedient in this particular, I am sure I should not have been preserved till this time, to have been thy friend in the Truth, as I am this day; my own affections and the affections of others, would long since have stolen me out of his hands, who has an absolute right to dispose of my body and spirit, "which are His." Such was the prevalency of the general love and esteem, that I met with for a time, which naturally drew my mind, and the prevalency of the love of God, which powerfully attracted my soul towards Himself from all fading objects, that between these two powers, my mind was, at times, in that position that Absalom's body was, when he hung in a dying condition in the boughs of a tree, as between heaven and earth, scarcely knowing which power would have me: but as there was a faithful obedience to the voice of the true Shepherd, I found the power of Saul grow weaker, and that of David stronger. M. P.

TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Borris, 13th of Third month, 1753.

THOUGH I am poor, low, distressed and afflicted, having more need to be ministered unto than to minister to any, yet as thou hast repeatedly desired to hear from me by word or writing, I now feel a secret draught to let thee know a little how it fares with me; though the source or cause of my sorrow must forever be concealed from all mortals, and pent within the narrow confines of this troubled breast: save when admitted to pour out its complaints in the bosom of my never-failing Friend and blessed Redeemer, all other counsellors are denied me,—may He condescend to direct my steps in righteousness, and then all will be well. Let it suffice to say, that I have just been in silent and solid retirement, considering my awful calling, and comparing my life to that of the Captain of my salvation, who was made perfect through suffering; and shall I dare to say my life bears some faint resemblance to His? yea, surely, as well indeed it may, who am called to be his minister. He was a man of sorrows and acquainted with

grief: so am I, a woman of a sorrowful spirit, that have moved my lips in prayer, when my tongue could not set forth the anguish of my soul, pouring it forth in broken accents, sighs and groans,—not for riches, honour, name or fame, nor yet a mortal earthly love, or for a first-born son after the flesh; but for divine wisdom, heavenly instruction, and ability to bring forth fruits of righteousness to the praise and honour of Him who has called me to glory and virtue. Was my Lord despised and rejected of men? So am I;—Hannah like, I have been misunderstood, even by the high priest; but not by the great One of our profession, who knows and regards His own, gently whispering in the ear of their souls, "Fear not worm Jacob, I am with thee," &c. My Lord was betrayed: so have I been by a professed disciple. He was left alone in extreme agonies,—none to aid Him, or to make his complaint to, but the Father alone. So have I. Let me not longer dwell on this copious subject, than I find the strength of His love to comfort my mind, and then I might for ever dwell on it, and find new wonders in it. O! the length, the breadth and the unfathomable depth of it!

I observe thy complaint of poverty, which was no incitement in me to do the same, had it not been my state, and I thought it might not be discouraging to thee, to know that thou shares the same lot with thy brethren and sisters. Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not: for the Lord has said, that He would bring evil upon all flesh; but if we have that promise which was given to Baruch, "thy life shall be given thee for a prey wheresoever thou goest," may this be our happy experience to save our spiritual lives; this seems to be the ultimate of my wish, expectation or desire, in this calamitous day and time we live in as to religion. The priests, the Lord's ministers mourn, the virgin daughters of Zion are in bitterness, saying with Baruch, "the Lord has added grief to my sorrow." Well, let me not dwell longer on this theme, but hope for beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garments of praise for the spirit of heaviness; how does this holy anchor keep my troubled soul from foundering on the quicksands of despair.

To-morrow, if Providence permit, I am to go to Mountmellick, where I believe my concern for America will be made public. Oh! how complicated are my exercises;—but do not think from what I write that I go murmuring and whining after my Captain. Oh! saith my soul, may I always count it an honour to be found worthy of His commissions; yet, Oh! this self does not like the repeated strokes of the hammer, which the vessels of beaten gold

in the Lord's house must undergo! Whither will my pen carry me? shall I a worm presume to think myself one of these? yes, surely, I have passed seven times through the furnace of affliction. I wish there may at last anything remain that is of the pure solid weighty gold! But let me say before I conclude, that there is a secret faith lies hidden in my heart, that when this bloody baptism is over, my God will cause me to go on my way rejoicing. I know I must, as my Master did, descend before I ascend. Do not forget me when thou art in thy best clothing;—my dear love is to thyself, wife and mother; in which I remain thy assured friend,

MARY PEISLEY.

The religious concern just mentioned, which had at times, for years rested on her mind, to pay a religious visit to the churches in America, continued to impress her with additional weight; the baptisms she passed through, to fit her for this work, she thus further describes:—

“The Lord was pleased to bring me exceedingly low, both in mind and body, the latter so much so, that my life was despaired of by myself and others; and such was my exercise of mind and pain of body, that life seemed a burden, yea, I was ready often to wish my body dissolved, that I might be with Christ. Yet when death looked me in the face, unaccompanied by that which alone can render it supportable to human nature, viz., an incontestible evidence of eternal rest to my immortal spirit, it appeared to me a gloomy prospect, and the cause of its being so I believe was, that my time was not yet come. For I knew not that I had wilfully offended the Divine Being, that should cause him to withdraw His life-giving presence, and suffer my mind to be clothed with a thick cloud of darkness. During this time of trial and deep exercise of body and mind, the Lord my God was pleased to extend His mighty Arm of power, and reduce my spirit to a calm, so as to make His holy voice intelligible to my weary distressed soul, and to inform me that He would raise me from that low and dark state, and cause me, in his love, to visit the churches in America the next year. And although this seemed to clash with my temporal interest, as well as natural inclination, there was at the same time when I heard the call, an entire resignation wrought in my mind, so that I could say indeed and in truth, “Thy will be done in all things,” which was to me a confirmation that the thing was of the Lord, verifying that saying of David, when addressing the Almighty, “In the day of thy power, thy people shall be willing;” and such was the prevalence

of it, that it removed those things which had been like mountains in my way, and caused them to be cast into the sea of annihilation. This journey had been before me, by distant views, from a short time after my receiving a gift in the ministry. There were many difficulties seemingly insurmountable in my way, which the Lord in his own time was pleased to remove; so that I may say of a truth, I was brought through the furnace of affliction to perform this journey.”

She corresponded with her friend Catharine Payton, who felt a like concern to visit the churches in America, and great was the sympathy they had with each other. Mary Peisley left home the 22nd of the third month, 1753, attended the quarterly meeting at Edenderry, and went thence to Dublin, where she met with considerable trials by opposing spirits, of which she says she had a previous sight, and thus writes:—

“I felt the power of darkness at work, so as grievously to oppress my spirit; but by degrees it was cast down, and the pure light prevailed. The design of the enemy was, to prevent my intended journey by raising contention; which, blessed be the name of God, he was not able to do. I left Dublin in the fifth month, in love and unity with my friends, and good desires for my enemies, if any such I had; and landing at Liverpool, got safe to London. After attending the yearly meeting at London, I went to the yearly meetings of Colchester, Bury, Woodbridge and Norwich; all which were attended with a good degree of the life and power of Truth, and an honest labour for the good of the people.”

TO JAMES PIM.

London, 24th of Seventh month, 1753.

DEAR COUSIN,—Thine of the 22nd ult., I received at Norwich, which was satisfactory to me, and the contents observed; being what is necessary for me and all that would be Christians in reality to be found in the observance of; and especially in these perilous days, wherein so many bad examples abound, and many strange voices are to be heard to allure from the voice of the true Shepherd; who says in the secret of the soul,—“This is the way walk in it;”—a way of mortification and self-denial, a way to which corrupt nature is above all others most averse, and seeks to shun. I need not dwell on this subject, thou knowest it better than I can inform thee, I shall therefore proceed to give thee some little account of how it fares with me. As to my health I am through Divine favour much better than heretofore, and



as to my mind I do not remember ever being more empty, stripped and destitute than of late; yet at times witness a little strength to perform the duties which I believe are required of me, and am forced to walk by faith more than by sight, having at times scarcely light enough to see where to set a foot in the spiritual journey, and then if faith fails, I am obliged to stand still. Yet in all these low times and trying seasons, I have not hitherto been suffered once to doubt of my being in my place in coming here, or in the little turn I have taken in this nation; though it did not appear to me till a short time before I went, and the impulse for it very gentle. I found it difficult to get clear of that great city, Norwich, or rather the inhabitants of it, both Friends and others. I was obliged to make a visit to a large congregation of the people called Methodists at their place of worship, who behaved with great moderation, and some of them discovered a Christian love and tenderness; their speaker left the assembly to us, sat quietly by us all the time, and bid us act according to our freedom, which led us to silence for near an hour, a thing I believe very uncommon to them, and indeed it was remarkable the stillness which they were brought to, more so than many meetings of Friends that I have been in: and in some conversation with their preacher, so called, he assented to the truth of the necessity of silence in their places of worship.

Eighth month 2nd.—Here I dropped my pen, in order as I thought to give thee some account of our embarkation, but am still at a loss about it; my companion has been very poorly in health most part of the time since I left her, and is in no wise fit to go to sea, being very weak. And was not this the case, I cannot find my spirit clear of the inhabitants of this city, nor my way open to leave it. I have been a good deal tossed about my stay, considering the season of the year is passing over; but I am now through Divine favour resigned to stay the Lord's time, which I have a secret hope he will show us. I had for a time lost sight of Charleston, but I think I have again had a review of it, to which port there is likely to be a passage at any season of the year. Dear cousin, I wish I may be found worthy a place in thy remembrance, when admitted to intercede for thyself and the flock and family of our God. I am sure thou art often near to my mind in the uniting love of our heavenly Father, in which I conclude thy affectionate cousin,  
MARY PEISLEY.

TO ELIZABETH CARLETON, DUBLIN.

London, 28th of Seventh month, 1753.

DEAR BETTY,—Having this morning a little leisure from the necessary cares for my jour-

ney, retired alone to meet the beloved of my soul and to converse with Him, in whom my spirit delighteth; who was pleased to appear in his ancient goodness, as a morning without clouds with a fresh shower of celestial rain to my thirsty soul. At this season thou and many more of my near and dear friends in my native land were sweetly brought to my remembrance, in the soft sympathy and union of spirit, which neither length of time nor distance of place can wear out, nor any evil power, men or devils dissolve, as there is a keeping to Him who is the Author of it; though there may be for a time an interruption, which is indeed painful to the right-minded, and rejoicing to our enemy, who seeks daily to effect this work, because he knows our strength lies in unity.—

I have no answer to my last, save what I saw in a letter to my companion, but I would not have thee attempt to write to me, or any other, without a proper opening so to do, I mean on religious subjects; for I think I have seen more clearly of late than ever, the danger and hurt of it, and have been made to look upon the practice as next a-kin to a false ministry, if not worse; because it remains for review, and may with the better connexion be packed together as to form of sound words, yet without sense or feeling of what we write, and therefore can convey none to those who read it: though it may sound and tinkle to the outward ear, it is a waster of strength and a diminisher of life; one of the ways of stealing the word, which the Lord our God is against, and will plead with His people for. This my dear friend has made me keep silence to those who are near and dear to my life, and with whom I truly sympathize in the fellowship of the gospel, and travail as in birth, with pangs of spirit unutterable, that Christ may be perfectly formed in them, and they found complete in Him, lacking nothing of what he would have them to be; which experience I have found it hard to attain to, yet think I may say with David, in reverence of spirit before Him, who works all my works in me and for me, and who shall for ever have the praise,—“my heart is not haughty nor my eyes lofty; I have not exercised myself in things too high for me; I am as a weaned child.” Weaned indeed I am, and strive to be, from all that is near to my nature or desirable to the creaturely part, shutting out of my thoughts those that are most pleasing to them, save when I can remember them for good, that is, when they are brought to my remembrance by the pure Spirit which is without mixture and thinketh no evil. And as to the use of my natural faculties, I think I never knew them in greater subjection than at this season; it seems as though I was not to have the use of them, even

in civil affairs, but by Divine permission, and in such a degree as He pleases who gave them. And as to my public appearance, I never knew it to be in so simple a manner in my own view, finding it my duty at times to rise and speak without a word in my mouth but as it is immediately given; so that there is no room for me to be exalted with gifts, nor do I desire it, if so be I can but witness a degree of the power which first put me forth, and caused me to stand trembling before the people; which, blessed be the name of my God I am at times a witness of, though in this appearance can only be acceptable to them who abide in the same: to the worldly wise I am but a fool and my preaching foolishness, with which I am content, and only wish to be enabled to bear the cross, it being the way to the crown.—If thou hast freedom shall be glad to hear from thee before we leave England, with as full an account of Friends and affairs of Truth as time and ability will permit. Thine as usual,

MARY PEISLEY.

“Before my leaving Ireland, I had a sight of Charleston, South Carolina, being the port for me to land at, this continued until I returned to London, when I lost sight of it, which made me willingly conclude I might go with some Friends I was nearly united to, for Philadelphia; and accordingly I went on board some vessels bound for that port, but could not see my way in any of them. On more deeply centring to the Root of life, in humble resignation to the Divine will, I found it my duty to continue some weeks at London; the not being clear of that city was, I believe, the cause of my not seeing my way clear to Charleston, I therefore concluded to stay the Lord’s time, and when I found my spirit clear, took my passage with my dear companion Catharine Payton, for that port. Before my leaving London, I had a large and comfortable farewell meeting at the Peel; for which my soul, with many more, had renewed cause to bless and praise the name of the Lord. Several Friends accompanied us from London to Portsmouth, where we took shipping and landed at Charleston. We had a favourable passage, save hard weather towards the latter part of the voyage; but by the infinite mercy of Almighty God, we were preserved from any terror or amazement, and our health continued beyond expectation, save the sickness occasioned by the sea and heat. We had meetings on board every first-day, when ability of body and the weather would permit; which the passengers and ship’s crew attended, to whom the way of life and salvation was declared; but many of their hearts being hardened through the deceitfulness of sin, the word had not that entrance, which could have been desired.”

• TO HER SISTER RACHEL PEISLEY.

On board the Alexandria, 1753.

DEAR SISTER,—As thou hast been of late frequently brought to my remembrance, with the rest of my family, I take this opportunity to salute thee by a few lines, heartily wishing thy welfare every way; may this find thee in true peace of mind, health of body, and in the pursuit of the knowledge and favour of thy great and good Creator.

I heard by letters from father, of thy being but poorly in thy health for some time after I left you, and again of thy being recovered or better; which I was glad of, with this proviso, that thou might improve thy time to the glory of Him who gave thee a being, and lengthened thy days for that purpose, if thou art spared yet a little longer:—I say a little longer, for it is but a short season till we must all be numbered to the silent grave. May we therefore, while time is afforded, learn that point of great wisdom, which the Lord our God willed to find in his people in former ages, when He speaks after this moving manner by the mouth of His servant,—“O! that my people were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end.” For what purpose were they to consider it, but that they might be fitted for it by a life of purity and piety? Remember, dear sister, that it is the pure in heart who shall see God to their comfort.

I have often thought of late, that the Almighty by the dispensations of His Providence towards thee has designed to awaken thy heart to a more lively sense of thy duty towards Him. I believe the late trial thou hast had in the loss of a dear brother, touched thee as to the quick, and caused thee to consider the emptiness of all things here, and the great advantage there is in having peace of conscience on a dying-bed. Do not think me hard-hearted, dear child, in reviving in thy memory this solemn afflicting scene, which perhaps self-love may suggest to thee thou hadst better forget; but suffer me to say, this is not answering the design of Providence; not that I would have thee mourn as one without hope, or afflict thyself needlessly, without a resigned will to Him who has an absolute undoubted right to dispose of all His creatures according to His good pleasure. But I well know, while I thus write, that this happy resigned state of mind is a gift of the Lord’s own preparing, and not in our power to command; yet it is our duty to wait and pray for it, with every other virtue or grace we stand in need of; but especially such, as the want of, most oppresses us. This should be the constant prayer of our hearts, till we have obtained it; and this solicitude of spirit our Lord encourages us unto, by divers parables



and instances of His condescension in hearing and relieving such as continued to follow and beseech Him in true faith. In one parable He said to His followers, "Which of you, if a son ask bread will he give him a stone, or if he ask a fish will give him a serpent? If you," said He, "being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him." But this asking must be with frequency and fervency of spirit, from a sense of our want of it; otherwise our prayers will be cold, languid, insipid and unacceptable to the Almighty. I have considered thy natural disposition, and what weaknesses, if not sins most easily beset thee. I know thou hast something cheerful in thy temper, with an aptitude to converse, both which are good if properly subjected by Truth; but remember, dear sister, for every idle word we speak, we must give an account in the day of judgment; and that vain talking and foolish jesting grieve that Holy Spirit, by which we should be sealed to the day of redemption. Let not the example of others draw thee from thy allegiance to thy Creator, and a strict attendance to, and meditating in, His law written in thy heart, as well as the sacred Scriptures of truth.

I conclude this with the salutes of true love to thyself and the family, where I expect this will find thee. From thy affectionate sister,

MARY PEISLEY.

TO HER SISTER ELIZABETH PEISLEY.

On board the Alexandria, 1753.

DEAR SISTER E. P.—As I have a little leisure at sea from other duties, I find my mind engaged to communicate a little of that love which I feel to flow in my heart towards thee, from the true root of it, as well as from natural affection, both which are united in a stronger manner than I shall attempt to set forth by my pen. May Infinite Wisdom and Goodness condescend, in the riches of His mercy, to continue and strengthen the bands of that love, by drawing and keeping us in a strict close union with Him, who is the Author and Fountain of love, light, and life; and as we abide in Him, we shall have fellowship one with another, and in that fellowship remember and pray for each other, as well as sympathize one with another in our trials and afflictions, whether of body or mind. This, dear sister, I know thou hast been made capable of, by the pure life of Truth being raised in thy soul; may it be tenderly cherished in thee and me, by strictly watching against everything that has a tendency to grieve, deaden, or oppress this pure Seed of life; and carefully waiting for the dew of heaven or spiritual manna,

by which it is nourished and refreshed, as well as that Divine instruction by which we can become wise unto salvation, please God, and bring glory to Him, which is the glorious end of our creation. And in order that it may be so, I advise in much love, that thou suffer not thy mind to be too eagerly or intently fixed on earthly things, though it may be the duties of thy place and station, which I would have thee by no means neglect, nor do I believe thy careful diligent disposition would admit of it; but what I wish for thee is, that thou mayest do it as to the Lord with a single eye to His glory, and desire to please Him in every undertaking; and that must be, by setting Him always before thee, as David expressed it, that he might not sin against Him. When thy hands are employed in the lawful affairs of this life, often lift up thy heart to the Lord, by secret ejaculations and fervent desires for His preservation; yea, my sister, let Him have thy whole heart: by this means thou wilt cheat the world, if I may use the expression, and frustrate the designs of the enemy, saying with the Church of old, "though I sleep my heart waketh;" that is, though I appear not to men to pray, but am engaged in my lawful business, yet my heart is awake to the Lord and converses with Him in heaven by prayer, meditation, and fervent ejaculations; and whatsoever thou doest, do it not merely to please men, further than it is thy duty so to do, but to please and honour thy great Creator; otherwise thou wilt have no reward of thy Father which is in heaven.

I would not have thee omit seriously to peruse the Holy Scriptures of truth, with care and attention; that so thou mayest remember, understand, and digest them, seeing they are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith in Christ; that is, that thou mayest have the holy precepts contained therein so riveted in thy mind and memory, that they may be cast upon thy thoughts at every needful time of temptation; in which the Holy Spirit will not fail to aid thee, as thou art thus willing to become a co-worker with it.

It gave me much satisfaction to hear thou gave satisfaction to the family, and that thou wast pleased with their conduct towards thee, which led me to hope thou mayest make some leisure time to put in practice the above advice, otherwise it cannot properly be called a good place, that is, further than it has a tendency to advance thee in piety and virtue: the time will come when it will be seen to be so, if not now. My heart has been enlarged in counsel to thee beyond my expectation; which makes me ready to draw this pleasing conclusion, from the openness and freedom which attend my mind whilst I write, that thy mind will be prepared to receive it in the same love and good-will in which

it is communicated, which I wish may ever attend both thee and me.

Need I ask any excuse from my beloved sister for writing to her so freely, just what occurred to my mind for her? surely no,—her Christian spirit, humility and good nature, will plead my excuse; not doubting but that the grace of God will do even more than I can write. May He who is able to keep thee from falling, preserve thee stedfast to the end, and give thee an inheritance with them that are sanctified: so wisheth, so prayeth thy affectionate sister,

MARY PEISLEY.

“In Charleston the discipline was quite let fall, and I found it my duty to endeavour to revive it. Herein I met with open opposition and evil treatment, especially from one of my own countrymen, who was of a libertine spirit, and had been under the censure of Friends in his native land. But the Lord was pleased to manifest his spirit, so that he could not frustrate our endeavours. In this province we met with many difficulties both of body and mind; the former by long journeys, in a very thinly inhabited country, through unbeaten paths in the woods, dangerous creeks and swamps; with wild and venomous creatures around us, and with such food and lodging as we had never been accustomed to: yet the Lord our God was pleased to make it up to us by His comfortable presence and good Spirit, and to afford us the blessing of health, at a time when the greatest part of the inhabitants suffered severely with fevers and agues; for which unmerited mercy my soul at this time bows in humble thanksgiving, and returns Him the praise of His works, who is everlastingly worthy.”

The following is part of a letter written to her uncle,

SAMUEL JUDD.

Mulberry-on-the-Wateree, 7th of Twelfth month, 1753.

DEAR UNCLE,—It has dwelt on my heart for some days, to give thee a short history of a long travel; and first, may acquaint thee that through the matchless mercy of a never-failing God to His poor depending children, we have been preserved in a good degree of health, at a time when most faces gathered paleness, through indisposition of body. I do not remember that we have been in a house or family since we left Charleston, but one or more were ill of a fever or ague, so that it seems like an universal contagion which has overspread the inhabitants of this quarter. We came hither from Charleston, taking no meetings in the way, except in the families where we lodged, the distance being 150 miles, through woods and swamps, where our lives seemed in

jeopardy every hour; yet through mercy our minds were so supported above fear, as to go on with a good degree of cheerfulness of spirit, trusting in that holy Arm of power, which has hitherto wrought deliverance for us. I have sat down by a brook in the woods, ate my Indian-corn bread, and drank water out of a calabash, with more content and peace of mind than many who were served in plate, &c.; and at night have slept contentedly in my riding-clothes, on a bed hard enough to make my bones ache, and the house so open on every side as to admit plenty of light and air. We have such variation from heat to cold in the weather, as must of necessity be exceedingly hurtful to the constitutions of the inhabitants: for my part I cannot but esteem it next to a miracle that our health is continued to us. I have compared my passage through these woods to my pilgrimage through the world, and indeed in some things it bears a just resemblance. The path we rode through was exceedingly narrow, and sometimes so closed as not to allow a footstep to be seen before me, and caught by boughs on one hand, and bushes on the other, obliged to stoop very low, lest my head or eyes should be hurt. This I compare to the entangling things of the present world, which are ready to catch the affections on every side, and blind the eyes of the soul; my clothes are a little ragged by these pulls, but through care not quite torn off. Oh! saith my soul, may I not be wholly stripped of the white robe, which is the righteousness of saints; for surely I have never been in more danger than now; the sense of which leads me earnestly to desire, that I may have a place in the remembrance of those, whose prayers ascend with acceptance to the throne of grace. I have not given the foregoing account of my bodily hardships, by way of complaint or murmuring; no, when I consider how much more very many, much better than I, have suffered for the cause of religion, and especially the good Shepherd, who laid down His life for His sheep,—every cause of complaint is removed; remembering that the disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord. Yea, it is cause of rejoicing to my soul, when I can find my feet in the footsteps of the tribulated flocks, who trod this narrow and tried path to eternal blessedness. In this way of life I am exempt from many dangerous temptations, which ease and supineness are inlets to. On my hard bed, I am free from the fault of wasting too much of my time in a state of inactivity and death. At my plain meals, I am freed from many of the temptations and evils, which attend high and voluptuous living; and am often made to remember that excellent advice of a great apostle to his son in the faith,



"endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." And surely such as are sent out to war before the face of their enemies, may expect it in an especial manner. But what above all other considerations, reconciles me to every dispensation of Providence, is, the sight and sense which Truth gives me of my own unworthiness of the least of all the mercies I receive, either spiritual or temporal; for indeed I see myself to be so exceedingly weak, and capable of so little service, as not to merit the meanest food that is set before me, yet have never been suffered to doubt, but that I am in my place, in coming here:—but my great fear is, lest I should not keep my place in the Truth, now I am here; seeing so many things to draw me from it. I hope if thou or any of my friends have any word of exhortation or encouragement for me, you will not withhold, but let me have it freely.

I think it very long to hear from my friends and family, having been of late a little tossed, especially in the night by dreams about my father's family and some others; whether it be the work of the enemy to perplex my mind, or a foresight of the worst of trials, (except the loss of the favour of heaven) I cannot tell: but when I am assisted to look beyond this transitory scene of uncertainty, I can welcome tribulations, and rejoice in such adversities, as have the least tendency to draw my mind nearer unto God; which I well know must be by being weaned and redeemed from earth and earthly satisfactions. Alas! while I carry about with me this frail tabernacle, its affections and desires will bend towards its original dust, when from under the immediate influence of that holy Power, which alone can redeem it from the thralldom of sin and Satan. What need then have I, and all who have been made partakers of the powers of the world to come, humbly, diligently, and chastely to wait for the enlightening and enlivening incomes thereof to our souls, that so we may go on to perfection!

I have hitherto passed over our exercises in Charleston. It seems like a city of refuge for the disjointed members of our Society, where they may walk in the sight of their own eyes, and the imagination of their own hearts, without being accountable to any for their conduct, and yet be called by the name of Quaker, to take away their reproach. We did not meet with one in that place that kept to the plain language, except one young man. We lodged at the house of one that had married out of the Society, which we went to with fear and reluctance, having first tried all means to avoid it. Here we were greatly straitened; but I think we were providentially cast there for his wife's sake, who is under convincement, a

tender-hearted, good-natured woman, and exceedingly kind to us; and he well esteemed for a fair reputable trader. He received us with much civility and hospitality, which yet did not blind our eyes, or prevent our telling him the truth; I have gone so far as to acquaint him, that I was ashamed to walk the streets with one under our name, who deviated so much from our principles as he did; which he always took well, and would acknowledge his faults.

We were often visited by those of other societies, and had much kindness showed us by them. We had freedom to make a few visits amongst them, and had service for our Master in some of their families. We likewise paid a religious visit to every family professing with us, in that place, and had very close work, but with the most authority of any service we have entered on; and by this and such like labour, I understand we have driven several from the meeting, who could not bear sound doctrine, though ever so private. Whether there be any sound members added, by our labour, must at present be left; however that be, I say, Amen, to these leaving the profession, whose lives and conduct are a scandal to it, and I wish to be made more and more instrumental, in the hand of my God, for division in the Society, between the precious and the vile; let me as a creature suffer what I may, by evil report and false brethren, which I have had, and still expect a large share of, in the way my Master leads me; for of a truth it was His Spirit, if ever I knew it, and not my own, that led me to this close work. One appeared in open opposition, at a meeting appointed for conference, in order to take steps for reviving the discipline amongst them; he attacked me in particular, but I had then little to say to him, and what I did say, was in great mildness; he arose in a violent passion and left the room; since which we have seen no more of him at meeting or elsewhere. M. P.

Her account thus continues.

"At Neuse, in North Carolina, we had a large and comfortable meeting, in which I thought it might be truly said the Lord's power was over all; and that even devilish spirits were made subject to that power, by which we were assisted to speak. In this province likewise, we met with abundant hardships and sufferings of body, as we were drawn in the love of God, to visit many of the back inhabitants, where I suppose, no European had ever been on the like errand, by lodging in the woods in cold frosty weather, on damp ground with bad firing. I got a rheumatic pain in my jaws and head, by which I suffered much, and often lost my rest after hard travelling, yet through it all, the Lord was

pleased to support my spirit in a good degree of cheerfulness, without murmuring or repining; though my weak constitution often deeply felt the effects of those bodily hardships: yet by the goodness and healing virtue of the Lord, I was often made to forget my bodily infirmities, and to see and feel that His strength was made perfect in weakness.

"Between Pedee and Newgarden, where is a large tract of country, we rode two days and a half, and lay two nights in the woods, without being under the roof of a house. In these parts I seemed to have a hope that Truth might yet spread; because many of the people showed a love and esteem for Friends, and a dislike to the priests. We were often kindly entertained, according to their ability, at the houses of those not of our Society, though sometimes at our first entrance they would look strangely at us, because they understood not the lawfulness of women's preaching, having never heard any,—thus did we pass for a sign and wonder; some would say, when invited to meeting, that we were women who ran from our own country, for some ill act,—not being acquainted with the supernatural power of love, which had influenced our hearts, nor the rules and discipline of Friends. Through Divine favour I have not heard of any of them who went away dissatisfied, from meeting; may the praise of all the Lord's works be rendered to Himself, who alone is worthy.

"In the upper part of this province (North Carolina) there is a large body of professors, and I hope some valuable Friends; but too many I fear,—yea, I think I sensibly felt,—are trusting in a profession, without a possession of the living virtue of Truth. We were at their quarterly meeting, which was large; but the power of Truth was somewhat low, at least in me, who suffered much under a loose unsanctified spirit. My companion had the chief service in the public meetings, and was led, I believe, to speak pretty much to the state of the Society; my chief labour was in the meeting of ministers and elders, in which we endeavoured to strive for some regulation in the discipline, particularly that they might have their meetings for business select, and not set open for the people, which they were then in the practice of. The weighty part of Friends joined us, and seemed to conclude they would strive for an amendment. I also proposed their holding a meeting for the elders to confer in, before the ministers joined them, in order to their hearing a more full and perfect account of the state of the ministry in each meeting, and to have them both held before the quarterly meeting. This was agreed to, and the meeting ended in a lively sense of Divine love, which makes true unity and concord amongst

brethren, for which my soul was thankful. I laboured with considerable openness at several of the particular meetings, before the quarterly meeting; my companion being gone on a visit southward of these parts, as far as Bath-town. In this journey she had the trial of having a woman Friend, who accompanied her from Perquimons, removed by death; her remains were brought to her husband and children, in eleven days from the time she left home, being then well to all appearance. We attended at her funeral, which was on the whole solid and satisfactory, though somewhat interrupted by one, who as he thought, would preach the burial sermon. From thence we passed to Virginia, and found things in the south-side exceedingly weak and low, the meetings very small, and in many places the discipline sadly let fall; Friends were very kind and hospitable, but from the poor seasons we had in spirit, their hospitality sometimes lost its true relish; yet there is a seed in these parts, with whom my spirit had true unity. We spent near two months in this colony, in much inward suffering, and under some bodily hardships, their way of living differing from what we had been accustomed to. One thing which Friends here, as well as in North Carolina, Maryland, and some other parts of America, were in the practice of, gave us considerable pain, and we apprehended was in part the cause of Truth's not prospering amongst them, as otherwise it would, that is, buying and keeping of slaves; which we could not reconcile with the golden rule of doing unto all men as we would they should do unto us.

"At West River, Maryland, I was concerned to write an epistle to the yearly meeting to be held at Curles in Virginia, which had been on my mind for some time, my companion united therewith, and subscribed her name to said epistle, which was as follows:—

TO THE LIVING, SOLID REMNANT OF FRIENDS,  
AT THE YEARLY MEETING, TO BE HELD AT  
CURLS, FOR THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA, IN  
THE SIXTH MONTH, 1754, AND ESPECIALLY  
SUCH AS CONSTITUTE THE SELECT MEETING.

DEAR FRIENDS,—In a good degree of that universal, unchangeable, enlarging love, which drew us from our native land, and near enjoyments, to make you a religious visit, do we at this time tenderly salute you, and hereby inform you, as we have done some of you heretofore verbally, that our hearts have been pained, on account of the state of the Church in your colony. And though we cannot accuse ourselves of withholding any thing from you, either in public or private, which was given us to deliver, we apprehend it our duty to stir up



in your remembrance, some truths already known, and we hope, weightily felt by some of you.

First, we recommend to your solid consideration, when solemnly assembled, the exceedingly low state of the ministry and discipline in most, if not all, the monthly meetings in your colony. Sink down to the pure gift of God in yourselves:—ask of Him, with a sincere desire to be informed,—Lord, what is the cause that we flee before our enemies, and are taken captive by them? for thus we believe it is with some, whether they are sensible of it or not; and as this is the case, we hope and believe, the Lord will let some of you see, and feel, that the shortness has not been on His side, and that He has not forsaken His people, but they Him; and who will also give power to amend your ways and your doings. For we cannot—we dare not suppose, let our spirits be clothed with ever so much Christian charity, that all who have been called, and even initiated into the true Church, have stood faithful, and kept a single eye to the glory of God; no, no,—if that had been the case, what a bright shining people would you have been ere this day,—yea, as a city set upon an hill, whose light would have diffused itself to those who were without, and have caused many to flock to our Zion for rest and safety, as doves to the windows, and not as birds of prey to tear and devour, as is now too much the case. For we fear many come in amongst you with unsanctified spirits, to make a profession of the Truth, which is now easy, without a possession or sure inheritance in it; in which increase of number, some have seemed to glory, when in truth they have but increased ungodliness in the Church, by adding chaff instead of the solid, weighty wheat, which alone will be gathered into the Lord's garner; but the chaff of all kinds, will be burnt with unquenchable fire. Where then will these light, chaffy unsanctified professors appear, or what will they add to you, except it be an incumbrance and a clog to the small handful of solid Friends amongst you, who we believe are too much oppressed and borne down, yea, who lie as hid and buried, under this light windy spirit.

Arise, we beseech you, in the name and power of your God, and exert yourselves, in His pure wisdom and strength, for His cause and Truth on earth. Victory is on the Lord's side, and will be yours, if you faithfully follow Him, in the way of His requirings; and not fearing the faces of men, but strictly regarding the still, small voice and gentle motions of the blessed Spirit of Truth. As this is the case, one shall chase a thousand of these light frothy spirits, and two put ten thousand to flight; though you may, yea, must, be little and low

in your own eyes. And we earnestly desire, that such as have been called to, and in some measure qualified for, the work of the Lord, and through a desire of some kind or other of filthy lucre, of which there are many, are become formal, blind and unfaithful, may repent, and do their first works,—seeing from whence they are fallen,—lest the Lord come to them quickly, and remove such candlestick out of its place; whose candles are already put out by the baneful breath of the spirit of this world, with which they have universally mingled, and in which they are held captive. Arise from this state, if possible, and shake yourselves from the dust of the earth, with which some of you are laden, as with thick clay. But if you are so benumbed, hardened and stupified, through the deceitfulness of sin, that this cannot be, yet cease at least to pervert the right way of the Lord, by meddling in things with which you have no business, that is, putting yourselves forth in the ministry or discipline, when Christ the true Shepherd, has not put forth therein. Remember what befel him, who stretched forth a hand to the ark, even when it tottered and seemed in danger of falling; the same event will happen to the spiritual lives of all those, who continue for a series of time, to mock and deceive themselves and the people with a sound of words without life or power, which however sound in themselves and well connected, are but as a dead letter, which kills instead of quickening the soul. Let this certain self-evident truth be weightily considered by you, viz., that nothing but life and light should move to act in the church of Christ; not pity for the people, nor inclination to gratify their longing desire after words, nor any other human passion or consideration, should move us thus to tempt the Lord, and take His holy name in vain, in the worst sense of the expressions; for those who do so, He has declared He will not hold guiltless.

And dear Friends, we apprehend that a great part of the weakness and unfruitfulness which appears in the ministry amongst you, proceeds from a want of a right sound discipline, established and conducted in the wisdom of Truth; which discipline is certainly not only as a wall of defence against the encroachments of many dangerous enemies, but is as a hedge to shelter from the various baneful blasts, destructive to young and tender plants, which should be sheltered as well as watered, pruned and dug about, by wise judicious elders or fathers and mothers in the church. But alas! how do the few who are on the right foundation, stand as alone, exposed to the darts of their enemies, and to piercing blasts from every side, unpruned, and in a great degree unadvised; can such be expected to bring forth plentiful crops, of full ripe,

well flavoured fruit? nay, rather the savour of the wild grape is to be feared, because the trees are left in a great measure without cultivation. Now as the hedge is thus sadly taken away, and the wall greatly broken down, we are sensible the reparation must be by gradual steps, yea, by laying a single stone at a time, and planting a tender twig. And those who are engaged in this necessary work, will find, as Nehemiah did before he went to repair the walls of Jerusalem, sadness of countenance, ere they can entreat the Almighty for liberty to engage in the work. Nothing short of a heart truly touched with love and zeal for the good of the Church of Christ, can adopt this language, "Here am I, send me;"—or, "Qualify me and let me go." May it be yours, O! ye beloved tender plants of the Lord's right hand planting; and when it is, stifle it not, but go on in the strength of the Lord, not saying, "Here am I, and I will go in the strength of my own spirit, will or wisdom." No, we give our testimony for our Lord and Master, that these forward unsavoury spirits, will never profit the people, nor bring glory to God. But you who are of the former rank, though you may meet with many discouragements, as Nehemiah did, yet if ye trust in the Lord with all your hearts, and singly eye His light in yourselves, not conferring with flesh and blood, nor seeking your own honour, but the honour of Him who sent you into life; it is our testimony to you, for your encouragement, that the Lord will bless His work in your hands, and richly reward you for it, though you may have a long and painful travail, and sometimes as in the night season, before you come at the right place for building; and when you come there, you will find much rubbish to be removed. This we apprehend must be the first work, before one stone can be properly laid on the right foundation, *i. e.* to have all unsanctified spirits, both of your own and other societies, excluded the privilege of sitting in your meetings for business; otherwise we believe it will be building with the rubbish, which will never stand to the honour of God and the good of his people.

Our minds are so sensibly affected with the pernicious tendency of that evil custom, of suffering your meetings for the discipline of the Church to be thus mixed, that, believing it to be the mind of Truth, we cannot help advising that you use your Christian endeavours for an alteration, by making a minute against this disorderly practice, and strongly recommending the putting of it in force in the several monthly meetings throughout the colony; for which you have authority from the universal practice of Friends where the discipline is rightly conducted, as well as from the original institution of such meetings.

And now having in a good degree eased our spirits of what seemed to rest upon them on your account, we conclude in that love which seeks the preservation and good of the heritage of God, and exhort you to be sober, be vigilant, and of one mind; and desiring that the God of peace may be with you in this your annual assembly, we remain your friends in the Truth.

*West River, in Maryland, the 7<sup>th</sup>  
4th of the Fifth month, 1754. S*

M. P.  
C. P.

"At this meeting of Friends at West River, we were falsely accused of speaking from outward information,—when in truth it was from the opening of the word of life,—this we were frequently suspected of, and charged with, by unbelievers, who knew not the intelligence of the Spirit, though they made professions of it.

"We passed through the western side of Maryland, called Sassafras bay, and took meetings in our way; but after entering Pennsylvania, we had no openness to appoint meetings in that province, the Jerseys, or Long Island, except one; but we passed on in a pretty direct line, falling in with some meetings as they came in course, till we got to Rhode Island, the day before the yearly meeting: this was held at Newport. It was large, and was attended with a good degree of Divine power, peace, and concord. At this meeting we found our minds engaged to labour for some regulations in the discipline, which was sadly out of order; in particular, that unwise practice of having meetings for discipline mixed with the world's people, and such as were proper subjects to have it exercised upon, which seemed to be the first step necessary to be taken. We prevailed so far as to have a minute made against it, and sent to the several quarterly and monthly meetings, as the result of the yearly meeting; this gave us an opportunity as we fell in with them, to strengthen Friends in having their meetings select. It was remarkable that we fell in with so many of them in the course of our labour and service. I write this for my own instruction and that of others, as an incitement to follow the leading of Truth and the way it points out to us, though the cause may not immediately appear, and indeed on all accounts I have seen it best so to do.

"One mark of providential care, which occurred in this journey, is I think worthy of remembrance; when at New York, some Friends of that city and others, seemed inclined that we should go by water to Newport, in a sloop that was to sail next day; accordingly we went to view the vessel, and found her very small and inconvenient, having no cabin that we could well sit, stand, or lie in. They seemed to think we might make our passage in twenty-four, or



at most, forty-eight hours. We sat down quietly in her, to feel if there was freedom in the Truth for us to go, a practice I like to be adopted on such occasions; when it appeared to me, that if we sailed in her, we should meet with greater difficulties than if we went by land to South-hold, and thence to Newport by water. I told Friends that I had more freedom to go by land, and they readily agreed to it: we went as proposed, and had some meetings to good satisfaction, amongst the Presbyterians at and near South-hold, and fell in with a small meeting of Friends in the way, having also some seasoning opportunities among ourselves, wherein the Divine presence was manifested to our mutual comfort. We waited some days at South-hold for a fair wind, went on board a vessel, and landed the same evening; the sloop which it was intended we should go in, arrived only the same day, having been eight days on her passage from New York.

"At Philadelphia, the 23rd of the Fifth month, I received the sorrowful tidings of the death of my dear and tender father, who departed this life in much peace and quietude of spirit, on the 23rd of the Second month last, according to the account I received from those who were present; he having been favoured with his understanding and a sense of his change. This was of a truth sore and hard to bear, and I have great cause to bless and praise His great name, who supported me under this trial beyond my expectation or desert, as well as prepared my mind for it, by a foresight of it, both sleeping and waking. For I saw, in a dream, my father in the agonies of death; and in the time of his illness, day after day, I felt such a sympathy of soul as is not easily expressed; and after that, I was sensible of a stop in my mind from thinking of or writing to him, which convinced me that he was gone: thus I fully expected this account.

"We attended a Quarterly meeting at Hampton in New England, where we had to testify against an unruly separate spirit, though we had not seen or heard of it outwardly, as I declared to them; there was nothing to convince us of it but the Spirit of Truth; this they would not believe, though they were high pretenders to revelation. They abundantly convinced us, before the Quarterly meeting was over, of our being right, for such was their outrage that they used the utmost of their power to prevent us from speaking in the meeting, to ease our minds, by noises both within and without the house; but Truth gave us the victory, and set our spirits over them.

"After we had spent some time in this quarter, and visited Friends generally, eastward of Boston as far as North Yarmouth, on my return I found my mind secretly drawn towards a sepa-

rate people, at Hampton in New England; but as it was a service likely to be attended with more than common difficulties, I waited to have a more clear sign and stronger evidence of my duty,—which the Lord was pleased to give me in His own time,—He knew the sincerity of my heart, and that I had no will to disobey Him. We passed the place fourteen miles, before I received such a satisfactory evidence as I had wished for; in which I believe there was wisdom, as some Friends might perhaps have judged me as being too forward on entering on a service of such weight and difficulty.

"At Newberry, where were Friends from several meetings, I found my mind so strongly drawn, and with such weight towards this people, as rendered me quite unfit for any other service, it seeming impossible for me to think of any thing else in that meeting, except laying my concern before Friends there; this I was fully persuaded was what Truth pointed out to me. Accordingly at the close of the meeting, I requested the most solid, concerned Friends to stay; when I told them how it had been with me, they readily agreed to my going, and divers gave up to accompany us. My companion at first seemed affrighted about going, and wept considerably; I left her quite at liberty to stay or go, and in the morning she found her way open, and she had good service. They received us with much seeming kindness, particularly one who appeared to be like the head of them, and was the person, whom I chiefly wanted to see. He spoke many fair words to us before the meeting, and told us that he looked upon it as a favour from the Lord, that we were sent to them; but after meeting, when I came to tell him my mind freely, and deliver the message which I had to him, he soon changed and treated me roughly: declaring that I would not find mercy with the Lord, until I repented of my proceedings against him and them at the Quarterly meeting at Hampton. We had a seasonable opportunity to ease our minds, in which our Master was with us by His Spirit and power. I was made sensible that there was in that place a people, sincere in their searches and endeavours after religion, which the Lord regarded, though under many delusions and mistakes. In this quarter (New England) close and hard work fell to our lots, amongst those who called themselves of our Society; this work was difficult to be accomplished, because many thought themselves whole, while in reality they needed a physician, manifesting an unlawful familiarity with the world. Unbounded curiosity in the people caused meetings to be thronged, so that in hot weather it was exceedingly hard to sit them, and much more trying to speak in them: but He who searches the hearts of all, knows

their intentions, disappointed these wrong spirits, by closing our mouths in silence one meeting after another; which greatly displeased the people, and drew upon us great reproach, lies and slander, all which we were enabled to bear patiently, and to rejoice in, for our Master's sake. We were led to endeavour to separate those under our name from others, and at times some of the ruling members from the rest, to whom we had very close things to offer, feeling that the declension which so glaringly appeared in the Society, had reached in many instances even their borders. This seemed a very hard task to get accomplished because of their being so connected in marriage, &c., and the discipline being so sadly let fall, that they knew not who were or who were not proper members.

"In some places we had to visit particular families, before we could cast off our burdens, as in Boston; where I was led to find out some hidden works of darkness, the workers whereof ought to be cut off from the name and Society of Friends, in order to clear it and them from the scandal they brought on it. There was one young man in particular, with whom we had to treat on his being likely to marry with one of another society; it arose in my heart, while we talked with him, that he was deeply tinctured with deism, a disbelief of the Scriptures, of the coming of Christ in the flesh, and His second appearance by His Spirit. I told him my opinion of his state, which he acknowledged to be true; he spoke in defence of his opinion. I told him the ground whence his unbelief sprung was leaning to his own understanding, and departing from the Light, which alone can convince of God and godliness.

"I left some parts of this country not quite clear in my spirit but under a weight, and particularly Newport; I was given up in my mind to return to it, but could not then find my way open; I was advised by a Friend to leave it for the present; I did so, and travelled under great exercise of spirit through Connecticut, but without condemnation.

"At Oblong, I had a sight that my dear companion C. P. and I were to separate, for the work's sake: I had been at times much straitened in my service by preferring her and her gift; for I was greatly afraid and jealous over my own heart, lest self should have any part in our separation, from a desire of appearing greater than with a companion. Another thing which appeared to me with considerable weight, was her youth, and the many dangers that might attend if not rightly suited with a companion. These and many other considerations, would I believe have prevailed, had not the Lord laid his hand upon me, in a remarkable manner, on this wise. My mind was strip-

ped of ability for service, and deeply bowed to the Centre of all strength for instruction; in which state I had a desire given me, to be at Philadelphia, and to go thither pretty direct without appointing many meetings. Accordingly I desired that not more than two meetings, which lay in the way, might be appointed; but my companion and some other Friends, encouraged the appointing of more. I became passive, though I found my exercise for meetings in those parts, was at that time taken away: which afterwards more clearly appeared, having been silent in all, except one I found freedom to have appointed; neither was my companion capacitated for the service in the last meeting, which was at Long-reach on the Main." [It was with the concurrence of Friends that she and her companion thus separated for the work's sake.]

From a very concise account kept of her gospel labours in this land, she appears to have been closely engaged in visiting meetings mostly in the province of Pennsylvania, from the tenth month, 1754, to the spring of 1756. Within this period she wrote the following letters, which have been preserved.

#### TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

Wright's Town (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 with me 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 so 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 them 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; for He beholds 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 ne-



ver 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 have 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. My health, through Divine favour, has been continued to me since our parting to this time, except some bad colds occasioned by the sudden changes of weather. As to my labour or services in the Church, I can say little; I think them very mean and low, yet hope I shall endeavour to be faithful according to my measure. I desire thy care and good wishes for me, and as much freedom with me, as Truth will allow of; which I know will always be well received, while I remain in that charity which beareth all things.

MARY PEISLEY.

TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

Philadelphia, 13th of Twelfth month, 1755.

THY acceptable letter, perhaps might have been acknowledged sooner, had I not a hope or expectation of seeing thee ere now:—hope did I say? alas! I should have none, but in doing and suffering the will of God; all other seems forbidden, and are through Divine favour, pretty much restrained. My stay being prolonged in this country, has been altogether unexpected to myself, and I have been held in such uncertainty for some months past, as not to be able to give my friends any information respecting future movements. I have stood as a soldier waiting for the word of command, to march whithersoever my holy Leader may be pleased to direct; and I may say to the praise of His great name, that He is not an hard Master, but good and bountiful every way. For though I have, as recited, been kept as a day servant in a kind of undetermined state in regard to our stay; yet I may say of a truth, that I do not remember ever to have had such a degree of steady peace, and holy unmixed quietude of mind, so long together, amidst many close deep trials and exercises in religious duties,—some have been of such a nature, as I had not been tried with before, and which required the utmost fortitude, wisdom and patience. There is here the old pharisaical spirit, which I have heretofore had to war with, and it seems to love me no better than usual.

I shall now proceed to give thee a narrative of the manner of my stay; to do which, I must begin with an unlooked for prospect set before me the summer after our landing, and which

hath rarely, if ever, wholly disappeared. How it may be, I cannot at present foresee: but this I know, that it has proved as ballast to my mind, with respect to going homewards this fall; as also a means to separate me and my dear companion, which I believe was in the wisdom of Truth. It was presented before last fall, with a draft to this city; so that I was ready to conclude I must have gone before my visit to this continent was ended, I mean to one or more of the West India islands. I waited some weeks in this city, wrapped as in a thick cloud as to any light which way I should turn, whether home or elsewhere: to appoint meetings any where on this continent I dared not, till the light went before me; having attended some that were forwardly appointed without my directions, till I was become as a sign and wonder to myself and others. At length I felt my way opened, to finish my journey on this continent separate from my former companion; which I was assisted to perform with some degree of satisfaction to myself, and I hope some little edification to the churches. In the latter part of this journey, it pleased my good Master to bring me under the most severe baptism and crucifixion, that ever I knew in the course of my religious experience, partly on my own account, and partly on the account of some, to whom I had been made a minister and instrumental to help into the way of life and salvation; who, looking at the creature more than the Creator, (who is worthy for ever,) became entangled, as a lamb caught in a thicket. It was then that I felt the depth, and true meaning of that emphatical saying of the holy apostle,—“My little children, for whom I travail in birth till Christ be formed in you.” And oh! the pangs and throes, the sighs and groans, which a mother in Israel has to pass through and put up; and what if I say, it is something like the suffering which the Captain of our salvation passed through, in bringing many sons and daughters to glory. It is with the utmost reverence and fear that I make the comparison, between Him and His ministers, who are to fill up in their bodies that which is behind of His sufferings. But I seemed to myself, and was as one nailed to the cross, day and night, for weeks together, with this desire or prayer fixed in my heart,—“Let me not come down from the cross, till the glorious design be fully accomplished; that so thy will may be done by me, in me, and upon me, in time and in eternity;”—and truly the baptism was not removed, until this became the happy situation of my mind,—that to live or die, to be in health or sickness, in prosperity or adversity, in Europe or America, in France or Spain, to pass through good or evil report, in the will of God, seemed just the same to me.

I write not these things boastingly, but to the glory of God. Thou and others know what I am by nature, that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwells no good thing. This was the necessary preparative for the fore-named state of peaceful serenity of conscience, in a situation to which nature is above all things most averse,—to wit, daily dependence and uncertainty, being indebted or obligated to another for support, having nothing that it can call its own, save weakness and infirmity; and this is that glorious mystery, and seeming contradiction, which the holy apostle speaks of, in having nothing, and yet possessing all things. In this situation of mind I entered this city; and having looked around me every way, with resignation to turn as I might be drawn by the power of matchless love, and hoping from the looseness which I then felt from all parts of this continent, that I might be permitted to return home with my brother, (who I had heard was in town, and likely to sail soon,) even if my companion could not go with me; yet it was with this prospect, that I might probably have to return to this country, if life was spared, and I knew not how soon. On coming hither, I found that my brother was gone, and my companion not clear of this continent; so I concluded to wait for her a few weeks, or if it might be months, she expressing uncommon concern at the thoughts of being left behind.

During the time I waited for her, some Friends proposed to accompany me in visiting part of the families of Friends in this city, a service which had divers times been presented to my mind in the course of my journey, yea, before I left London; and when the proposal was made, I found a perfect freedom to join with it, it being with the concurrence of the monthly meeting, little supposing I should be held to it in the manner I have been; but it is a service which the Lord hath been pleased to bless in a remarkable manner. I have been in 160 families, and attended six meetings every week whilst in town, as health permits; besides visiting the sick and afflicted, and taking some excursions to the country. My companion when she came to town, being sometimes poorly in health, proceeded but slowly; we now go together, having tired most of our companions, besides a couple of men Friends, who go to show us the doors, and be witness to our labours; there are nearly as many yet to visit, as I have been with.

Whether I shall go this winter, or ever, to any of the islands mentioned, is at present hidden from me; but had not the prospect afresh opened after I had been here some time, I think I dare not have admitted the thoughts of staying this winter. But I have been blessed with seeing, yea, have been made instrumen-

tal to help back some of the before-mentioned lambs to the fold, one, in particular in this city, who I hope may be made a serviceable instrument.

I have now given up expectation of seeing my native land before the spring; at which time I hope to have the company of our beloved friend Samuel Fothergill on ship board: he is now in the city, also John Churchman and divers other Friends on the affairs of the Society. It is a difficult time to Friends in these parts, who are concerned to keep up their Christian testimony against wars and bloodshed: and especially to such as are concerned in state affairs. I have had my health better than common in this city, for which blessing with all others that I am an unworthy partaker of, I desire to be humbly thankful.

MARY PEISLEY.

[It appears that Mary Peisley, with her companion Catharine Payton, and also Samuel Fothergill, (then in America on religious service,) were made instrumental of much help and comfort to Friends in Pennsylvania, and some neighbouring States, who were under great alarm from the inroads of the Indians, some of whom had been engaged by the French in the war then existing between England and France. These Friends were earnestly and affectionately concerned to promote peace, and to exhort Friends to remain faithful in the support of their Christian testimony; 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.]

TO JOHN PEMBERTON OF PENNSYLVANIA.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—I have read and considered thy letter, and cannot help thinking that the temper of mind thou discoverest deserves some encouragement, which I am willing to give as far as is in my power. In the first place, I would remark to thee, without the least intention to lessen parental authority or filial obedience, so far as they are either lawful or expedient, that divers parents of this age have bent their thoughts and desires too much to earth, to have a clear and distinct discerning of the times and seasons in a spiritual sense, and of the sacred purposes of Him, whose wisdom is inscrutable, and whose ways are past finding out by all the penetrations of finite understandings, uninfluenced by His own eternal light:—even then, we see and know but in part while here. But some of us have believed and seen in the visions of light, that the day of gospel light which has dawned will rise



higher and higher; notwithstanding that some clouds may at times have intercepted its beauty and brightness, as has sorrowfully been the case amongst us, a people who have been highly favoured. And though I have not the least intention to derogate from the real worth of those honourable sons of the morning, who were made instrumental, in a great degree, to break down the partition wall, which carnal selfish men had erected, between the people and the Sun of Righteousness; yet I am not afraid to say, and give it under my hand, that it was and is the design of God, that His people in future ages should make an improvement on their labours, and carry on the reformation even further than they did. And notwithstanding a night of apostacy has come over us as a people, (as day and night naturally succeed one another in their season, and God keeps his covenant with both,) yet am I of the judgment, that that day has begun to dawn, in which the Sun of Righteousness will rise higher and higher, and with greater lustre than heretofore. But if those who are called of God to be the sons of this morning, look back to the night, and to them who have slept and been drunken in the night, (by sipping of the golden cup of abominations,) or even to the latter day,—they will frustrate the designs of Providence respecting themselves, though not respecting His own work. For it is His sacred determination to be glorious in heaven and glorified on earth, though these who would be called *His Israel* be not gathered. And I am of the faith, that where the gospel has first been preached to them, as it is meet it should, such as neglect to embrace it, thereby rendering themselves unworthy of so great salvation, will be left, and the feet of the messengers turned another way, even to the highways and hedges, with a power of compulsive love, which will prevail on the halt, the maimed, and the blind, to come to the marriage of the King's Son; and by coming they shall be made strong, beautiful, and lovely, as a bride adorned for her heavenly husband, who shall not look back to those things that are behind, but press forward toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus,—following no man's example further than they follow Him. And what if I say in the faith that is given me, that God has designed to carry some of this generation, in these parts of the world, higher and further in righteousness than their forefathers were carried, even such as were honourable in their day, and are fallen asleep in Christ. Therefore let them take heed that they limit not the Holy One of Israel, nor circumscribe the leadings of His blessed unerring Spirit, by looking too much at the example of others; for this has been a means of stopping

the gradual progression of many glorious, well-begun reformations. Instead of going forward, they have looked back, and even sunk below the standard of the first reformers. Such as will be the happy instruments to labour for a reformation in this degenerate age, must differ in their trials from the sons of the former morning, and will find them to be of a more severe and piercing kind:—theirs were from the world, and such as they might justly expect therefrom,—not exempt from false brethren; ours will chiefly arise from those under the same profession, clothed with the disguised spirit of the world, and that amongst some of the foremost rank (so called) in Society: and what if I say, (though my natural eyes may not see it,) that God will divide in Jacob and scatter in Israel before that reformation which He designs is brought about, in His Church.

In regard to the matter proposed by thee, I shall answer briefly, without entering into the debates on either side, and say, that I am of the judgment, that if thou stand single and upright in thy mind from all the false biasses of nature and interest, stopping thy ears to the artifices and pretexts of self-love, with all the fallacious reasonings of flesh and blood, and the subtle whisperings of an unwearied enemy, thou wilt find it more safe to suffer with the people of God, than to enter on, or undertake doubtful things, especially when thou considers the use which has been, or may be made of that tax [for the support of war.] I had not the least view, when I took up my pen, of enlarging in the manner I have done: but I felt my mind unexpectedly opened, and feel a perfect freedom to allow thee to show this to such of thy acquaintance, as may be in like situation with thyself, that is, undetermined: not however that I want to expose this, with any other view than to strengthen the minds of the weak and wavering, and if it might have the same service, I had rather my name should be concealed.

In a degree of that love, which seeks the good of all, I conclude with respects to thee and the family, in which my companion joins, thy well-wishing friend,

MARY PEISLEY.

TO ELIZABETH CARLETON, DUBLIN.\*

Stanton, near Philadelphia, 4th of Seventh month, 1755.

DEAR FRIEND,—Thy kind favour of the third month I received last week, and feeling a draft of love with a desire to salute thee in it, I have taken up my pen, not knowing what may be given to add, save that I find an in-

\* She was married to Richard Shackleton the 17th of tenth month, 1755, his second wife.

clination to acquaint thee a little how we have fared, as Truth may open my mind so to do, if I am near enough to it to be aided by it. And in the first place I may inform thee, that I think I have nigh finished the most dangerous painful journey that ever I undertook;—dangerous and painful indeed it has been to both body and mind beyond expression, or conception of such as have not trod the same trying steps, through paths not much frequented, where few footsteps of this generation appear; and those ancient worthies seem almost worn out of the minds and memories of many professing the same eternal way of Truth which they did. But alas! how widely distant and sadly removed are some from it, and many have even lost the marks of the meekness, humility, Christian zeal and charity, with a patient suffering for the cause of God, though filling *their* seats in the visible Church. And here I am stopped from a humbling sense of my own weakness and unworthiness to be compared in the least degree to the valiants and nobles of the morning of this latter day; yet I have been ready to conclude at times, that the trials and sufferings of a remnant, who are honestly engaged to be faithful in their measure according to knowledge, are more trying and dangerous in their nature, than what those sons and daughters of the morning had to meet with and pass through. The latter had the winter and storms of adversity in the outward to meet, which had a tendency to drive to the Rock of Ages, where they found the warming rays of the Sun of Righteousness in the day of God's visiting power and summer season of His love and ingathering virtue:—their enemies were outward, that is, from the world, where they might expect them, open and manifest to the eye of reason. But *ours* are often secret enemies, hidden, and concealed from every eye and understanding, but that which Truth opens; and they often secretly smite in spirit and fight against the testimony of Truth which is delivered in the plainness and simplicity of it, and which comes not with enticing words of man's wisdom, calculated to tickle and please the curious outward ear, whilst the soul is starved, that immortal part which cannot feed on chaff or wind, but which seeks in the ministry solid, sound, plain, substantial truths, such as agree with the experience of true believers, and the present state of their minds. This kind of doctrine is too much out of use in America, as well as Europe; and instead of it, a sound of words which abounds amongst them,—words sound in themselves, but destitute of life and power, not suiting the states of the people (who want not to be amused with words, but aroused from their sins), nor proceeding from a feeling sense or experience of what they speak.

I have dwelt much longer on this disagreeable subject than I expected when I began it, or may seem necessary to thee, who art not (that I know of) concerned that way; but when it is considered that I have painfully felt it as one of the greatest sores and wounds in the Society with which I am embodied, it will not be wondered at that my thoughts and pen run upon it when relating to a friend how I have fared. And now to return to the subject matter of comparison; *we* are in the summer and warm sun-shine of worldly prosperity, peace and plenty, which has a natural tendency to draw from the Rock, and lull to sleep in the present, mean, miserable, and transitory enjoyments of this life; whilst as regards the inwards, it is a winter season, a day of darkness, gloominess and sore distress; yea, famine, faintness and weariness of soul sometimes seize those who are made to see and deeply feel the state of the Church in general; though in some respects there is cause of rejoicing, and we have been favoured to see a little of the fruits of our painful labour, and perhaps more may yet be discovered in the Lord's time.

I told thee that I thought I had well nigh finished my journey in this country, and so I hope it is; for I hardly think I shall have to appoint another meeting while in it this time; yet I cannot see when I shall be fit to leave it. My companion has not quite done her journey; and except I really believed it my duty, I cannot think of leaving her behind. Through mercy our love for each other is not decreased by our separation, but much otherwise; and it is no wonder that we should be made more near and dear to each other, considering how much we have been led to the same track of suffering since separated, as well as together. This indeed must be the case with all them that know a growth in the Truth; their love in it for each other will increase, though the ties of natural affection may, by length of time and absence, in some degree be weakened. This I think I have known respecting some in my native land. I hope I want not natural affection, but my love for them in the pure innocent life of Truth has been much strengthened; though I have neither a will nor power to say so much to some of them by writing; they are as epistles written in my heart by the hand-writing of Truth, which alone will stand the test of all events that may happen in the ordering of it. Dear S. Fothergill and Joseph Dickson have been great helps and comforts to us in their work and service, and are nearly united in spirit, particularly the former, whose tenderness and regard towards me I cannot but admire with love and esteem.

I shall now conclude with the salutation of true love to thee, thy family, &c., and as many



of my friends as thou may be free to communicate it to, with the intelligence of my health, which is as well as I can reasonably expect. Thy friend in the Truth,

MARY PEISLEY.

After her return from America she attended the National meeting in the eleventh month, 1756, and returned a lively account of her journey.

TO ELIZABETH SHACKLETON.

Russetdown, 28th of First month, 1757.

DEAR FRIEND,—My bodily health is through Divine favour bravely restored for the time, considering the violent disorder which I have so long laboured under. When wise Providence is pleased to prolong life, He appoints means for the purpose: may the lengthening of mine (if it be so) be to His honour, who gave it, to which I can subjoin this desire to Him,—“O! may I breathe no longer than I breathe to thee!”

I can say but little as to my better part, save this,—that I am still in the warfare, and have had of late sore struggles with some of the old inhabitants in the promised land, which yet remain unsubdued: but I hope by that precious faith, which is the gift of God to the saints, to wax valiant in fight against them. But of this excellent gift the enemy of my happiness strives to deprive me:—may thou my beloved in Christ, and I be helped to keep it to the end; for it is the end that crowns all, and the crown is at the end of all things here.

What ailed thy dear husband that he could not add by way of P. S., some humbling admonition as usual? there was room enough in thy letter. I had like to have said, “Brother Richard, where art thou?—an important question indeed when proposed by a heart-searching God to the sons of Adam, who have been placed in Paradise, that is, a state of happiness and glorious government of themselves and of the creation, to dress the garden of the heart, and to keep it from all venomous beasts of prey,—an awful task indeed!

I am, thy real friend,

MARY PEISLEY.

In the second month following, she laid her intentions of marriage with Samuel Neale before the monthly meeting of Mountmellick, to which she belonged, after which she found a concern to join in a visit to the families of Friends throughout that monthly meeting. This service she was enabled to perform; and her friends give the following account of her last public testimony at the next monthly meeting, viz:—

“At our women’s monthly meeting, held at Mountmellick, the 13th of third month, 1757; in which this our dear friend gave us her farewell visit, which we hope will not be easily forgotten by us. She found freedom, she said, to speak a little of her call to the service of visiting families, and that she met with discouragement at first by some; but afterwards, some judicious elders and a travelling Friend encouraged her. But the peace and comfort of her own mind in the discharge of her duty, exceeded all she had met with in her life before. She was drawn forth in a wonderful manner, and often had to advise us to stand fast in this day of great declension,—to stand fast in that liberty wherein Christ makes free, that so we might be God’s free daughters as male and female are all one in Christ Jesus;—that we as a people were the bidden guests, and if we make excuses too long, our excuses at length would be taken, and then the Lord would send to the highways and hedges, and compel others to come in, even by that which hath invited us: for His table must be filled with guests. That a glorious day would yet come, wherein the Lord would bring from the east and from the west, and from the north and south, and thousands and tens of thousands would be brought to sit down with Him in His kingdom; and that the invited unfaithful children of the kingdom would be cast out: for the Lord was able to raise up children of them that might be compared to the stones in the streets.

“She also had to declare, that she saw (and that in the light) that the fields were already white unto harvest, and the faithful labourers but few; so she desired that all might do their day’s work in their day, and mind the things that belong to their peace, before it should be hid from their eyes. And she saluted a remnant, whom she desired to remember her; that when they were absent in body, they might be present in spirit. An extraordinary power attended her ministry and prayer, which united the spirits of some to her in that bond of peace, which we trust will never be broken.”

After this visit she returned home, and on the 17th of third month, 1757, was married to our aforesaid friend in the meeting of Mount-rath. [For the remarkable events of the succeeding and closing three days of her life, the reader is referred to the Journal of Samuel Neale, see pages 20, 21.]

*The TESTIMONIES of Richard Shackleton and his wife Elizabeth, concerning MARY NEALE, late PEISLEY.*

SHE was a shining pattern in a solid circum-spect life and conversation, enabled to be so by

following her great Pattern our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Her soul loved and sought after retirement: she delighted in meditation on things appertaining to God's kingdom; and her speech, behaviour, and manner of speaking, to an intelligent person, would often bewray that her conversation had been with Jesus. And as her deportment was apparently seasoned with an holy awfulness, evincing whose presence she was in, so it tended much to inspire others who conversed with her with a degree of like awe and watchful fear. She was one of great inwardness of spirit, and diligent in giving heed to her Spiritual Guide, not only in matters purely religious, but in concerns of a more external nature. From this inwardness of spirit and habitual acquaintance with her own heart, was produced a deep humility and self-abhorrence, which were very conspicuous in her to those who knew her most intimately. She laboured hard, travelled much, and suffered deeply in the service of Him, who had sent her into His vineyard, and was eminently honoured and dignified beyond many; yet she thought of herself after all but as an unprofitable servant, who had only done what she ought, and sat down thankful and contented with that degree of peace which her Master was pleased to reward her with, and was satisfied to be stripped and to want, as well as to be clothed and to abound.

Her ministry was deep, clear and reaching; her conduct and conversation were of a piece with her ministry; her life and doctrine went hand-in-hand as becomes a minister. She laboured faithfully according to the ability present, whether little or much, and carefully followed the leadings of the Spirit, in the exercise of her gift, willing as a mere instrument to be made use of as a sharp threshing weapon, as well as a watering-pot in the hand of her Master; for she sought not to please man, but the Lord, not courting, but shunning popular applause, and zealously appearing against what she thought wrong in any, without respect to person; being neither moved by the smiles or frowns of mortals, from performing what she apprehended to be her duty, with a single eye to the honour of her Lord and Master,—so that she apparently had her building upon that immovable Rock, which has been the foundation of the righteous in all generations, and which remains to this day and for ever.

RICHARD SHACKLETON.

It has been on my mind, for some time, to write a few lines concerning my knowledge of my dear deceased friend, Mary Neale, with whom I have been nearly united and intimately acquainted for several years; and I can say of her, that she was a tender nurse and help-for-

ward of the true-born children of the heavenly Father; for whom she could say with the Apostle, she travailed in pain, that Christ might be formed in them, and they might be complete in Him; by her living baptizing-ministry, which she had received from Him, who makes His ministers as a flame of fire, she was often made to administer consolation to such. Those who too much neglected their own mercies, the repeated calls of Wisdom in their hearts, and labours of her children from one time to another, she was often concerned to call and invite to return; she deeply mourned in secret on their account, having seen the danger they were in, and as one of their friends, she warned them faithfully thereof, in order to be clear of the blood of all men.

In her conduct and conversation she was an example of steady piety and solidity; and as she was sensible of her own insufficiency to keep them, she was concerned to be much inward in her mind with Him, who was more to her than all the world; and her desire was, that she might breathe no longer than she breathed to Him. She was a woman that sought true wisdom and found it, and who got understanding, in which she was deep, sound in her judgment, and skilful in speaking to the state of the auditory, amongst whom she had the Gospel to preach, which she was careful to adorn by a circumspect life. Her being so suddenly taken from us, has been the cause of sorrow on account of our great loss; but, as her work was done, and cut short in righteousness, and her spirit ascended to receive a happy reward for her faithful, constant, diligent, and undaunted labours in her great Master's cause, we desire to be given up to His will, and to be enabled to pray to Him, that a double portion of the same good Spirit, that was her guide, may be poured upon others; that there may be still witnesses to the same everlasting Power, which is unchangeable, though all men should forsake it!

ELIZABETH SHACKLETON.

EXTRACT FROM JAMES GOUGH'S MEMOIRS.

"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 the youthful years of her gaiety, 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 lively exercised therein, to the edification of Friends, where her lot was cast, she was indeed a useful member and a shining ornament of the Church.—I am ready to conclude, that none in



our day, from the time of this, the effectual visitation of Christ in her soul, adhered with more steadiness to His guidance through a variety of probations. She was, 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 for ever the reward of a well-spent life, very much devoted to the service of God, and the promotion of 'Truth upon earth.'

*The TESTIMONY of the Monthly meeting of Mountmellick, in the Kingdom of Ireland, concerning our dear friend MARY NEALE, formerly PEISLEY, deceased.*

SHE was educated in our Christian profession, yet, in her younger years was a lover of gayety and vanity; till it pleased the Lord to enlighten and enamour her soul with the beauty of His blessed and glorious Truth, whereupon she gave herself up to serve Him with full purpose of heart.

Being called into the work of the ministry, she readily obeyed, yet with fear, being particularly careful not to be too forward; so that her offerings were like fruit in its right season, to the honour of the Lord and the consolation of His heritage; yet she rather feared than sought applause, was ready to give way to others, and rejoiced when the Lord's work was well done by any. She was a diligent labourer in spirit for the subjection of self and the prevalence of Divine Life; and as she was very careful, when a necessity was laid upon her, to raise up in that Life, so she was likewise to drop anchor, and sit down in it, more delighted in the pure silence of all flesh, and to hear the voice of her Beloved therein, than in any excellency of words; the reverent solidity and patience of her own waiting upon the Lord in religious meetings, being like a check to the forward, as well as a good pattern to the believers in general, both in a public and private capacity. She was, when out of meetings, of an uniform conduct, retired in spirit, awful and weighty in her deportment; her words few and savoury, administering grace to the hearers, consolation to the feeble-minded, instruction to the ignorant, and reproof to the unfaithful; seeking much to have her conversation in heaven, and on every occasion to draw the minds of others thitherward. In Friends' families often drawn forth in the pure love of God, particularly to the youth.

In the discipline of the church, of singular service, waiting for wisdom to discern, and fortitude to support, what tended to Zion's order, peace, and prosperity; not biased by the favour or frowns of any therein, so that (though but young as to the time of her ministry and services) she stood in the authority of Truth, like an elder and a pillar in the Lord's house, bearing the weight of opposition, and assaults of opposite spirits without giving way; that Divine Power being her shield, and the munition of rocks the habitation of her soul.

Under a lively concern for the welfare and honour of every part of the Society, she was, at times qualified to impart tender and suitable counsel to her brethren and sisters engaged, in these perilous times, in the weighty work of the ministry and discipline, to have a single eye to the glory of God, to prefer His service before their own, and get their day's work well done in the day-time. In this, she freely gave up herself to spend and be spent, and to pass through various perils of the nearest and most exercising kind, by sea and land, often under great weakness and hardship of body, as well as pain of mind. Twice she visited the meetings of Friends through this nation; once through England, and since that, through the American continent: and by accounts received, we find her services abroad corresponded with the testimony here given of her.

Since her return from her American journey, she, with some others, visited the families of Friends through the nine meetings of this Monthly meeting, as she had done awhile before her said journey. The weight of that service laid chiefly upon her, and we believe she discharged herself faithfully therein. It was finished on the 14th of the third month last; and on the 20th, she was, after an illness of about fourteen hours, removed by death to the sorrowful surprise of many, in a sense both of our own loss and that of the Church in general, in the sudden removal of this worthy instrument in the Lord's hand who, we believe, was well prepared to live with Christ in His kingdom, with whom her life was hid whilst here. She was, indeed, a true burden-bearer, a valiant warrior, that turned not her back in the day of battle, very nearly united in the celestial bond to such as loved Truth above all things; and has left very few amongst us like her, in respect to faithful and diligent application to the great and primary end of our existence. On the 24th of the said month, her corpse was taken into the meeting-house in Mountrath, where a solemn meeting was held on the occasion, and several testimonies borne, many Friends from adjacent meetings attending; after which it was decently interred in Friends burying-ground in the said town. She

died aged 39 years, a minister about twelve years and six months. We conclude, with fervent desires, that the sense and remembrance of her life and labours, may stir up her survivors to follow her as she followed Christ, in that holy path which none but the redeemed can walk in, (there never having been more need than now when the church is greatly stript of bright ornaments and useful instruments, and

when so many are indulging themselves in undue liberties,) that in the revival and increase of righteousness, the Name of our God may be glorified, who is worthy both now and for ever. Amen!

Signed in, and on behalf of our Monthly Men's and Women's meeting, held at Mountmellick, the 1st of fifth month, 1757,

By fifty Friends.

## JOURNAL OF THE LIFE AND GOSPEL LABOURS

OF

## JOHN BURNYEAT.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1691, UNDER THE TITLE OF "THE TRUTH EXALTED IN THE WRITINGS OF THAT EMINENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF CHRIST, JOHN BURNYEAT."

"The memory of the just is blessed."—PROV. x. 7.

"The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."—PSALM cxii. 6.

*A TESTIMONY concerning the life and death of our dear friend and brother in the Lord, JOHN BURNYEAT, by George Fox.*

He was a faithful friend and brother, and an able minister of Christ Jesus, who freely preached the everlasting Gospel, and laboured to keep it without charge; who was a true apostle of Jesus Christ, and preached him freely, both by sea and land. He received the Truth in 1653, in Cumberland, and died in the Lord in Ireland in the year 1690, after he had stood those great troubles, storms and trials there. He was a great strength to Friends in the time of their late great sufferings; he stood it out, when many were ruined, and fled to England for succour, and he remained, till after King William came in, and King James went out of Ireland.

And then he went up and down visiting Friends' meetings, that were gathered in the name of Jesus: and afterwards he had intended to come for England; but there he died in the Lord, and is blessed, and rests from his labours, and his works follow him. He travelled and preached the Gospel in Ireland, Scotland, Barbadoes, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, Long Island, Rhode-Island, and up and down in New England, and had many disputes with many priests and professors, that opposed the Truth: but the Lord gave him dominion over all, and to stop the mouths of gainsayers; and he turned many to the Lord, and was a peace-maker; and he preached in his life and conversation, as well as his words. He travelled with me from Maryland through

the wilderness, and through many rivers, and desperate bogs, where they said never Englishman or horse had travelled before; where we lay out at nights, and sometimes in Indian houses, and many times very hard put to it for provisions: but the Lord by his eternal arm and power did support us, and carry us through all dangers; blessed be his name for ever.

He was an elder, and a pillar in the house of God: and the name of the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance; but the name of the wicked will rot. He was a man endued much with the wisdom of God, and in it had a care of the welfare of the Church of Christ, to keep in peace, out of strife and contention: and laboured with the apostates and backsliders to turn them to Christ and his peaceable truth; so that they might study to be quiet, and keep in the unity of the Spirit, which is the bond of the peace of the King of kings, and Lord of lords. Much more I might write concerning our dear brother in the Lord,—I knowing him very well, and his travels and service in the Lord's power and truth; and so doth the Church of Christ, among whom he will be missed.

But he is gone to his rest; and the Lord by his eternal arm and power is able to raise up others in his place. G. F.

The 13th of the 9th month, 1690.

*An account by way of Testimony concerning our dear friend and brother JOHN BURNYEAT.*

WE will leave to others the account of his birth and conviction, who were his neigh-



hours and kindred; and shall speak of him only, as some of us knew him from an intimate fellowship in divers services for above twenty years. He was a choice and seasoned vessel of Christ, the special workmanship of his power and wisdom, by which he was effectually qualified for the ministry of his everlasting Gospel, thoroughly furnished, may we say, to every good word and work, [which] God called him unto:—deep and large in his gift, reaching what was seasonable to every state; in judgment sound, free in utterance, zealous for holiness; severe against unsound and dividing spirits: most tender to penitents and returning prodigals, affectionate to the brethren, and careful over the flock of God, that they might answer their heavenly call, and grow in the truth: of a grave and steady temper, yet sweet; hardy in his constitution, and undaunted and unwearied in mind. He was the father of many children in Christ, who through his ministry were begotten again to a living hope; and the builder up of more, through the same, in the precious faith of God's elect. For this he often travelled through this nation, and sometimes Scotland, and the plantations in America, but Ireland in a more peculiar manner, both at his first entrance upon his ministry, and of latter years, where he married and chiefly resided, and where he laid down his head in peace with God, and love to his people, and good-will to all men; being about the fifty-ninth year of his age; and is entered into eternal habitations, to praise the God of his mercies in the living family of the spirits of the just for ever.

He was indeed a man of an excellent spirit and divine understanding from God; and deep in the knowledge of the heavenly mysteries of the kingdom of God, and also of the depths, wiles and subtle workings of Satan, wherein he lies in wait to beguile the children of men: and the Lord many times opened him in his heavenly wisdom to declare of them, that those who had regard to God, and the peace of their own souls, might be preserved out of Satan's snares. He was an able and powerful minister of the Gospel of salvation, a strengthener of the weak, and an encourager of the upright and sincere-hearted, to continue to the end. But he was dreadful to the hypocrites and rebellious, and all the opposers and gainsayers of the truth: a skilful marksman, yea one of the Lord's worthies of Israel, a valiant man in the camp of the Lord, and an undaunted warrior in his holy host; and his bow abode in strength, and wisdom was given him to direct his arrows to the very mark; so that the sturdy were wounded, the meek were comforted, the tender in spirit refreshed. And he was by the Lord made instrumental to wound that self-separating and dividing spirit, that had, for want of watch-

fulness in the divine light and faithfulness to God's Spirit and truth in the inward parts, prevailed over some; who, notwithstanding in a disguise and under specious pretences, endeavoured to sow the seeds of dissension, discord, separation and division among the gathered of God. The Lord blessed his labours greatly, and so preserved him in a holy conversation, and in a meek, tender, bearing, healing spirit; that he promoted both by doctrine and practice that holy truth he professed and was a preacher of, and made full proofs of his ministry in many lands and countries: and at the great city of London, where he was made instrumental to the good and comfort, refreshment and edification of many; and was valiant there (as in other places) in the time of trials, sufferings, storms and persecution.

He was also a great encourager of the good in young and old, and as a tender father and loving brother, to those who were young in their testimonies for the Truth, and would rather help a young branch to strengthen it in its growth, than to bruise or hurt it in any measure.

This short testimony we dedicate to his memorial, which shall be had in everlasting remembrance; for his name is written in the Lamb's book of life, where none can blot it out;—our brother, our friend, and our beloved companion in the heavenly fellowship, with whom some of us have sometimes travelled in England and Ireland upon divers services for the Truth's sake; and blessed was our labour of love together. He was an apostle among the churches of Christ; and he is a fixed and bright star in the firmament of God's heavenly power and kingdom for ever. O! Friends, you that knew him, know the loss of him in the Church of Christ, with other faithful brethren since departed, and worthy of double honour; concerning which sad providence we have this to say to you,—it points plainly to us the evil that is to come upon the wicked and unfaithful, and the great calamities that are at the door. The Lord fit us all for them, that we may find an interest and sanctuary in the Truth above the reach of this evil world; which they will want, that do not prefer it [the Truth] above the chiefest joy.

London, the 10th of the eleventh month, 1690–1.]

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| STEPHEN CRISP.    | WILLIAM PENN.       |
| CHARLES MARSHALL. | BENJAMIN ANTROBUS.  |
| WILLIAM BINGLEY.  | JOHN VAUGHTON.      |
| JOHN FIELD.       | BENJAMIN BANGS.     |
| FRANCIS STAMPER.  | SAMUEL WALDENFIELD. |
| JASPER BATT.      | JOHN BUTCHER.       |

[Presumed to be issued from the Morning meeting of ministers and elders.]

## JOURNAL OF THE TRAVELS, &amp;c. OF JOHN BURNYEAT.

## CHAPTER I.

*Account of John Burnyeat's conviction, 1653; the various deep exercises of mind, which he and his early companions in religious profession passed through;—the gospel worship into which they were gathered, &c.*

In the year 1653, it pleased the Lord in his love and mercy to send his faithful servant George Fox, with others of his faithful servants and messengers of the Gospel of peace and glad-tidings, whom he furnished with the eternal power of his word; in the wisdom and power of which he proclaimed the day of the Lord unto us, in this county of Cumberland, and the northern parts of England, and discovered the right path of life unto thousands that were in error; who sought the Lord, but knew not where to find him, nor how to become acquainted with him, although he was not far from us. But this blessed man G. F., one of a thousand may many say, and chosen before many thousands, was sent amongst us, in the power of the Most High, filled with the strength of his word; in the wisdom whereof he directed thousands unto the light and appearance of Christ Jesus their Saviour in their own hearts, that they might come to know him, and the glory of the Father through him, in his appearance, and so come to believe in him with the heart, and with the mouth to confess him unto salvation. And blessed be the Lord, and the day of mercy in which he visited; for he was pleased to make this labour of love effectual unto thousands, amongst whom he sent his servants to labour, and amongst whom it pleased the Lord to grant me the favour to keep a share of the benefit of this blessed visitation; whereby I came to be informed concerning the right way of the Lord, and directed to the true light, which the apostle was sent to turn people unto in his day, and so from the darkness and from the power of Satan unto God and his blessed power, which in my waiting in the light I received. Through which deep judgment did spring in my soul, and great affliction did grow in my heart; by which I was brought into great tribulation and sorrow, such as I had never known before in all my profession of religion, so that I might say in spirit, it was the day of Jacob's trouble; for the God of Heaven, by the light of his blessed Son which he had lighted me withal, which shined in my heart, let me see the body of death and power of sin which reigned in me, and brought me to feel the guilt of it upon my conscience; so that I

could say he made me, even as it were, to possess the sins of my youth. And notwithstanding all my high profession of an imputative righteousness, and that, though I lived in the act of sin, the guilt of it should not be charged upon me, but imputed to Christ, and his righteousness imputed to me; yet I found it otherwise when I was turned unto the light which did manifest all reprov'd things. Then I came to see that the guilt remained, while the body of death remained, and while through the power thereof [we are] led into the act of sin. Then I saw there was need of a Saviour to save from sin, as well as of the blood of a sacrificed Christ to blot out sin, and of faith in his name for the remission of sins past. Then began the warfare of true striving to enter the kingdom; then Paul's state was seen,—to will was present, but to do, power was many times wanting; then was that cry known,—“O! wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death,” and free me from the prevailing power of the law which remained in the members, warring against the law of my mind, and which brought into captivity to the law of sin. Then, when this war was truly begun, all my high conceit in my invented notional faith, and my pretence and hopes of justification thereby, were overthrown; so that all that I had builded for several years in my profession, after the days of my youth, (in which tender stirrings were in me after acquaintance with the Lord, and the knowledge of him, and peace with him,) was seen to be but a Babel tower, upon which God brought confusion; and so could it never be perfected to reach to heaven, being out of the faith of his covenant, and which never could bring truly to trust in his word, and rely thereupon; but which led out into inventions, willing and self-acting, though another thing was talked of. Then seeing all my works confounded by the visitations of God, and by the springing of the day from on high, which discovered things as they were, seeing them all end at Babel, and the God of heaven bringing confusion upon them, I was amazed, and fear beset me on every side; and I began sometimes to fear I was undone forever; for that had entered my heart which had turned the fruitful field into a wilderness, and made that, which I thought had been as the garden of Eden, a forest; and so the day of God discovered all to be desolation, dryness, and a heath, and brought my soul to a deep lamentation, to the beginning of such sorrows as had never been known by me before. Then



did I lament and bewail myself many a time, and wish myself in a wilderness, where I might neither meet with temptation nor provocation from without to withstand in my spirit, such was my weakness; for all the notion I had to talk of, respecting imputation of the righteousness of Christ, being but my own, which by his Spirit I had no seal for, and so was but a presumption, I saw clearly it was my own invention; and so was but like Adam's fig-leaf apron, in which he could not abide God's coming. O! the woe that overtook me! the distress that seized me! the horror and terror that sprung in my bosom! the poverty and want that my soul saw itself in, through the springings up of the discovering light, towards which the eye of my soul was turned! And as this light did spring up, which the apostle of old wrote of, it manifested all things,—not only the want that I was in, but also the reprobated things; and then sin became exceedingly sinful, and the load and burthen of it became exceedingly grievous, and all the pleasure of it was taken away from me and many more in that day. Then we began to mourn after a Saviour, and to look for a deliverer, and to cry for a helper and a healer: for the day of the Lord that made desolate, had overtaken us, and the fire and sword that Christ brings upon the earth, by which he takes away peace, had reached unto us; and yet we knew not from whence it came, though the burning and the judgment thereby were begun, by which the filth was to be taken away.

And now in this distress, deep were our groanings and our cries unto the Lord, which reached unto him; and he was pleased to hear, and show mercy: for we often assembled together, as the Lord's messengers (whom he sent amongst us) had exhorted us; and we minded the light of Christ in our hearts, and what that discovered; and in our spirits, we, through its assistance, warred and watched against the evil seen therein; and according to the understanding received, we waited therein upon the Lord, to see what he would farther manifest, with a holy resolution to obey his will, so far as we were able, whatsoever it cost us; for this I know was the condition of many in that day. We valued not the world, or any glory or pleasure therein, in comparison of our soul's redemption out of that state, and freedom from that horror and terror under the indignation of the Lord which we were in, because of the guilt of sin that was upon us; and so being given up to bear the indignation of the Lord, because we had sinned, we endeavoured to wait till the indignation would be over, and the Lord in mercy would blot out the guilt which remained (that occasioned wrath,) and would sprinkle our hearts from an evil conscience,

and wash us with pure water; that we might draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, as the Christians of old did. Heb. x. 22.

But, alas! we had not boldness,—for the living faith was wanting; and a true heart we had not to draw near with, and therefore could not have full assurance; but we were compassed with fears, horrors and amazement: and yet we came to know that there was no other way, but to dwell in these judgments, and wait in the way thereof; understanding that we must be redeemed with judgment, as was said of Zion. Isaiah i. 27: and so waiting therein, we began to learn righteousness, and strongly to desire to walk therein, and could no longer be satisfied with a talk thereof. Thus waiting for and seeking after the Lord (though greatly ignorant of him) in a deep sense of our own unworthiness and unpreparedness to meet him, because of the pollution of our hearts, (which was seen by his light that did shine therein,) we were still bowed down in spirit, and afflicted and tossed in soul, and not comforted; and our hearts were unstable, like water,—the waves going over our heads, and our souls in jeopardy every moment, and our faith so little, that we were ready to sink, like Peter, often crying out in the danger. In that distress and vale of tears wherein we walked, our hearts became quite dead to the world, and all its pleasure and glory, and also to all our former dead profession; for we saw there was no life in it, nor help nor salvation from it, though some of us had tried it thoroughly. We saw it was in vain to look to such hills or mountains for salvation. And when we began to forsake all on both hands, seeing the emptiness of all, both the glory, vanity, and pleasure of the world, and the dead image of profession, which we had set up in our imaginations and inventions, and had worshipped with our unprepared hearts and unsanctified spirits, being slaves and captives to sin, (as all must needs be that obey it in the lust thereof, according to Romans, chap. vi. and xvi.,) I say, when we thus had a sight and sense of the insufficiency of all we either had or could do to give ease, help, or salvation, then we denied all; and as we had been directed, we turned our minds unto the light of Christ shining in our hearts, and believed therein, according to Christ's command, John xii. 36: and so we met together to wait upon the Lord therein. Then began the profane to mock, scoff, and abuse us; and our very relations, and old familiars, to be strange to us, and to be offended at us; and they did hate us, and began to speak evil of us, and did think it strange that we would not run with them to the former excess of riot, as it was of old, 1 Pet. iv. 4. Also the professors, even such as we had formerly walked in fellowship with in our

lifeless profession, began to reproach and vilify us, and speak evil against us, and charged us with error and schism, and departing from the faith; and also began to reproach the light of Christ, as natural and insufficient, and a false light, and a false guide. Thus Christ, in his spiritual appearance, was reproached, vilified, slighted, and undervalued, and was set at naught by the carnal professors of Christianity, as he was in his appearance in the flesh by the Jews, the carnal professors of the law, who saw not through the veil unto the end. In this our weak state we were beset on every hand, and greatly distressed, tossed, and afflicted, as poor Israel were, when the sea was before them, and the Egyptians behind,—and their hope so little, that they looked for nothing but death, and said to Moses, “Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness,” &c. *Exod. xiv. 11.* Thus through many tribulations must the kingdom be entered by all that strive rightly to enter, according to Christ’s command. *Luke xiii. 24.*

When we were thus in our deep fears, and our minds not well acquainted with either striving, (out of self,) in the light and seed of life that doth prevail, or with true waiting or standing still out of our own thoughts, willings, and runnings, which do not obtain, the Lord sent his servants, who had learned of him, to direct us in what to wait, and how to stand still, out of our own thoughts and self-strivings, in the light that doth discover; who often did exhort us to abide and dwell in the judgment that we received therein. And as we had been turned to the light, so were our understandings informed, and we got to some degree of staidness in our minds, which before had been as the troubled sea,—and a hope began to appear in us; and we met together often, and waited to see the salvation of God, which we had heard of, that he would work by his own power. After we had met together for some time, as we had seasons and opportunities, and also sought the Lord with travailing spirits both night and day, when we were at our callings, and upon our beds, (for we could not cease, our souls were so afflicted,) when in our assemblies we were exercised in the living judgment that sprung in the light in our souls, and were looking for the salvation of God,—the wonderful power from on high was revealed amongst us; and many hearts were reached therewith, and broken, and melted, before the God of the whole earth; and great dread and trembling fell upon many, and the very chains of death were broken thereby, the bonds loosed, and many souls eased and set at liberty; and the prisoners of hope began to come forth, and they that had sat in darkness to show themselves. And the promises of the Lord came to be fulfilled unto

many, spoken of by Isaiah the prophet. *Isa. xlix. 9, and Isa. lxii. 7, and lxi. 23*; and some taste of the oil of joy came to be witnessed, and a heavenly gladness entered the hearts of many, who in the joy of their souls broke forth in praises unto the Lord; so that the tongue of the dumb, which Christ the healer of our infirmities did unloose, began to speak and utter the wonderful things of God. Great was the dread and glory of that power, which in one meeting after another was graciously and richly manifested amongst us, breaking, tendering, and melting our souls and spirits before the Lord. Then our hearts began to delight in the Lord and in his way that he had cast up; and with great fervency and zeal we began to seek after him, and to meet oftener together than before,—our hearts being affected with the presence of that blessed power, which daily broke forth amongst us in our meetings, through which we were greatly comforted, strengthened and edified; for it was that same Comforter our blessed Lord promised he would pray the Father for, and which the Father should send. *John xiv. xvi. and xxvi.* This [Comforter] being come and received, did teach us to know the Father and the Son; and as we came into acquaintance with it, and into the unity of it, we came to be taught by it, and so taught of the Lord, according to that new covenant promise,—They shall be all taught of the Lord. *Isa. liv. 13; John vi. 4, 5.*

Then were our hearts inclined to hearken unto the Lord, and our ears, which he had opened to hear, were bent to hear what the Spirit’s teaching was, and what He said unto the Church, who is the chief Shepherd and Bishop of the soul. Thus were we gathered into a right gospel exercise and gospel worship by Him, through whose name we had received remission of sins past, and whose blood had sprinkled our hearts from an evil conscience, and who gave the pure water that washed and made clean. So that with true hearts many began to draw nigh unto God in the full assurance of faith, as the ancient saints did and were accepted, and had access by that one Spirit, by which we came to be baptized into one body, and so came to drink into one Spirit, and were refreshed, and greatly comforted; and grew up together in the mystery of the gospel fellowship; and so we worshipped God, who is a Spirit, in the Spirit received from him, which is the gospel worship, according to Christ’s appointment. *John iv. 24.* Then we came to see over all the worship in the world, which were set up either by imitation, or man’s invention; and we saw it to be in vain to worship God, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men, as our Lord had said. *Matth. xv. 9*; and therefore were we con-



strained to withdraw from them, and also (many of us) to go and bear witness against them in their invented and traditional worships, where they were ignorant of the life and power of God.

Thus being gathered by the Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, we became his sheep, and did learn to know his voice, and to follow him; and he gave unto us eternal life, and manifested the riches of his grace in our hearts, by which we were saved through faith, and delivered from that wrath, fear, and terror, which had been so weighty upon our souls, and in measure from the power of that death which had reigned, and made us miserable and wretched; and we came to partake of that life, wherein the blessedness doth consist. So then the Lord becoming our Shepherd, he taught us, and led us forth into green pastures, where we did feed and rest together with great delight. O! the joy, the pleasure, and the great delight, with which our hearts were overcome many times, in our reverent and holy assemblies! How were our hearts melted as wax, and our souls poured out as water before the Lord, and our spirits as oil, frankincense and myrrh, offered up unto the Lord as sweet incense, when not a word outwardly in all our assembly has been uttered! And then did the Lord delight to come down into his garden, and walk in the midst of the beds of spices; and he caused the north wind to awake, and the south wind to blow upon his garden, and the pleasant showers to descend, for the refreshing of his tender plants, that they might grow still more and more. And now unto them that had known the night of sorrow, was the joyful morning come, according to that ancient experience of David. Psal. xxx. 5; and such as had been in the foregoing deep afflictions, tossings, and distresses, came to witness the fulfilling of that great gospel promise; "O! thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, 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. And 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; for thou shalt not fear, and from terror, for it shall not come near thee," Isa. liv. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Thus came we by Him to be gathered into covenant with God, and to witness the fulfilling of the promises of God, in whom all the promises are yea and amen; and so came to sit together in heavenly places in him, and to feed upon the heavenly food, the bread of life, that

came down from heaven, which Christ the heavenly Shepherd did give unto us; who had gathered us from amongst the shepherds that fed themselves with temporal things from the flock, but knew not how to feed the flock with spiritual food, for they had it not. Now we, coming to be acquainted with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ in our hearts, became great lovers of it, and delighted in the enjoyment thereof; having already counted all things but as dross and dung in comparison of the excellency that we saw therein; and therefore were willing to suffer the loss of all, that we might win him, as it was with the apostle of old. And blessed be the Lord, many obtained their desire; they found their beloved,—met with their Saviour,—witnessed his saving health, by which their souls were healed; and so became his flock and family, or household of faith.

Then as his children and blessed family, we still continued to meet together twice in the week, or oftener; and being gathered together in his name and holy fear, his promise we witnessed, according to Matt. xvii. 20, that he was in the midst of us, and did honour our assemblies with his heavenly power and presence; and that was our great delight, and the sweetness of it did wonderfully engage our souls to love him, and our hearts to wait upon him; for we found the ancient experience of the Church to be true, as testified in the Scripture, "Because of the savour of thy good ointments, thy name is as ointment poured forth; therefore do the virgins love thee."

Thus growing into this experience of the goodness of the Lord, and of the sweetness, glory, and excellency of his power in our assemblies, we grew in strength and zeal for our meetings more and more, and valued the benefit thereof more than any worldly gain; yea, it was unto some more than our appointed food. Thus continuing, we grew more and more into an understanding of divine things and heavenly mysteries, through the openings of the power which was daily amongst us, which wrought sweetly in our hearts, which united us more and more unto God, and knit us together in the perfect bond of love, of fellowship and membership. So that we became a body compact, made up of many members, whereof Christ himself became the head; who was with us, and did rule over us, and further gave gifts unto us, by which we came still to be enlarged and were further opened, that we might answer the end for which he had raised us up, and had so far blessed us, and sanctified us through his word which dwelt in our souls. So we keeping still in our zeal, and unto our first love, and keeping up our meetings, and not forsaking the assembling ourselves together, (as the manner of

some was of old, whose example the apostle exhorted the saints not to follow,) the Lord's power continued with us, and was renewed daily in our meetings; by the openings of which, our understandings were still more enlarged in the mysteries of life and the hidden things of God; so that many through the favour of God, grew in their gifts, and had their mouths opened, and thus became instruments in the Lord's hand to bear witness unto the world, of the day of the Lord which was broken forth again, even of the great and notable day Joel had prophesied of, and Peter bore witness unto. And they were also sent to bear witness against the world, and its evil deeds, with all the false religions with which mankind had covered themselves in the darkness and apostacy, which had spread over them, and now was seen and discovered by the light and day of God.

Thus the Truth grew, and the faithful in it, and many were turned unto God; and his name, and fame, and glory, and power spread abroad, and the enemy's work and kingdom were discovered, and struck at by the Lamb and his followers. This made him begin to rage, and stir up his instruments to oppose the Lord's work, and with all subtilty to hinder people from following the Lamb, or believing in his light. So with pen, and tongue, and hands also, the beast and his followers began to war, and [fell] to whipping, and scourging, and imprisoning, and spoiling of goods, with reproaching, belying, and slandering the way of truth; with all that they could do to hinder the exaltation of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, blaspheming his light and his power,—calling his light natural, insufficient, a false guide, with many reproachful names; and calling his power diabolical, and the operation and blessed work of it, which was both to the renewing of the spirit of the mind, and also to the reformation of the conversation from debauchery, wickedness, unrighteousness, and witchcraft; even like them of old, who said Christ cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince thereof. But by this time, they that kept faithful to the Lord, and his light and Spirit in their hearts, who had come forth through the deep tribulation, as before related, were confirmed, settled and satisfied, and established in the life that was manifested; in which they saw over death, and all men's profession, and where they were, and what they fed upon, who cried out so against the light and power of Christ, which was thus with us, and wrought thus in us in our meetings; and how they were but mocking at the same that those mocked at, spoken of in the second of the Acts, when they thought the Apostles were full of new wine, and so drunk. The high professors of our days being igno-

rant of the Holy Ghost, through their resisting of it, blasphemed the life and power, and at the best, did but feed upon the tree of knowledge. For this I still right well remember, that in my waiting upon the Lord, in the deep distress and weighty judgment that was upon my soul, to see if he would appear and break through, and open and give relief from that which kept me down as bars of iron, so that I could not arise or ascend, nor have access, although out of the deep I cried unto him for deliverance; I say, I can remember, that in the first notable in-breaking of the power of God upon my soul, or pouring forth of the Holy Ghost upon me, the first opening in the same unto me thereby, was, a true discovery of the tree of knowledge in the mystery, upon which I saw I had been feeding with all the carnal professors of religion; and how we had made a profession of that which we had no possession of; but our souls were in the death, feeding upon the talk of that which the saints of old did enjoy; and therein I saw there was no getting to the tree of life, that our souls might be healed by the leaves of it, and so feed upon the fruit thereof, that we might live for ever. But as there was a coming under the wounding, slaying sword that Christ brings, by which the life of the old man comes to be destroyed, who would still live in sin, and serve it, and yet profess faith in Christ, and to be his servant, (which is impossible, according to Christ's own saying, "No man can serve two masters," &c. Matth. vi. 24,) I saw there was no remedy,—either I must be buried by that fiery baptism of Christ with him into death, or else there could be no rising with him into newness of life; there might be a rising into newness of profession, notion and words; but that would not do, it was newness of life I must come to, the other I had tried over and over. I saw I must die with him, or be planted with him in the likeness of death, that is, die unto sin, if ever I came to be planted with him in the likeness of his resurrection, and so live unto God, according to Romans the sixth. Then when things thus opened in me, I clearly saw we had all been deceived, in thinking while we lived in the flesh, and after the flesh, and so in the death, and feeding upon the tree of knowledge, which was forbidden for food, we might make such a profession as might bring us to reap life everlasting. But I soon saw, such as a man lived after—such as a man sowed, such should he reap, and not what a man professed, or what he talked of; and then I was willing to bow to the cross, and come under the fiery baptism of the Spirit, and let that which was consumable be destroyed, that my soul might be saved, and come to possess that which would endure and abide, and which could not be shaken. Thus



were the heavens shaken also, as well as the earth, that that which could not be shaken might remain, (according to Heb. xii. 27 ;) and so that which condemned the evil fruits of the flesh, (as they were owned by us to be in our profession,) both in our loose conversation, and also in the desires of our hearts, and fleshly lusts which therein sprang, even the same light and true witness did discover and condemn our fleshly profession of religion in that same nature and mind which brought forth evil, or in which evil did dwell and rule; and so came our heaven to be shaken, and our covering and garment to be taken away, and we left comfortless and naked, destitute and without a habitation. And then we saw our sacrificing and our sinning to be alike in the sight of God; for our prayers were rejected, and all loathed, because both were done in one nature and from one and the same seed and corrupt heart; and, therefore, it came to be with us as with Judah of old, as may be read Isa. i. and Isa. lxvi. 3. where the Lord told Judah, their killing an ox, their sacrificing a lamb, their offering an oblation and burning incense, was as the slaying of a man, cutting off a dog's neck, offering swine's blood, and blessing an idol. And thus we saw, for want of righteousness, and keeping the commandments of the Lord, and forsaking of our own ways, and that which was evil, our religion was loathed by the Lord, and we rejected in all our doings, and left in desolation and barrenness; for whatever we might pretend, that true saying must stand, a good tree cannot bring forth bad fruit, nor a bad tree good fruit; the tree is known by its fruit.

Thus things opened wonderfully in us, and we saw not only common sins which all confess so to be, though they live in them,—but also the hypocrisy and sinfulness of the professors of religion, even in their religion, which was performed out of the true spirit of grace and life, which in the mystery is the salt that every gospel sacrifice is to be seasoned withal, according to the example in the figure. Therefore were we commanded to withdraw, and be separated in our worship, and to wait to have our hearts sanctified, and the spirit of our minds renewed, that we might come before him with prepared vessels. For we soon learned to see this, that it must be true in the substance, as in the figure; all the vessels of the tabernacle were to be sanctified, consecrated, or made holy. Therefore did we come out from among such in their worship, who lived in uncleanness, and pleaded for sin, which made unholy; and we met together, and waited together in silence: it may be, sometimes, not a word [was uttered] in our meetings for months; but every one that was faithful, waited upon the living word in our own hearts, to know sanctification

thereby, and a thorough cleansing and renewing of our hearts and inward man. And being cleansed and made meet, we came to have a great delight in waiting upon the word in our hearts, for the milk thereof, which Peter speaks of. 1 Pet. ii. 2; in our so waiting, we received the milk, or virtue thereof, and grew thereby, and were fed with the heavenly food that rightly nourished our souls; and so we came to receive more and more of the Spirit of grace and life from Christ our Saviour, who is full of it, in whom the fulness dwells. In the power thereof we worshipped the Father, who is a Spirit, and we waited upon the teachings of his grace in our hearts; and he taught us thereby to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live righteously, godly, and soberly in this present evil world. Thus we came to know the true teacher, which the saints of old did witness, as saith the Apostle, Titus ii. 12, and therefore wanted not a teacher, nor true divine instructions, though we had left the hireling priests, and also other high-flown notionists, and sat down together in silence; for this was our desire, to have all flesh silenced before the Lord and his power both in our own hearts, and from without. And as we thus came into true silence and inward stillness, we began to hear the voice of him, who said, he was the resurrection and the life; and he said unto us, Live, and gave unto our souls life; and this holy gift which he hath given, has been in us as a well of water springing up into eternal life, according to his promise; and, therefore, hath it been our delight all along to wait upon it, and draw nigh with our spirits unto it, both in our meetings, and also at other times; that we might both be taught and saved by it, for by it the saints were saved through faith, &c. as Paul wrote unto them. Ephes. ii. 8.

## CHAPTER II.

*His diligence in attending meetings;—the delight and profit experienced in keeping near to the power of Truth.—Is moved to speak in the public places of worship at Aspetry, Lorton, Brigham—is committed to Carlisle goal.—In 1658 travels into Scotland; and in 1659 into Ireland.*

FROM the year 1653, as before hinted, in which year I was convinced of the blessed truth and way of life eternal, unto the year 1657, I was not much concerned abroad in travels upon the account of the Truth, save only to visit Friends that were prisoners for the Truth's testimony; but being mostly at home, followed my outward calling. I was very diligent to keep to our meetings, being given up

in my heart thereunto, for I found great delight therein; and many times, when one meeting was over, and I at my outward labour, in which I was very diligent also, I did in my spirit long for the next meeting-day, that I might get to the meeting to wait upon the Lord with the rest of his people. I can also with safety say, that when I was there, I was not slothful, but in true diligence set my heart to wait upon the Lord, for a visitation from him by the revelation of his power in my soul; and as I waited in diligence, patience, and faith, I can say this for the Lord, and on his behalf, (with many more witnesses,) we did not wait in vain: he suffered not our expectation to fail;—everlasting glory, and honour, and praise be to his worthy and honourable name for ever! The very remembrance of his goodness and glorious power, revealed and renewed in those days, overcomes my soul. Thus in diligence waiting, and the Lord in mercy visiting by his power in our hearts, my soul was daily more and more affected with the glory, and excellency and sweetness of it, and with the holy dread with which it filled my heart,—for that became pleasant; and then my spirit was bent to keep near unto this power, and to dwell in that holy fear which the Father thereby placed in my heart. Then I came to see what David exhorted to, in the second Psalm, when he bid the kings and judges of the earth be wise and learned; and further said, “serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling.” O! the bowings of my soul! the pleasant dread that dwelt upon my spirit, and the reverent tremblings that came over my heart, which filled it with living joy, as with marrow and fatness! Then could I say in my heart with David, I will wash my hands in innocency, and compass thine altar, O Lord. O! the pleasant drawing near, and that not unprepared, unto the altar of the Lord by many, whose hearts were filled, and their souls and spirits anointed with the true anointing from the Holy One, which John speaks of in his first epistle, which is the substance of what was figured out in that ointment which Moses was commanded to make. Exod. xxx. 25, with which all the vessels of the tabernacle were to be anointed.

When my heart was thus fitted, filled, and furnished, as it was many a time in our holy assemblies, with many others, I know, who sat under the same dread and power with me, (for our temple and tabernacle, in which we worshipped, as children of the new Jerusalem, was but one, even the Lord God and the Lamb, as John says, Rev. xxi. 22;) I say, when my heart was thus fitted and filled, then did I endeavour to keep down my spirit to the meltings of it; and great was the care of my soul,

that I might in no ways miss or abuse this power, nor let up a wrong thing into my mind, to be betrayed thereby. I knew, if I kept down all that was wrong, sound wisdom and a true understanding would be grown into, even of those mysteries that the world was ignorant of; for the Son of God being come, it was he that gave the understanding, to know him that is true, as John said of old, in his first Epistle, and he was made unto us wisdom, as Paul said, 1 Cor. i. 30. I often observed, and that with great care and diligence, how it was with my own spirit in those blessed and pleasant seasons, wherein the Lord did so wonderfully appear amongst us, and filled our hearts with the glorious majesty of his power, whether [my spirit] was subject, as it ought to be, or no: for I clearly saw the enemy might beguile, and lead up into the heights, and into pride and vain-glorying in that, which the soul might soon be deprived of, if it kept not humble; for it is the humble the Lord teacheth, and the meek he guides in judgment.

Thus, in the greatest enjoyments, I saw there was need of a care and fear to be kept up; for as those that grew sluggish, idle, and careless in waiting for the power in a meeting, did sit without the sense of it in a dead, dry, barren state; even so such as were not diligent to keep low, humble, and tender, and so to mind the nature of the working of the power, and the state of their own spirits under the power's exercise, and also to watch against the enemy's subtilty, (who lays in wait to betray,) these might easily be led aside out of the way of the power by the stranger, even while the power was working, and the joy was in the heart. Thus for want of true fear and care, might the soul come to a loss ere it be aware; and I believe some have so done, and can scarcely find the reason of it. Great is the mystery of godliness, it may truly be said, even the great mystery which Paul writes of in the first of Colossians, “Christ in you the hope of glory;” and as he is there, great is the mystery of his working by his Spirit, to the opening and clearing of the understandings of all who rightly wait upon him. It is the soul which is in the sanctification and oneness with the life and true unction, that comes to be a priest, and so of the royal priesthood, chosen and elected in God's covenant, and that comes rightly and lawfully to eat of those holy things, and so to partake of the sanctified holy food. This I did observe; and therefore the stranger is not to come nigh; and this was signified in the figure—“The stranger was not to eat of the passover.” Exod. xii. 43; and the command of God was to Aaron by Moses, “That no stranger should eat of the holy things,” &c., Lev. xxii. 10.

And again Solomon saith, “The heart know-



eth his own bitterness, and a stranger doth not intermeddle with his joy." Prov. xiv. 10. Much might be said further, but this is the matter,—it is wisdom for the heart that hath known its own bitterness in the judgment and distress, and through it hath come to peace and joy, to keep therein and not to let that which would have no share with it, come to intermeddle with the joy; for if it do, it will soon overthrow the joy of the soul, and bring to another state; and then it will have no more pity in the day of distress, than the Jews had of Judas, when they bade him to look to it, what was that to them, after he had betrayed his Master.

I continued, as I have said before, for these four years, mostly following my outward calling, and attending and waiting upon the Lord in the workings of his holy power in my heart, both in meetings and at other times, wherever I was or whatever I had to do, I found that as my heart was kept near the power, it kept me tender, soft, and living. And besides I found, as I was diligent in eyeing it, there was a constant sweet stream, that ran softly in my soul, of divine peace, pleasure, and joy, which far exceeded all other delights and satisfactions; and this became the great engager of my soul to watch with such diligence, for I found the love of God to constrain. And furthermore, I observed, that if I neglected it, or let my mind out after anything else more than I ought, and so forgot this, I began to be like a stranger; and I saw that I soon might lose my interest in these riches and treasure, and in the true common-wealth of God's spiritual Israel, which Christ had purchased for me, and given me the earnest of to inherit. Thus being mindful of the opening wisdom of God, which was from above, and heavenly, and not from below, earthly, I was preserved, and helped, and succoured in the needful time. And because of the blessings and rich mercies of the Lord which my soul enjoyed, I was willing to serve him in what I might; and willingly received upon me a share of that concern which became proper for me, with others, to take upon us in the church; that I might be helpful in all necessary things.

Thus I went on in the holy fellowship of the gospel of life and salvation, with the rest of my brethren and sisters; and many joyful days we had together in the power of the Holy Ghost, which was richly and graciously continued amongst us, and daily poured out upon us; so that we still grew in favour with God, and in unity one with another, and received daily strength from the Lord, and an increase of his Divine wisdom and Spirit, which did greatly comfort us. In this our pleasant state I do well remember, my heart was satisfied, and settled into content, where I was willing

to abide. But the Lord who had so dealt by me in mercy, as I have said, began to stir in my heart by his Spirit, to arise and go forth in the strength of his word, and declare against the hirelings who fed themselves and not the people, and who kept the people ignorant of those good things, of which he had made me and others witnesses. And when the word of the Lord came unto me with this message, it became a great exercise to me; and I would willingly have shunned it, and have dwelt in that ease, peace, and pleasure into which the Lord had brought me; but there was none, but in obeying the Lord, and giving up to do his will. This I soon came to know, for I was sure it was the word of the Lord: and then I yielded in spirit, and longed for the day that I might clear myself, and be eased of the charge that was upon me; for weighty was the dread and majesty of the power of the word of life that lived and, as a fire, burned in my heart, so that I could not stay.

When the first-day of the week came, in obedience to the word of the Lord, I went to Aspetry, the place which the Lord set before me, to speak to one Warwick a priest. When I came, he was preaching in their bell-house, who, soon after I came in with a friend with me, began to put forth some subtle questions to provoke us to speak, that he might have an opportunity to cause us to be haled out, and sent to prison; but I resolved not to mind his temptation, but to wait upon the Lord. When he could not prevail with his questions to get his end upon us, he spoke to the constable to put us forth: who answering, bid him go on, and said, "they do not disturb us," &c. Then the priest went on and finished with his sermon. When he had done, I began to speak to the people; but the priest got away, and the people hurried me out, and kept me and the priest asunder, that I got not to speak to him that forenoon. So I came away with my friend, and thought to have returned home; but immediately after I got out of the town, the wrath and displeasure of the Lord in his word sprung dreadfully in my heart, and a dreadful cry was in me from the same,—cursed is he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently, &c. Then I saw how I had let in a fear upon me, in which I had shunned the priest and spared him, for fear I should be sent to prison for speaking to him, the law being such at that day, that whosoever did disturb a minister, as they termed it, should be sent to prison. When I found out my weakness in this, that I had spoken to the people, and spared the priest, against whom I was sent to cry, then was I sorely afraid, and my heart was filled with horror, and a sore cry [prevailed] in me still, cursed is he that doeth the work of the Lord

negligently, &c. Then I knew not what to do, for the wrath of God was upon me; and another cry from the same word was sounded in my heart, saying, Babylon hath sinned, all ye that bend the bow, shoot at her; spare no arrows, for she hath sinned, &c. When it was thus with me, and I saw that I had not been faithful, but had missed my service, after I had come so far as the common above Plumland, I sat me down, and there I mourned before the Lord, whom I had so grieved; and humbly desired of the Lord, that he would but grant me liberty to go again to clear myself, that I might come into peace with him again; and then let outward life or liberty go, I did not value. So waiting upon him in this humble bowed frame of spirit, the word of life arose in me again, and opened my heart, and sealed to me that I might go. Then I arose with boldness, and went with speed, till I came at the worship-house: and the priest was preaching again in the afternoon, so I went in and stood before him, till he had done; and then was my heart filled with peace, and I resolved in the name of the Lord not to spare, but to speak the word of the Lord faithfully, whatever I might suffer for it; for in comparison thereof, I valued neither life nor liberty. So when he had done, I spoke unto him, what the Lord put in my mouth; he immediately got away and gave me no answer, but I followed him so quickly, and cried out after him, that he turned again to me in the grave-yard; and then I cleared my conscience to him, and a great dispute we had, for I did not spare him; at last he went away, and would stay no longer. Then I spoke to the people, and cleared my conscience amongst them; after which I came away in peace, and my heart was filled with unspeakable joy, and my soul with gladness. Then I saw it was good to be faithful to the Lord, and to trust in him, and to obey his voice; and I came to feel and see more and more the woeful and dreadful state that the priests and hirelings were in, who for their own earthly gain made merchandise of people. Although they were defended by the laws of men, yet I found they were in the transgression of the laws of God, and so were in Cain's, Corah's and Balaam's ways, in envy, and even gainsayers of the truth, and lovers of the wages of unrighteousness, such as Peter and Jude wrote of, and Jude cried woe against. 2 Peter ii. 15, Jude 10, 11, 12.

Sometime after, I was moved by the Spirit of the Lord to go to Lorton, to speak to one Fogoc, a priest, who was preaching to the people in their worship-house; and I stayed till he had done. He affirmed in his preaching to the people, that both he and they were without the life of both the law and the gospel. Then

I spoke to him, and questioned him what he had to preach, or to pray with, who was without the life of both the law and gospel? But after a few words, he fell into a rage and stirred up the people, and they fell upon me, and haled me out of the house, and beat me, and the priest threatened to put me in the stocks. So I came away; and that day two weeks I was moved to go again to speak to the same priest at Loweswater, the parish where I then dwelt. When I came in, the people beginning to look at me, and take notice, the priest bid them let me alone; if I would be quiet he would discourse with me, when he had done. So I stood still and quiet, waiting upon the Lord: the priest prepared to go to prayer, but when he saw that I did not put off my hat (for I could not so do, because I could not join with him in his dead lifeless prayers,) instead of going to prayer he fell a railing against me, and said I should not stand there in that posture. At last I spoke to him, and asked him, what he had to pray with, who was without the life of both the law and the gospel; but he continued calling out to the people, to take me away; so that at last, my father being there, and displeased with me for troubling their minister, came himself and haled me out of the house, and was very angry with me. I stayed in the grave-yard till the priest and people came out, and then I got to him and spoke to him again; but he soon began to be in a rage, and to threaten me with the stocks, and got away. Then I cleared my conscience to the people, of what I had to say, and so came away in great peace with the Lord.

Not long after, in the same year, I was moved of the Lord by his Spirit to go to Brigham, to speak to one priest Denton; he was preaching in the steeple-house to the people, and his sermon, which he had beforehand prepared, had many false accusations, lies and slanders against Friends, and the principles of truth. I stayed till he had done, and then spoke to him, but got little answer; but immediately some of his hearers fell upon me, and beat me with their bibles, and with a staff or staves, all along out of the house, and also out of the grave-yard, so that the next day I was sore with the blows; and then the priest commanded the constable to secure me and a Friend that was with me, and next day did cause him to carry us to Launcelot Fletcher of Tallentire, who ordered a warrant to be written for us, and so sent us from constable to constable, to the common gaol, in Carlisle, where I was prisoner three-and-twenty weeks.\* And when I wrote a paper to the priest, wherein I answered his false accusation, and sent it

[\* In the year 1657. Besse's Sufferings, vol. i. fol. 129.]



to him by a Friend, he would not read it, but, as I was told, put it in the fire and burnt it.

[The following appears to be the Address alluded to.]

*For the Priests in Carlisle, and their followers.*

YE which stand up to teach the people, behold your flock which ye teach, and see what is brought forth among them; such fruits, as were never brought forth among them that were taught of God, nor by any that he sent. But the small effect your teaching doth bring forth for God, evidences to your face, that ye are not sent by him, but run, and the Lord doth not send you; therefore the people profit nothing by you, but the fruits of unrighteousness still remain among them, and they are not turned to God, and out of their sins by all your teaching. For persecution is found in some, and pride and drunkenness, and mocking, and scorning, and reproaching of them who fear God, who appear among them that follow you. Oh consider it, you who take in hand to teach these people; did ever any of the ministers of Christ own such for Christians? Consider it; was persecution found among the saints? Or did they imprison any? Show one example in the Scriptures for it, if there be any. Or did the apostles own them for Christians who did persecute? were not they enemies to the truth, who did persecute and imprison? And was it not the saints, that the persecution rose against?—And did not the apostles suffer persecution? Were not they enemies to Christ who persecuted them? And are not they enemies to Christ who persecute now? Oh! that you would but consider of it, and see what generation ye are of, and what fruits ye bear! whether ye and your followers bear the fruits of the ministers of Christ and the saints, or ye bear the fruits of the false prophets, and of the rude multitude and persecuting generation who persecuted the righteous. For from the beginning the righteous were persecuted, even from Abel; but we never read that the righteous persecuted any, but were always sufferers. So it is evident, that they who persecute and imprison, are shut out of the life of them who gave forth the Scriptures, and are found in their steps who were enemies to the truth, and persecuted those who lived in the life of it. Ye, that take in hand to teach the people of this town, look upon your flock, and see, what fruits are brought forth by some of them. Yet for all this your teaching of them, you have not brought them to so much moderation and love, as was in Felix, who commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid

none of his acquaintance to minister or come to him. But we find not so much moderation or love among you, who say, ye are Christians; for we are kept in prison, and our friends are hindered to come to us. Oh be ashamed of your flock, ye teachers, that for all your teaching, ye have not brought them so far into moderation and love, as they were, who persecuted the apostles and saints; and so they must needs be far short of being true Christians. But you are bad examples to them herein; for many of you, who are teachers, do cause the innocent to be cast into prison, and persecuted; and so manifest yourselves by your fruits, not to be in the same life the apostles were in, who always suffered, and never persecuted any. So consider well of this, ye teachers, that your flock is not a flock of sheep and lambs; but the nature of wolves appears among them, whose mouths are open against the innocent, who live in the nature of the lamb. Are ye not therefore of those, who run, and the Lord never sent you? Who do not profit the people at all, who from time to time stand up to teach them, and yet they remain in their old nature, not changed from their former conversation. Oh cease! Seeing no fruit is brought forth to God by all your labour. Is it not for the love of money that you teach? And do ye not seek after the fleece more than the flock? Do ye not go from one place to another for rewards? Let that of God in your consciences answer. Is not this it, which blinds your eyes, that ye do not see what generation you are of, when you read the Scriptures? Which testifies who they were who persecuted, and who they were who suffered persecution then, in the apostles days. Search the Scriptures, and see whether the persecutors, or they that were persecuted, were the saints of God in those days? And whether the way be not the same now in these our days, yea or nay?

From a lover of your souls, who is a sufferer in outward bonds in the common gaol in Carlisle, for the Truth's sake.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

While I was in prison, something came upon me for Scotland; but being a prisoner, and not yet deeply acquainted with the way and work of the Lord's power and Spirit in relation to such a service, great was the exercise of my spirit which I went under; and for want of experience and a clear understanding, I was swallowed up and for a time quite lost in the deep; where great was the distress of my soul beyond utterance. But the merciful God by his powerful arm, and healing, saving Word of life, did restore and bring up my soul out of the deep, where it was for a time buried; and he renewed life and understanding, and caused

the light of his countenance to shine, and the sweetness of his peace to spring up; so that I may truly say, he caused the bones that he had broken to rejoice. And when he had thus crushed and humbled, and let me see how he could make all things become as nothing again, and so hide all glory from man, then in his goodness he revealed his own glory, and power, and presence, and reviving life, and so opened to my understanding his good pleasure, which with all readiness and willingness of mind I gave up to, in my heart and spirit. After being kept about three-and-twenty weeks in prison, I had my liberty; and I came home, and followed my outward calling that summer, and grew more and more into the understanding of the mind and will of the Lord, in that which I had a sight of while I was in prison. And keeping to meetings, and waiting upon the Lord in a true travail of spirit, after more acquaintance with him, and more enjoyment of his power and word, I grew not only into an understanding, but also into a degree of strength and ability fit to answer that service, which the Lord had called me unto.

So, in the faith that stood in God's power, about the beginning of the eighth month, 1658, I took my journey into Scotland; and travelled in that nation about three months, and was both in the north and west of it, as far north as Aberdeen, and back again to Edinburgh, and down west to Linlithgow, Hamilton, Ayr, and as far as Port-Patrick; and back to Ayr and Douglass: and our service was at their steeple-houses, and markets, and other places, where we met with people; and sometimes at Friends' meetings, where there were any. Our work was, to call people to repentance, out of their lifeless hypocritical profession and dead formalities, wherein they were settled in the ignorance of the true and living God; and so to turn them unto the true light of Christ Jesus in their hearts; that therein they might come to know the power of God, and so come to know remission of sins, and receive an inheritance amongst the sanctified. Being clear of that nation, we returned into England, and came over the water to Bowsteadhill the first day of the eleventh month 1658.

After my return home, I followed my trade again until the third month, 1659; and then took shipping for Ireland, according to what had been opened unto me in the truth, when I was in Scotland; [which opening] grew mightily in me through the strength of the power and word of life, while I stayed at my calling at home, and kept to meetings. For the Lord often filled and enriched my heart and soul with his glorious power, and so sanctified and prepared me for that which he set before me: for often in spirit was I carried thither, and

had it sealed unto me, that it was my place to go into that nation to serve the Lord, and bear witness unto the Truth, and call people to repentance, and hold forth the way of life and salvation unto them. I waited till the full season came, according to the blessed counsel of God, in which I found his leading power with me, and to go before me; and at the time aforesaid, I took shipping at Whitehaven, and landed at Donaghadee in the north of Ireland, and travelled to Lisburn, and so up to Lurgan, and to Kilmore in the county of Armagh, and so up and down in the north for some time amongst Friends, and I had meetings. And many people came to meetings, and many were convinced and turned to God from the evil and vanity of their ways. From thence I travelled to Dublin, and thence to Mountmellick, and so forward to Kilkenny, and to Caperqueen, and Tullow, and to Cork, and Bandon; and back to Cork, and then to Youghal, Waterford, Ross, and to Wexford. I had meetings along as I travelled; and according to that ability I received of God, I was faithful and preached the truth and true faith of Jesus. From Wexford I came to Carlow and Mountmellick, and so into the north, where I spent some time.

Having gone through [the country,] and in the fear of God published his name and truth, as I had opportunity, I was willing to return home to England; and for that end as I intended, came down to Carrickfergus; but before I got thither, it came upon me that I should return back again to Lurgan and Kilmore, and from thence to Londonderry. So I sent word to appoint a meeting at Lurgan; and went on to Carrickfergus, and got a meeting, where there were many people at it. I cleared myself to them in the fear of the Lord, and then returned to Lurgan, as I had appointed. There I met with Robert Lodge, newly come out of England, who had something in his heart also to go to Londonderry; this was about or near the beginning of the seventh month 1659. So Robert Lodge and I became concerned in one work, service, and travel together, and were truly united in spirit, in the unity of the faith and life of Christ, in which blessed unity and fellowship of the gospel of the Son of God we laboured and travelled in that nation of Ireland for twelve months, after we met together, not often parting; though sometimes we were moved to part for the service's sake for a little time, and came together again. The Lord gave us sweet concord and peace in all our travels; for I do not remember that we ever were angry or grieved one at the other in all that time. We went down to Londonderry together; and when we came there, it was soon discovered what we were, and the people were unwilling to receive us, or to let us have lodging



for our money. We were at their great steeple-house on first-day, and had a large time among the people to declare the Truth: but at last the mayor sent his officers, who would not suffer us to stay any longer, but forced us out of the city, and down to the boat, and commanded the boatman to carry us over, and not to bring us back again. Being clear, we took our journey towards Colerain, and then to the Grange, and to Antrim and Lurgan, and so among Friends in the north. After some time we took our journey into the south, and travelled through a great part of the nation, as to Dublin, Mountmellick, and to Athlone, and Galway, Limerick, Cork, and Bandon, and so through the south, and again into the north. Thus we spent our time with diligent labour and hard travel, often in cold, hunger, and hardships in that country, which then was in many parts uninhabited: and we were in prison several times; once in Armagh, once in Dublin, twice in Cork; besides other abuses we received from many, because of our testimony which we had to bear for the Lord, in their towns and in their steeple-houses, and against their hireling priests, who sought their rewards, and loved the wages of unrighteousness, like Balaam; and worse than he, forced it from the people, like the sons of Eli, whose sin was very great. 1 Sam. ii. 16, 17.

[The following epistle was written about this time.]

Clanbrasil, Ireland, 4th of the Fourth month, 1660.

DEAR FRIENDS,—In dear and tender love do I salute you all, who are faithful to the Lord, without respect of persons, in whose life and love I feel you, wherein my heart is opened towards you, and with whom I am daily refreshed and comforted in Christ Jesus, the Fountain and Well-spring of life and refreshment; who is our Rock and daily refuge, unto whom we flee and are safe in the day of storms and tempest, when the floods arise, and the raging waves of the sea swell and beat. Yet in the Light we have a safe hiding-place, and a sure and peaceable habitation, against which they cannot prevail, as we abide faithful to the Lord therein, whose love towards us hath abounded, and will abound, as we abide in that, to which his love doth reach, which is his own seed; and which he hath raised in us by his own power and outstretched arm; wherein the issues of life and love are known and received. Therefore, my dear friends, keep to it, and feel it continually; that fresh and lively, and open-hearted, ye may always be in the Life, that nothing may enter that would vail the seed, and oppress it; for that will stop the issue of the love of God, which is shed abroad, and shed-

ding itself abroad in the hearts of all the faithful, whereof we in the bountifulness of his love have richly been made partakers. Therefore as one who with you has been partaker of the rich and endless love of God, I exhort you, dearly beloved ones, to continue in his love, and to abide faithful in the Life, that death may not again pass over any one; but that the Life which God hath raised, may be felt, and may rule in every one of us, over him that hath the power of death, to His praise and glory who hath redeemed us, wherein comfort, strength and refreshment are received daily from Him, who is the life and strength of all that wait upon him, and who is near to preserve all them who are upright in their love towards him. And herein have we boldness, believing, that neither tribulation, nor affliction, persecution, nor distress shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which we enjoy in Christ Jesus, although he may suffer great things to come upon us, as it is at this day, to try us; nor yet to separate us one from another, nor to break our unity in the Spirit, wherein we feel and enjoy one another. In which, my dear Friends, I have you often in my remembrance, to my joy and gladness of heart: for ye in the Lord are my rejoicing many times, when all other comforts are taken from me; but only that, in which I feel and enjoy you, wherein our unity, life and love stand, wherein I remain

Your brother in my measure received,  
JOHN BURNYEAT.

Having travelled and laboured in the gospel together for twelve months, and many being convinced and gathered to the Truth, we were clear of our service there, and in the seventh month 1660, we took shipping at Carrickfergus, and intended for Whitehaven in England; but by contrary wind we were driven to Kirkcubry in Scotland, and from thence came over-land into Cumberland, and to Cocker-mouth. I again returned to my outward calling, and followed that, and kept diligently to meetings; for it was still my delight so to do, and there to be diligent in waiting upon the Lord; for I always found that therein I received an increase of strength, life, and wisdom from the Lord. And as I found any motion upon me from the Lord to go to any meeting abroad, either in our county or any other, I went and cleared myself, as the Lord gave ability; and returned again to my calling, and so to our own meeting, where I delighted to wait in silence upon the Lord: for I loved that much, because I found an inward growth thereby, through the teachings and openings of his Spirit in my heart; and when something did open in me to speak in our meeting, I gave

up for the most part, though sometimes ready to quench through backwardness, but that was hurtful; and I grew over it by degrees, and increased in faith and holy confidence more and more.

### CHAPTER III.

1662.—*Proceeds for London by Yorkshire;—is imprisoned at Ripon fourteen weeks.—In 1664 sails for Barbadoes.—John Perrot's notions.—Visits Virginia, and New England;—in 1667 returns to Barbadoes, and thence to England; travels into various countries.*

FROM the Seventh month 1660, to about the first or second month 1662, I was very much at home at my calling; and then I was moved of the Lord to go to London to see George Fox, and others of the elders: and to acquaint him with what was upon me from the Lord to go to America, which came weightily upon me when I was in Ireland, so that I had a great travail in spirit and deep exercise in mind before I gave up. But when I had given up in the belief that it was the word of the Lord to me, and submitted to his will, the weight and exercise were removed; and I was with my former openness again restored into my service, and no more remained but a remembrance of the prophecy or opening which I had received, and faith in the word, which I was satisfied was sure for ever. And therein I rested as to that matter, until the time aforesaid, when it came upon me to go and acquaint George Fox and also Edward Burrough, who were then at London, and Richard Hubberthorne; for I loved to have the counsel and countenance of my elder brethren, who were in Christ before me. Then I returned through Yorkshire home, and had some meetings, as I came along. I stayed at home but a little time, and was moved to go again into Yorkshire, and went to divers meetings to visit Friends. Being, as I thought, clear to return home, I came to Ripon to see some Friends, who were then prisoners for meeting together to worship God; and going into the prison to see them, and in the love of God speaking some words of exhortation to them, the gaoler took me, and had me to a house in the town, where the mayor and the chancellor and several of the aldermen were together. Then the chancellor chiefly took in hand to examine me, and sought to ensnare me, that he might get occasion to commit me to prison. First, he would have my going to prison to my friends to be an offence; but I pleaded in so doing I had broken no law. Then he said, I spoke in prison; I answered, there was no law that forbad us to speak to our

friends, when we came to visit them. Then he asked me, when was I at church, and when I took the sacrament according to the laws of England? I answered, I knew no law I had broken, nor evil I had done to any man; if any man had evil against me, let him bear witness of the evil. Then he began to be in a rage, and said he would have an answer ere we had done, &c. But when he could not get an advantage that way, he reached forth a book, and asked me, if I would take the oath of allegiance and supremacy? Then I answered, "Not in contempt to the king, or his authority, but in obedience to Christ's command, I could not swear." Then he commanded the clerk to write a mittimus, and sent me to the prison, to the rest of my friends, who were four and twenty before, and there I was kept prisoner fourteen weeks. When we sat down to wait upon the Lord (for we sat down once every day together, and with us, many times Friends that came to see us,) I spake something in exhortation to Friends, and prayed unto the Lord, as he enlarged my heart, that we might be comforted and edified together, and the magistrates were offended, and sent the under-gaoler to take me away, and put me in the dungeon from among my fellow-prisoners; he came at three several times, and each time haled me from my knees, when I was at prayer, and put me in the dungeon, a little dark room, where I was one time two days and nights, another time three days and nights, and the last time seven days and nights. There was a bowling alley before the prison-door, where several of the magistrates and others used to come to their games; and hearing my voice, they were offended, and sent to take me away.

### EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN CUMBERLAND.

*Dear and well-beloved Friends,*

Brethren and sisters in the holy covenant of life; with you is my life bound up in the unspeakable bond of perfect unity, and unfeigned love, wherein I feelingly reach unto you in this day of weighty trial, wherein every one's faith and patience must come to be tried, and every one's foundation made manifest whereon he stands. Blessed are they whose foundation and standing is in the power of Christ Jesus, the Rock of ages and foundation of many generations; such shall stand immovable on the Rock in the day of tempest, and shall be at peace, and kept in safety in the power, in the hour of temptation, and time of trial. Therefore, my dear friends, as if I were present with you, my life reacheth unto you in pure love, even desiring that every one may truly



abide in the feeling of the precious life and pure invisible power of the blessed God, which he hath made manifest in your hearts, whereby every mind that hath been faithful to the Lord, is changed and renewed, and redeemed, and made pure and sweet through the virtue and goodness of the same, whereby our souls are refreshed continually, as we abide in the sensible feeling of the Lord's presence. O! therefore, my dear friends, ye who have tasted of the Lord's goodness, and have been nourished by his mercies inwardly, who have felt his love, and the value of his truth in your inward parts, mind that as your chiefest treasure; that the sweet consolation, and the precious spring of the Father's love ye may feel opened in your hearts from day unto day, and from time to time. For truly friends, large is the Lord's goodness, and exceedingly precious is the fountain of endless mercies, which he hath opened in this day, for the refreshing of his own dear children, whose whole trust and confidence is in him alone. Therefore let none again incline in their minds after the things in the creation, or desire further to enjoy it, or any thing in it, than you may enjoy them in the covenant of God. This, my dear friends, is truly in my heart from the Lord to lay before you, and to warn you of in his name and fear; I say, friends, that ye, who have tasted of the Lord's goodness in any measure, and have felt the working of his heavenly power, to the redeeming of your minds out of all visible things, and to give you an entrance into the inheritance, that never fades away; that ye may not look back again to the glory of the things of this creation now in this day of trial of your faith, but that all may be offered freely unto the will of the Lord; that whatsoever you enjoy, it may be in his covenant; that his blessed power may richly be felt and his peace sweetly enjoyed in your hearts. Or else truly, if any seek in the declining mind to hold any thing out of his covenant and pure fear, the blessing will not be upon that heart, but it will be unto them, as the spoil which the children of Israel fell upon contrary to the word of the Lord; and like unto Achan's wedge of gold, which became a curse in the camp of Israel. Therefore let all, with their all, be freely offered up unto the Lord in righteousness, with an upright heart, which is but a reasonable service from us in this day, who have so largely been made partakers of the richness of his loving-kindness and mercies, that so every heart may stand open, purely waiting for the heavenly virtue, and for the renewing of the heavenly gift, that every one may be strengthened by the same in the inward man; that so we may all with one heart truly rejoice in the salvation and consolation of the Lord our God, which we feel and enjoy in spirit.

And furthermore, my dear friends, that you who feel your hearts and all freely given up unto the Lord, both you and yours to his will, mind the power which hath made you willing, and abide in the sensible feeling of that continually; that so every mind may be kept low and humble before the Lord, sensible of the Rock of their salvation, and of the arm of their strength and preservation; that all fleshly boasting and glorying may forever be excluded out of all the redeemed of the Lord; that he alone, who is the salvation of his people, and the keeper of Israel, may have the honour and glory, and the praise, from the work of his own hands, who is God over all, blessed for ever and ever, whose works will for ever praise him in all his children.

From your brother, who is now prisoner in the dungeon in Ripon common gaol, where I am separated from having liberty to be amongst the rest of my fellow-prisoners, only because the Lord opened my mouth among them in our meeting, when we were together waiting upon the Lord.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

Written the 4th day of the Sixth month, 1662.

After fourteen weeks I was set at liberty, and in some little time I had freedom to return home; and then did, as at other times, follow my outward calling, and kept to our meetings at home: but when I was moved to go forth to visit Friends in our own county, or into Yorkshire and Bishoprick, I was sometimes two months away, or thereabouts, and then returned home to my calling or trade: and thus it continued with me till about the fore part of summer, in the year 1664. Then that which had been opened to me four years before, began again to arise in my heart in that word which lives for ever, and the living motion of it began to press upon my spirit towards the fulfilling thereof; and then I saw that the time drew near, and the season was coming upon me, wherein the Lord would have me go and fulfil his word, which I had yielded unto in spirit so long ago. I therefore began to prepare, and set my heart to leave all things behind, and give up all things else, that I might follow him: and his power wrought my spirit into a right frame, so that I could easily leave all things; and he gave me time to settle and order my outward concerns, and leave all things clear. That summer I took shipping for Ireland, and passed amongst most Friends, and did visit them.

About the seventh month 1664, I took shipping at Galway in Ireland for Barbadoes; and was seven weeks and two days in sailing to Barbadoes. I stayed there about three or four months, and visited Friends, and travelled and

laboured in the work of the gospel, both for the confirmation of those that were gathered, and for the gathering of others to the Truth, that they might partake with us of the like precious faith. There I also met with many who had been hurt by John Perrot, and carried away with his imaginations. He was led out of the power and from the true cross, into high notions and vain conceits, and so into a fleshly liberty and ease therein, from the true spiritual travail and right exercise, both in spirit and outwardly, pretending to be against forms; and under that pretence led out of the faithful and diligent practice which Friends had been gathered into, as to their meeting together and waiting upon the Lord, counting that a form, which he did lead into a slight of, and so caused many, both there and in Virginia and other places, to neglect, or in a great measure to forsake the assembling of themselves together, contrary to Friends' practice, and the counsel and advice of the faithful labourers, who first laboured amongst us, as also contrary to the advice of the apostle. Heb. x. 25. He also, in his new notion, led many to keep on their hats in the time of prayer, when any Friends prayed, and condemned our reverend practice of putting off our hats at such times: and so in many things, such as were taken with his notions, were led out of true order into looseness and such a liberty, that the cross in most things was laid down by them, and their own wills followed, and Truth's testimony let fall. But he ran out of the Truth so far at last, that many began to see him and what his spirit led to; and so came to see their own loss, and returned back unto their first love; and the power of the Lord went over that dark spirit, with all the vain imaginations they had been led into thereby; and so Friends were gathered into their former unity. Now because of the prevalency of this spirit, I had the greater travail and exercise among Friends in that island, and in other places of America; both in withstanding such as were high and hard, and also to gather back and preserve such, as had in some measure been betrayed, and yet were more innocent and tender.

TO MY DEAR FRIENDS IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND ABOUT KILMORE, LURGAN, AND THAT WAY.

Barbadoes, the third day of the First month, 1665.

DEARLY BELOVED,—Unto whom the pure love of my heart in the covenant of life doth plentifully flow forth at this time, my soul dearly salutes you all, who are faithful unto the Lord, without respect of persons; whose minds are kept faithful unto the unchangeable power of life, wherein your souls have been refreshed,

and by which you have been gathered into the belief of the Truth, and to the acknowledgment of the same; which in a good degree hath been made manifest in and among you. My exhortation, as a brother, in the bowels of love unfeigned unto you, is, that as the Lord hath appeared, and made manifest his power in your hearts, even so wait ye; that your dwelling ye may come to witness to be in the same. For Friends, ye know, that it is not sufficient only to know that He hath appeared, but that ye feel your dwelling to be in the power, and in the daily sense of the renewing of his appearing in your hearts: that by it your hearts may be kept open unto him, and so you from day to day may know the renewing of his presence, and the virtue of his own life in you. O! my dear Friends, this is that by which every heart may be kept sweet and living, and virtuous, and open unto the Lord; so that the issues of his love will become as a refreshing river, unto every soul that keeps faithful unto him.

Therefore, Friends, all mind your standing and your dwelling in the power, and wait for the inward operation of it in your hearts; that, by its dwelling in you, and living in you, your hearts may be kept tender, and contrite, and broken before the Lord. And Friends, beware of hardness of heart, I warn you in God's fear; for therein the deceitful worker gets advantage, and unbelief comes to enter; and so such will come short of the rest that God hath prepared for his people, and through the deceitfulness of sin will come to be more hardened. And so Friends, lest this should come upon any one of you, and ye fall short of the rest, *watch* in the fear of God; and keep down to the tender principle of life every one of you in your own particulars, by which your hearts may be kept out of the hardness in the tenderness and brokenness of heart; in which state the Lord is witnessed to dwell with man and in man, according to his promise. And so will you know the growing of the holy seed in you into the pure dominion, by which that which would darken or harden, will be subjected, and kept in the subjection.—Therefore Friends, mind your standing in the seed Christ, the true vine, that you may have life abundantly, and know its abounding in you. For whosoever goes from him, the life, the seed, the vine, Christ Jesus the power of God, shall wither, and decay, and die; and in the end be fit for nothing but the fire. And this shall such know, who in the day of the Lord's gathering, and tender visiting in mercy and loving-kindness, will not be won and gained into faithfulness, but who slight the day of their visitation.

Therefore my dear Friends, be faithful unto the Lord every individual of you, in that which you have received from him, and wait to be



guided by that in your hearts. And keep low and down to the principle of life in your own hearts, that you may never become stiff-necked, nor hardened in your hearts again. For this was Israel's sin of old, whose hearts were hardened, and whose neck was become like an iron sinew, that it could not bend unto God's yoke. For this he was wroth with his people, and cast off his inheritance in that day; so that their enemies had power over them, and laid their dwellings desolate. These things are left unto us for an example, that we might not fall after the same manner of unbelief; but fear lest a promise being left us of entering into his rest, we should fall short through unbelief, and so lose the inheritance, and so by the enemy have our habitations laid desolate, and we be carried away captives out of our dwelling-place. These things, my friends and brethren, I lay before you in the fear and love of God, which is weighty in my heart towards you all: and I desire that the Lord may preserve you all faithful unto himself, in the feeling of his life and good presence, by which your hearts may be kept open unto him, and so open in true love one towards another; that as a family in the love of God you may dwell together; in which love my soul dearly salutes you all, and in it I remain your brother and companion in the tribulation and patience of Christ Jesus.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

When I had travelled and laboured, as I said before, about three or four months in that island, and was clear, I took shipping for Maryland about the latter end of the first month, and landed there about the latter end of the second month 1665. I travelled and laboured in the work of the gospel in that province that summer, and we had large meetings; and the Lord's power was with us, and Friends were greatly comforted, and several were convinced. But I had a sore exercise with one Thomas Thurston, and a party he drew after him for a while; so that both I and faithful Friends were greatly grieved, not only with his wickedness, but also the opposition which he made against us, and the disturbance he brought upon us in our meetings. Great was the exercise and travail which was upon my spirit day and night, both upon the Truth's account, which suffered by him, and also for the people, who were betrayed by him to their hurt, and were under a great mistake. But through much labour and travail in the Lord's wisdom and power, I and other faithful Friends of that province had to search things out, and to clear things to their understandings, both as to what related to the Truth, and also matter of fact, which he was guilty of; it pleased the Lord so

to assist us, and bless our endeavours, in manifesting the wrong and the wickedness of the heart and spirit of the man, that most of the people came to see through him, and in the love of God to be restored into the unity of the Truth again, to our great comfort, Truth's honour, and their everlasting happiness. But he himself was lost as to the Truth, and became a vagabond and fugitive as to his spiritual condition, and little otherwise as to the outward.

In the winter following I went down to Virginia, and [I found] Friends there, or the greatest part of them, were led aside by John Perrot, who had led them into his notions, as before described: and they had quite forsaken their meetings, and did not meet together once in a year, and many of them had lost the very form and language of the truth, and were become loose and careless, and much one with the world in many things; so that the cross of Christ, for which they had suffered, was shunned by them, and so sufferings were escaped, and they got into outward ease. For they had endured very great sufferings for their meetings, and stood faithful therein, till he came among them, and preached up this notion of his; by which he judged Friends' practice and testimony in and for the Truth, to be but forms: and so pretending to live above such things, he drew them from their zeal for the Truth, and their testimony therein so far, that they avoided every thing that might occasion sufferings. Thus they being seduced or bewitched, as the Galatians were, into a fleshly liberty, the offence of the cross ceased, and the power was lost; and when I came there, it was hard to get a meeting among them. Much discourse I had with some of the chief of them; and through much labour and travail with them, and among them, to maintain the principles of Truth and our testimony and practice therein, I obtained a meeting: and the Lord's power was with us and amongst us, and several were revived and refreshed, and through the Lord's goodness and his renewed visitations, raised up into a service of life, and in time came to see over the wiles of the enemy. After some time I returned again to Maryland, and passed amongst Friends, and visited their meetings, and in the first month I came to Virginia, and did visit them; and so returning again to Maryland, I landed at New York in the fourth month, 1666, and spent some time there amongst Friends, in going through their meetings.

EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN LONG-ISLAND.

Long-Island, 23rd of Fifth month, 1666.

DEARLY BELOVED, who are called to be saints, and to believe in the only Begotten of

God the Father, whom he hath raised to be the horn of salvation in the house of his servant David, to rule over the redeemed in Israel for ever; unto you is my [heart] opened in pure, unfeigned love, and in the plentiful flowing of the same at this time doth my soul dearly salute you all, who keep faithful unto the Beloved, and live in the power of his salvation over all the fallen spirits, which are in the world, which bring into bondage. With you my soul hath unity in the life, which was before transgression and the fall; and in that, my Friends, are you written in my heart, and often in my remembrance, even when my supplication is poured forth unto the Lord in the behalf of his people, that you in that place, among the rest of his heavenly flock and sheep of his own pasture, may be safely kept by the right hand of his power from the devourer, and from the deceitful snares of the enemy, which are laid as traps by the cunning sleight of Satan to ensnare the simple, and betray the innocent from the simplicity of the gospel, which ye have received in Christ Jesus our Lord; in which as ye have believed, ye have found salvation, and peace and rest unto your immortal souls. I even as a brother, and one that entirely loves you with that unfeigned love, which thinks no evil, do at this time beseech you all in the fear of God, to see that ye walk circumspectly, answerable unto the gospel of Christ Jesus, in which ye have believed; that ye may adorn the same in your lives and conversations, as children of the light and of the day, bringing forth the fruits of the Spirit in righteousness and true holiness, and not the fruits of the flesh in the night and in the darkness, in which they walk, who follow not the Lord Jesus Christ.

Therefore stand fast in your liberty, in which Christ Jesus hath made you free; and be not entangled with the yoke of bondage, but mind purely the operation of the eternal Spirit and invisible power of the everlasting God, which he hath made manifest and revealed in your hearts, by which you have in measure known liberty from the bondage of corruption, (the corruptible bond,) and have tasted of the glorious liberty of the sons of God, in which your souls have found pleasure. All mind its lively operation in your hearts, and wait upon it with diligence, that your hearts may be kept clear, and the eye of your understandings single, that you may purely distinguish and put a difference between the precious and the vile, between that in which the Lord is to be worshipped, and that in which there is no acceptance with God. And so you will come more and more to know how to choose the good, and refuse the evil. In the freedom of God's Spirit, and in his fear I warn you all, take heed of a fleshly liberty

beyond or above the pure fear, which keeps the heart clean; for that will let in pollutions, and bring the just into bondage, and your souls into death again, where there will be a want of the pure presence of God to refresh them, although the boaster may boast of liberty, and promise it as they did in the apostles days, who themselves were the servants of corruption.

And so, my dear Friends, whom my soul loves with the heavenly love, that seeks the good of all, you who have tasted of the love of God and of the power of the world which is to come, and of the power of that life which is without end, keep constant in the faith, unto the beloved of your soul, and gad not abroad to change your way, like her, whose feet abide not in her house, but run out after other lovers, and so lose the first love. For this the Lord reproved the Church in the days of the entrance of the apostacy, when they began to decline from the purity of the gospel. As ye have received that which is unchangeable, live in it, that your souls may never die from the sense of God's love, and the feeling of his virtuous presence; that in the joy and peace that is unspeakable and full of glory, you may abide and for ever live; where your souls may be refreshed from day unto day and from time unto time, through the multiplying of his numberless mercies, by which he nourisheth all them that fear him, and wait upon him. And so will you all keep lively and virtuous in a growing and flourishing condition, fruitful, bringing forth fruit to his praise, who hath called you. And as you keep to the power of God—which is the cross to that part which would be out—and dwell in it, your mind will be settled, and staid and kept clear, and the understanding open, whereby you may behold the glory of God and be kept in covenant with him; and so feed upon his mercies with all his lambs and children, and lie down in the fold of rest and safety with the sheep of his pasture, in covenant with him for evermore: in which I remain your friend and brother,

JOHN BURNYEAT.

Then I took shipping for Rhode Island in New England, and there spent some time in visiting Friends and their meetings; where I had comfortable service. About the latter end of the sixth month, I took my journey towards Sandwich; and when I was clear there, I took my journey by Plymouth to Tewkesbury, and so to Marshfield and Scituate, and to Boston, and I visited Friends and had meetings. From Boston I went to Salem, and so on to Piscataqua. When I was clear there, I returned back through the meetings, and came to Hampton, Salem, Boston, Scituate, Marshfield, and so by Tewkesbury and Plymouth to Sandwich, and



from thence through the woods to Ponyganset, and from thence over unto Rhode Island. After some time spent there, I took shipping for Long Island, to visit Friends in those parts; and when I was clear I returned again to Rhode Island in the winter, and stayed for some time; for there was no going off the Island to the main, the snow was so deep.

About the latter end of the first month, I took shipping for Barbadoes, and landed there in the second month, 1667, and spent that summer there, and had blessed and comfortable service among Friends, with large and full meetings; and the Lord's power and presence were with us, and several were gathered to the love of the Truth. In the seventh month I took shipping for Bristol, in England; and after we had been ten weeks at sea, except one day or two, being beat off the coast with an easterly storm, and kept out at sea in a great tempest, for the most part of two weeks, we got, at last, into Milford Haven, where I landed, about the 27th of the ninth month, 1667.

*For Friends in Barbadoes, New England, Virginia and Maryland, the signification of my purest love unto you all, amongst whom I have travelled in those parts.*

FRIENDS,—In the eternal truth and power of the Lord God dwell, and keep your habitations in that which changes not; in the power of an endless life, where there is no shadow of turning. All you that have known the Lord, and have been sensible of the word of his eternal power in your hearts, by which you have been quickened unto him, so that with the rest of his beloved ones, you have been made partakers of that heavenly treasure of life and virtue, which is in him, and through his Son is manifested unto us, by whom life and immortality is brought to light; unto you all, without respect of persons, doth the love of my soul reach, and the salutation of my life at this time, having you fresh in my remembrance. In true love is my heart opened, and my spirit drawn forth in this word of exhortation unto you all, who have tasted that the Lord is gracious; that you all take heed of turning from the grace of God into wantonness, lasciviousness or any vanity whatsoever, by which your hearts may be defiled; but that ye all watch unto the Truth, and wait upon the preserving power of the Lord God, that ye may reign in the dominion of the same over all the evil lusts of the flesh, which would arise in your hearts to war against the Spirit of holiness, and so would hinder your sanctification. This of a truth, Friends, you ought to take heed unto, the Spirit of holiness and power of the Lord

our God, which in this latter age he hath largely manifested to sanctify his people; that so your hearts may be kept clean and preserved, according to Christ's command, out of the surfeiting with the cares of this life, and from being overcome with and drowned in the pleasures and vanities of this world, that you may never lose the excellency and glory of these heavenly things, which God the Father, in the bountifulness of his lovingkindness hath been pleased to manifest, with which all the glory of this present world is not to be compared.

And so, my dear Friends, you that feel the Lord and his goodness in your hearts, walk circumspectly as before Him, with reverence and godly fear in the holy awe, that you may not provoke him at any time, nor grieve his Holy Spirit, by which you are sealed; but with tenderness of heart and pureness of mind wait upon him at all times. So will your peace spring up as a river, and your righteousness be multiplied, as the waves of the sea; and over all the choking cares of this life, and drowning pleasures of this present vain world you will be preserved, to have a being in the power of that life, which is without end; in which as there is a dwelling faithfully, you will all grow and increase in the dominion over all hurtful lusts, that war against the soul in your own particulars. And also there will be a growing over all hurtful spirits, that have entered since the beginning, whose life is in the fall, and not in the pure redemption, nor in the redeeming power, that brings out of the fall. And so to the Lord God, be ye all faithful in your places, that you may be a blessing in your generation in those countries and places where ye dwell; that the nations may be seasoned, that your savoury life may sweeten the people. And Friends, have an eye to the glory of God, and the honour of his Truth in all your undertakings; I even command you in his fear, it being upon me by his Spirit, that the Lord's name may not be blasphemed among the heathen through your unfaithfulness. For truly, my love being great towards you, I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy, and therefore am constrained to use great plainness, as having a sense of your state. And therefore be ye provoked unto love and to good works, in a faithful obedience, and serving of the power; for it is in that all are accepted.

Lay aside all wrath and clamour, and evil speaking, with all bitterness; and receive with meekness the ingrafted Word, which is able to save your souls. In the power of that dwell, and it will divide aright between the precious and the vile, and so will cut off all that is not of God, not regarding what may be professed, where the living virtue is wanting. This pure,

living Word is your preserver, who keep faithful in it, and will keep you from all deceivableness and lying spirits, which are not of the Father, but of the world, and from the god of the same in the dark power, beguiling the unstable soul through his lying signs and wonders in the power of darkness, without living virtue. This Word, which you have received, will live in your hearts, and minister daily of its own virtue unto your souls for their refreshment, if you keep faithful to the same. But if the thorny cares of this life, and the choking pleasures of this vain world take root and place in your hearts, then the freshness is lost, the issue of living virtue is stopped; the ministering word and power is withdrawn; the fountain is again sealed up, and the dry winds and the scorching heat come and dry up and cause to wither the green blade, before the corn comes to perfection; so that the harvest and time of gathering never come. Therefore, O my friends, be faithful unto the Lord, and be not drawn aside from the stedfastness of the gospel, neither on the one hand nor on the other; but step in the straight path of life, peace and salvation, which the Lord hath prepared for your feet, that the weak may be strengthened and the lame recovered, and none turned out of the way.

For truly, there is much upon you; I feel it in this matter, even you that feel the Lord in any measure, that you all be vigilant and diligent in your places, that you may be a strength to the weak. Therefore am I moved once more to warn you now, even you that know the Lord, to take heed unto the power of the Lord God in your hearts, and with that keep down the earthly, worldly spirit, that so you may live over it in the Spirit and power of the Lord, and may draw more unto you; or else I feel it, you will not only be guilty of your own blood, but the blood of others also, which stumble at your unfaithfulness, who have been called and accounted as the first fruits unto God, and unto the Lamb in those parts of the world, in this blessed day of the Lord; in which he hath appeared and gathered by his power, and also doth preserve and nourish by the virtue of the same, all that he hath gathered whose trust and confidence are in him.

And so, my friends, this may give you to understand, that I am safely arrived in England, and am perfectly well every way. Friends here are generally well, meetings very large, and the Truth in good esteem among many people, who are not yet of us. And great openness in all places, where I have been, in the hearts of all people, and great desires to hear the Truth, for it is of good report. This from me, who remain your friend and brother,

JOHN BURNYEAT.

Thence I went up to Haverfordwest, in Pembrokeshire, in Wales, where I met with a meeting of Friends the same day; and I stayed four weeks in that county, and had many blessed meetings. Being clear, I took my journey towards Swansea, and visited Friends there; and came up towards Cardiff, and so on into Monmouthshire; and after I had visited Friends there, I passed over the water and came to Bristol, and stayed there some meetings; and thence passed into Gloucestershire and Berkshire, and so up to London, where I stayed some time.

[The following Epistle is without any specific address.]

Bristol, the 25th day of the Eleventh month, 1667.

DEARLY BELOVED,—With whom in the covenant of life, light and peace I am one, wherein I am with you, and in spirit do reach unto you in that love which many waters cannot quench; in which my soul at this time doth very dearly salute you all, who have been born again of the Immortal Word, and in the life of the true seed remain. In which my desire is, that the Lord may preserve you all; that as living plants in the vineyard of God you may flourish, and bring forth righteous fruits, and so be an honour unto the Lord in your generation, and then you need not doubt, but the Lord will honour you in the glory of his kingdom, that is without end. Therefore, Friends, the life of righteousness in the power that is without end, do you all mind to live in; that fruits of holiness in a godly conversation may be brought forth by you all; by which the gospel of peace and salvation comes to be adorned: and so all will come to know the effect of righteousness, which is peace and assurance for ever. This is that you ought all to be mindful of, that the evidence of peace, by the testimony of the living Spirit in all your hearts, ye may feel renewed daily; which will not be without an abiding and living in the life of righteousness, whatsoever notion of profession may be held in the wrong mind, and not in the power and life of righteousness. For this testimony is true and living, searching narrowly under all coverings, and breaking through all vails, entering into the inner court, and breaking through into the secret chambers to see what may have a being there, or be worshipped. So that it is in vain to cover any thing in this day, wherein the Searcher of all hearts hath appeared; and he is come, whose fan is in his hand, who sits as refiner's fire and as fuller's soap, to cleanse and purify his chosen tribe, that they may be a peculiar people, a chosen generation, and a royal priesthood, to show forth the praises of him, who hath called out



of darkness into his marvellous light. Therefore, my dear friends, with open hearts and nakedness of spirit do you all walk before the Lord, not seeking any covering, but that of the Spirit in the life of righteousness, that its testimony and witness you may all have in your hearts, to bear witness with you unto justification; that so ye may be clothed with the white robe of righteousness in the power of the Lamb, and become kings and priests unto God, reigning, in the power of the Lamb's Spirit, over that which can never offer an acceptable sacrifice. And so in the life of him that is a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek (according to the word of the promise and of the oath) you will be a royal priesthood, offering up an acceptable sacrifice unto the Lord. And my dearly beloved, unto whom my heart in pure love is opened, keep your habitations in the life of the Son, in the life of the Priest that lives for ever, that you may never be rejected. In him is the Father well pleased, in him are all our offerings accepted, and without him ye can do nothing. All coverings and robes without him are but as filthy rags, and all garments without his power and life of righteousness are no better than an abomination in the sight of the Lord.

Therefore keep your garments clean, your hearts pure before the Lord, that the acceptance you may never lose: and mind the living of the power in your hearts, and your living in it unto God the Father, that as we have been quickened together in the resurrection of the life, even so in the same we may worship the Father for evermore. And so in this, my soul once more very dearly salutes you all, ye children of the covenant and of the blessed day of God Almighty, who walk in the light. I have not been unmindful of you, though outwardly we have been separated; but the ancient love hath lived in my heart, which draws forth strong desires in me unto the Lord, that in his will I might see your faces; which I hope, will be answered in his time: and until then I am freely given up to his will, being satisfied with the invisible union and fellowship in the Spirit, that I have with you, which time or distance of places can never wear out, because that life and power, which is eternal, is known; and that love which changes not, is enjoyed, in which I am one with you, and remain

Your brother in the covenant, where sin is blotted out, and everlasting righteousness is brought forth, in which we worship the Father acceptably,  
JOHN BURNYEAT.

After I was clear of that city, I was moved to return again into Berkshire, and Gloucestershire, and so to Bristol, and over into South Wales and Pembrokeshire, all along visiting

Friends; and I had blessed service. When I was clear of those parts, I was moved to return again through the meetings in South Wales, and to Gloucester, and through Gloucestershire and Berkshire, into Buckinghamshire, and so up to London, where I spent some time that summer, in the year 1668. After that I went over into Surrey to see George Fox, who was then travelling among Friends in those parts, to assist Friends in the settling of their men's meetings, and also to stir them up to visit such as were fallen away from the Truth and had drawn back, and to see if they could be restored and brought back again to a sense of the love of God, and so to salvation and life; which work did prove very effectual for the gaining of many. After I had been a little with him, and at Horsham (with some Friends who went from London with me,) to visit some Friends who were prisoners there for Truth's testimony, I returned back again to London, and took my journey for the north of England, through Herefordshire and Huntingdonshire, and then down into Yorkshire. I spent some time in visiting the meetings about Knaresborough, Netherdale, Masham, Thirsk, and thereaway; and then was moved to go down towards Crake and Malton, and so on to Killam and Burlington, Scarborough and Whitby, and into Cleaveland, and so over into Bishoprick. After some time spent there, I passed over Stainmore, and into Cumberland, and came home to see my friends and relations. I stayed there but about a week, or a few days more, and then took my journey for London to the yearly meeting, which was appointed to be about the beginning of the tenth month, and I was there about a week or two. Then I took my journey again into the west, through Berkshire and Gloucestershire, and into South Wales, down as far as Pembrokeshire, visiting the meetings, and serving the Lord and his people with faithfulness in the labours and travels of the gospel of Christ Jesus. When I was clear of those parts, I returned back again through South Wales to Bristol, and so through the counties, visiting the churches up to London, that spring, in the year 1669. I stayed about two months time in and about the city, and then I was moved again to go into Buckinghamshire, and so through the country, visiting meetings in divers places, till I came to Bristol; and was at Bristol about the 25th of the fifth month, 1669. From thence I went over into Wales again, and passed through South Wales, as far as Pembrokeshire; and from thence I took my journey through the mountains towards North Wales, and visited Friends in Radnorshire; and from thence came to Shrewsbury, and so into Cheshire, and through Lancashire and

Westmoreland home into Cumberland, where I stayed a little, and visited Friends. I took shipping at Whitehaven for Ireland, and landed at Belfast in the north, and spent that winter in Ireland in the travels and labour of the gospel; and I had blessed service for the Lord and his people in that nation, and was richly comforted and refreshed amongst them in the gracious presence of the Lord, who was with us, who is the recompenser and rich rewarder of all who are given up in faithfulness to serve him. So that now none do lose their reward under the ministration of the gospel, no more than they did under the law in the figure, when he said, "Who is there among you, that would shut the doors for naught? neither do ye kindle fire on mine altar for naught." Mal. i. 10: to him be glory, and honour, and praise over all for ever; for he is worthy! When I was clear of that nation, I took shipping at Dublin, and landed at Whitehaven in Cumberland. I stayed a little time in Cumberland, and then took my journey for London to the yearly meeting, which was in the spring of the year 1670: and I spent a part of that summer in London and thereabouts, in the service of Truth, until I could have a convenience to go for Barbadoes, that being upon me.\*

#### CHAPTER IV.

*In 1670, again sails for Barbadoes with William Simpson—his death.—Visits New England and other parts of the Colonial States:—meets with George Fox.—His travels and service in those countries.*

In the fifth month, all things being ready, William Simpson and I went down to Gravesend with many Friends from London, who accompanied us; and staying there but a few days, we set sail from Gravesend the eighth day of the fifth month, 1670, and came to the Downs, and stayed there some days, and then set sail from the Downs the twentieth day of the same month: and because of contrary winds we put in at Falmouth, and stayed two nights there; and then put to sea again, and sailed for Barbadoes, where we arrived the thirtieth day of the seventh month; so that we

were twelve weeks from Gravesend ere we got to Barbadoes.

I stayed in Barbadoes six months, and had great and weighty service in that Island before I could be clear.

#### EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN BARBADOES.

Barbadoes, the 30th of the Eleventh month, 1670.

DEAR FRIENDS,—I have a great exercise upon my spirit concerning the late observation of a day, or fast, which was set forth and pretended to; and seeing the pride and vanity that people were in, not like true mourners and fasters, and such as would have the judgment removed; and also seeing the bitter cruelty that appeared as a part of the fruits of it; and the difference that did seem to appear in Friends' minds, about the owning or not owning of it, by submitting to their requirings, or doing to the contrary as a testimony against it; after I had passed under a deep exercise in spirit for some time, at last the Lord God by his eternal Word raised up my spirit in the zeal thereof, and did smite against all such mockeries. And then in a heavenly revelation, (my understanding being opened, and closing with the word) he showed me, that it was to be witnessed against by all who stood in the testimony of God; and that those, that would weaken the spirits of any in their testimony in this or other things, wherein Friends have a testimony for God, it was plainly showed me from the Lord, how they would draw a veil over the pure in themselves and in others, and in a cowardly, underly spirit, by the corrupted, fallen wisdom, would put the candle that God hath lighted, under a bushel or under a bed, and so cover it for a while, until at last it would be put out. So that we, like other professors, at last by this spirit would be led to yield to any thing, rather than suffer; and then the offence of the cross might cease.

And there was another thing, which had been very long under my consideration, of which, I was not hasty to judge, wherein Friends have somewhat differed; but at this time was not minded by me, because of the other, that was upon me. But when the Lord had cleared the other to me, he brought up this also before my mind, which is about sending men, horse, and arms to the training, trooping or playing, which is folly as to us; for which many, that could not send, have suffered the spoiling of their goods. The Lord plainly satisfied me, that it was his testimony, wherein Friends were to stand; and that they that bore another testimony either in words or action, it was from that spirit, and in that wisdom, that would put a bushel over the lighted candle, and by degrees would put it out, and would lead us

[\* "In this year, 1670, the act against seditious conventions began to be in force, which Sir Samuel Starling, then Lord Mayor of London, immediately exerted his authority to put into execution. Watchmen and soldiers were placed in guard at our several meeting-houses in the city, either to keep Friends out of their meeting-houses, or to prevent preaching, &c. John Burnyeat being at Devonshire-house, on the 15th of the month called May, and having begun to speak, was quickly pulled down, and had before the Mayor, who fined him £20; on the 29th of the same month, John Burnyeat attempting to preach at the same meeting-house, was taken away by soldiers, and sent by the Mayor to Newgate."—*Besse's Sufferings of Friends*, vol. i. p. 409.]



to crouch to the spirit of the world, until its large wing of darkness would over-shadow us, and become our covering; and then we should be like others, who have lost their testimony. And when the Lord had thus done, oh! how my soul was filled with heavenly, divine love towards all the willing sufferers for the Lord's testimony! So that I can say, it was with me as it was with Deborah, when she said, her heart was towards the governors of Israel, who offered themselves willingly among the people; and then I could not but praise the Lord. And this is the testimony that the Lord did put into my heart, which I am moved of him to give forth, for the comfort and satisfaction of all who desire to serve the Lord in their generation and to keep their consciences pure, and their garments unspotted. And therefore Friends, keep in the first, for he is the last, and shall stand, when all others shall fail. Reason not with flesh and blood, but wait for the power, that it may open you; and as you are kept open thereby, the wonderful things of God in it will be made known unto you, and the depths of Satan will be seen also; and there will be a growing in righteousness. For in the power is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith by which the just live; which cannot be witnessed, where the testimony is let fall, and the light covered, and the talent laid in the earth; though it may be tied in a white napkin of fair profession. For the gift or talent is neither to be hid in the earth, nor bound by any in any thing, but to have its liberty, until by its own power all be subjected unto itself, that God may be all in us all. This is the testimony, that I am to leave with you in these matters; and so being eased in spirit, in the lasting love of God I remain your brother,

JOHN BURNYEAT.

My dear companion William Simpson, after he had been there, was taken sick of a violent fever, which was very much among people at that time, and very many died; he was sick but about six days, and then was taken away. At his death, a very little before his departure, he gave a living, heavenly testimony to the truth, with wholesome advice to them that were about him, and departed in the peace and joy of the Lord: an account whereof may be further seen in a book written by one, who was with him from his beginning to be sick, until he departed. I was with him very much, but some times was constrained to leave him for the service sake that was upon me. He was a very innocent man, and full of fear and reverence, and ordinarily very open in his testimony, and very sweet and pleasant: we walked in great love and unity together, for he was a humble man, and had very low thoughts

of himself, and always under dread. He had gone through great sufferings, and afflictions, and cruel persecutions for his testimony and service sake, unto which he was called. He likewise met with hard buffetings from Satan's messengers, and sore temptations, by which he had been wounded and sorely hurt, through the wiles of Satan and his cunning sleights; of which he would be often speaking to me in our brotherly fellowship and communication, wherein we would open our hearts and states one unto another. In the remembrance of these things he was kept very low and tender, and near the Lord: and he took great delight in his power, by which he had been redeemed, and his soul delivered, and which was raised up into a good degree of dominion, in which he reigned at the last, and with great triumph departed this life, and is blessed for ever. My heart is well satisfied that it is even so: and when he was taken away from me, my heart was broken within me, and my spirit was bowed down greatly in the sense of my loss; and I could not but mourn, though not as such that have no hope, for my hope was firm concerning his well-being and gain that he had obtained. But great was my loss, for I was left as one alone, as I had been often before, to bear the burthen myself, which was very weighty upon me at that time, considering the state of the church in that island, and the care of it upon me: but the Lord was with me, and his power did assist me to go through my charge, and clear myself, and free myself from the blood of all men and women. And all, being guided by his Spirit in his wisdom, the Lord's children and people were comforted, and my soul and spirit refreshed and revived; and in peace, clearness, and gladness I came away, and took shipping for New England, and set sail the first of the second month, 1671. I arrived at New York the 27th day of the same month, and from New York I went to Long Island, and visited Friends on the island, and other places therewith, and was with them at their half-year's meeting at Oyster Bay.

Being clear of those parts, I took shipping for Rhode Island; and was at their Yearly meeting, in 1671, which begins the ninth of the fourth month every year, and continues for much of a week, and is a general meeting once a year for all Friends in New England. After that meeting, when I was clear of those parts, I took my journey towards Sandwich, and visited Friends all along at Tewkesbury, Marshfield, and Scituate, and so on to Boston, where I had a meeting, and then to Salem, Hampton, and Piscataqua, all along visiting Friends; and I had many precious meetings, and the Lord was with us, and his power was over all.

[It does not appear to whom the following Epistle was addressed; but probably from its tenor, to his suffering brethren in England.]

Salem, in New England, the 30th of Fourth month, 1671.

DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED,—You whom the Lord hath called to believe, and to be partakers of his divine nature, and of his manifold mercies, that through the strength thereof you might bear witness to his name, and testify to his Truth in your day, for which the God of wisdom suffers you to be tried, and your faith to be proved, as it hath been his way in all ages for the proof of his people, that their hearts might be tried, and their love appear how weighty it is to him that hath loved them; whereby the glory of the Truth, and the excellency of it might be made manifest.

And now my friends, this is your day and hour of your trial, wherein the Lord by you (I believe) shall be honoured, and you rewarded with that good reward, which shall out-balance all the present sufferings, unto which the glory of the present world is not to be compared. And though it is my lot to be separated from you, and so in the like kind not to suffer among you; yet I cannot say but that I suffer with you—for my spirit is not without a feeling of your sufferings.

O! you dear lambs of the Shepherd's fold, is it so, that the wolf seeks to devour? and is the lion and devouring bear let loose, that would snatch up the lambs? Fear not, though in his mouth. We have a Shepherd that will deliver, and like David, will save from the power of the destroyer, so that your life shall not come under his power; for God is on Israel's side to preserve, though they would swallow up quick. And therefore let your trust be in the arm of his strength for ever, and you shall know, that he is able to make up all to you again.

Dearly beloved, my very heart and soul salutes you all in that life which by nothing that is visible can be stopped; and in the sense and enjoyment of that I am spiritually with you, wherein I may say, I do partake with you both of the sufferings and tribulations, and also of the joy and consolation that abound in your souls; as the reward of your obedience and faithfulness to the Lord, who hath called you thereunto, and raised you up for that purpose. Let none look back, nor be dismayed, for the cause is the Lord's, and he will stand by you, and will plead your cause with all that rise up against you, and will bring your righteousness to light more and more, and show who are his, and approved in his sight. He will also discover and lay open the cruelty of such, and manifest them who outwardly should show themselves to be sheep, but are inwardly rav-

enous, and so ravening wolves; and labour to lay waste the heritage of the Lord to spoil his flock. They are such, who would not have the lambs feed quietly in the green pasture of the Lord's pleasure, nor to lie still in the fold of true rest.

But blessed be the Lord for ever, he hath brought many to the mountain of his holiness, where they shall not hurt or destroy; even as he hath promised. Therefore let all mind their dwelling there, and be not moved, and the treasure will be known, and the riches received, which all the spoilers from Babylon, and men of war from Egypt shall not rob you of. For it is from thence they all come to spoil Zion, and to rob her of her glory. But the Lord is her defender, and her King is in the midst of her, and salvation is round about her for walls and bulwarks; glory, and honour, and praises, to the Lord our God for ever and ever! For he hath taken to himself his great power, and is going on conquering and to conquer; and will effect his own purposes, and bring to pass his own designs in despite of all his adversaries; so that when they think to pull down, he is building up; and in that way which they think to destroy, he will establish, and so repair the streets of Zion in troublesome times, and build up her desolations, and repair her breaches, as hath been prophesied. Seeing it is certainly thus, let us all trust in him, for ever; and wait upon him, that his power may be felt by us, and his love and virtue may be fed upon, which nourisheth up the soul to eternal life.

Dear Friends, the aboundings of the love of God which is in my heart towards you all, I cannot but signify unto you, amongst whom I have been a partaker of such precious mercy and rich blessings, as we have enjoyed together, and as I am satisfied still abound in your hearts from the God of our mercies. This is a testimony of my love unto you all; do you receive it in particular, as if I had written unto you all, one by one: for this it is the Lord hath made us one in his Son, and brought us into unity; as we abide in him, there is no separation, therefore cannot we be forgotten one by another.

By this you may understand, that I am very well every way; and going on in the service, into which I am called. The last day but yesterday I had a meeting in Boston, but very few of the people came; they are still under the fear of those who are like that generation, unto whom Christ said they would neither enter in themselves, nor suffer others. However, we had a very comfortable and peaceable meeting, and Truth is over them, and will bring them under, and confound their inventions. From your friend and brother, JOHN BURNYEAT.



From Piscataqua I returned back again the same way, and had blessed service; and I came to Rhode Island again, where I spent some time, and then went up to Providence, and visited Friends there, and so returned again. When I was clear of those parts, I took shipping again for Long Island, and landed at Oyster Bay, and had some meetings: I then went down to Flushing, and so to Gravesend, and had some meetings. Thence I went over to East Jersey to visit Friends there, and had some meetings: and I returned back again to Gravesend, and from thence went again to Oyster Bay, and was at their half-year's meeting, which began about the eighth day of the eighth month, and had a blessed time. But in our meeting for business, we had an exercise with several, who rose up in a wrong spirit against the blessed order of the Truth, which by the power of God Friends were gathered into, and sweetly settling in. And chiefly their envy and bitterness were against George Fox, and his papers of wholesome advice, which he in the love of God had sent amongst Friends; and in that unruly, loose spirit and mind they were gone into, some of them being filled with prejudice, that they had written a book, which they brought in manuscript to the meeting, and urged to have it read. But I told them, we had the papers there, and they might lay down their objections, they being there, and we would answer them. But that would not serve; but the book they would read: and we sat in quietness till they had done. When they had done, I reached for it, and by my memory I went over the heads thereof, and cleared George Fox and Friends in our godly care and intents, and opened the service and benefit of such things which they cavilled at; and I showed Friends the advantage that was therein, both to the Truth and them. And withal I reprehended their slanders and falsehoods, with which they had hurt the minds of several young and newly-convinced Friends; and so opened to them, that it was the same spirit which of old led those who opposed the apostles, and endeavoured to bring a slight, and beget a disesteem in the minds of the believers against them, who watched over them for their good, and so endeavoured to lead them into a fleshly liberty to shun the cross, &c. When I had cleared myself, and informed Friends of the truth of things, which then by them had been objected against, Friends in general were satisfied, and saw the mistakes which they had let into their minds, through the insinuations of those three men, who had been chiefly concerned in the writing of the book, and in the opposition. The Lord's power broke in upon the meeting, and Friends' hearts were broken, and great meltings in the

power there were amongst us; and in the same we blessed the Lord, and praised him, and prayed unto him, and they were bowed, and went away. Thus Friends were comforted, and the seed and life reigned over all;—everlasting glory, and honour, and praise be given to him for all his mercies and preservations; for he is worthy for evermore. When all our meetings were over, and Friends in the heavenly power and seed comforted, and the bad spirits and their evil work confounded and brought under, before the minds of the simple-hearted, who were likely to be hurt and betrayed by them, and a coolness and calmness raised up amongst Friends, I was clear. I then took my journey with some Friends accompanying me, and went to Flushing, and down to Gravesend; and when I had visited Friends there, I went to New York, and had a meeting; and then took shipping for Maryland, setting sail the 23rd of the eighth month, 1671. We met with a sore tempest from a west-north-west wind, that blew so hard we could carry no sail for some days; but at last we got to Virginia, and then sailed up the Bay, and got to Patuxent River in Maryland the fifth day of the ninth month; and there I landed with my companion Daniel Gould, who came with me from Rhode Island, and he travelled with me that winter. We visited Friends in Maryland, and I went down to Virginia to visit Friends there, and found a freshness amongst them; and many of them were restored, and grown up to a degree of their former zeal and tenderness; and I found a great openness in the country, and had several blessed meetings. I advised them to have a men's-meeting, and so to meet together to settle things in good order amongst them, that they might be instrumental to the gathering of such as were yet scattered, and stirring up of such as were cold and careless; and so keep things in order, sweet, and well amongst them.

Thus having cleared myself in the love of God, I committed them unto the Lord and to the word of his grace, and took boat again for Maryland, and got well thither at last; but we met with strong winds and rough weather, and some danger; and I spent some time more in Maryland, till the spring. In the second month 1672, I appointed a meeting at West River in Maryland, for all the Friends in the province, that I might see them together before I departed, for I was determined to go as soon as I could after that meeting. When the time appointed came, and Friends from all parts began to arrive, George Fox with several brethren, came from Jamaica, and landed at Patuxent, and from thence came straight to the meeting. There were Friends present from all parts of the province, and we had a very large meeting, which continued for several days;

also a men's and women's meeting for the settling of things, in order that men's and women's meetings might be established in the province, according to the blessed order of the gospel of Christ Jesus, into which Friends by the power thereof were gathered in most places. George Fox did wonderfully open the service thereof to Friends, and they with gladness of heart received advice in such necessary things, as were then opened unto them; and all were comforted and edified. When all was over, and we clear, and all sweet and pleasant among Friends, we departed, and went down to the Clifts, some by water and some by land; and there we had a large meeting of both Friends and other people. And when that was over we departed; some went down to Virginia, and some stayed in Maryland.

George Fox, Robert Withers, George Pattison, and I, with several Friends of the province, took boat and went over to the eastern shore; and there we had a meeting on the first-day, and on the second-day we began our journey through the woods to go over-land to New England. We took horse at John Pitt's at the head of Tredaven Creek, and went through the woods above the heads of Miles River and Wye River, and also headed Chester River, and lay two nights in the woods, viz. second and third-days. On fourth-day we came to Sassafra's River, and swam our horses, and went over ourselves in boats or canoes. We then rode on to Bohemia River, and there also caused our horses to swim, and went over ourselves in canoes. We then came to a plantation called Augustines, and there we stayed a little; and about three in the afternoon, set forwards, and some of us got to Delaware and so to Newcastle, and there got lodging; for we were wet with the rain: but Robert Withers and George Pattison lay in the woods all night, their horses being tired: next morning they came to us at Newcastle. We stayed there that day, and next day we got over the river. When we were over, we could not get an Indian for a guide; and the Dutchman we had hired would not go without an Indian, so we were forced to stay there that day. The next day he rode about to seek an Indian, but could get none to go; but late in the evening there came some over from the other side to the town, and we hired one: and so began our journey early next morning, to travel through that country, which now is called New Jersey; and we supposed that we travelled that day nearly forty miles. In the evening we got to a few Indian wigwams, which are their houses; we saw no man or woman, house or dwelling that day, for there dwelt no English in that country then. We lodged that night in an Indian wigwam, and lay upon the ground, as the Indians them-

selves did: and next day we travelled through several of their towns, and they were kind to us, and helped us over the creeks with their canoes; we made our horses swim at the sides of the canoes, and so travelled on. Towards evening we got to an Indian town; and when we had put our horses to grass, we went up to the [Indian] king's house, who received us kindly, and showed us very civil respect. But, alas! he was so poorly provided, having got so little that day, that most of us could neither get to eat nor drink in his wigwam; but it was, because he had it not. So we lay, as well as he, upon the ground; only a mat under us, and a piece of wood, or any such thing under our heads. Next morning early we took horse, and travelled through several Indian towns; and that night we lodged in the woods. And the next day, being the fourth-day, we got to an English plantation, to a town called Middletown, in East Jersey, where there was a plantation of English, and several Friends; and we came down with a Friend to his house near the water-side, and he carried us over in his boat, and our horses also to Long Island. We got to Friends at Gravesend that evening; and next day we took our journey to Flushing on Long Island. On the seventh-day of the week, we took our journey to Oyster Bay, and came there that evening; and several Friends from Gravesend and Flushing were with us, for the next day their half year's meeting did begin, which was the cause of our hard travelling. We understood, that those who had been so troublesome at the half-year's meeting before, when I was there, in opposing the order of truth, and reflecting so upon George Fox, would then be an exercise to Friends; therefore George Fox did endeavour the more to get to the meeting, which we did very seasonably. It was of great service to the truth, and great comfort to Friends; for they [of that party] were greatly under, when we were come, and some of the chief of them began to fawn upon George Fox. So we had our meetings very comfortably; first and second-days were public for worship; third-day our men's and women's meetings for business, about the affairs of the church, as usually before. On the fourth-day, we had a meeting with those dissatisfied people; for George Fox would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be hindered by such a matter: and so on the fourth-day, as many Friends as had a desire to be there, did come; and the Lord's power went over them, and Friends were much satisfied. He that was the chief instigator of that mischief, to wit, George Dennis, who came from London, and his wife, not being well owned there by Friends, now began to disown the matter, and would have cast it upon others,



and willingly appeared clear to George Fox; but that I proved under his own hand, that he was a chief actor at the half-year's meeting before, and the one who read the book in our meeting, whether we would or no. So things being fastened upon him, the Lord's power went over his deceitful spirit; and they were all bowed, and the truth was exalted over all; glory to the Lord for ever, Amen.

After this we stayed a little upon the island, and went back to have some meetings, and returned again to Oyster Bay; and thence set sail for Rhode Island the twenty-ninth of the third month, [1672,] and arrived the thirtieth of the same, and there stayed till the yearly meeting, which began the eighth day of the fourth month, which was the sixth-day of the next week following. At that general meeting there were many Friends from most places in New England, where Friends dwelt, and abundance of other people came into our public meetings. We had meetings for eight days together, every day a meeting, some public and others men's and women's meetings, for settling the affairs of the churches in the order of the truth; that all things might be kept sweet, clean, and well. When all was over, and the service of the meetings finished, I took my journey eastward, to go through the meetings in the eastern parts of New England, and with me went John Cartwright and George Pattison, and several other Friends accompanied us: we left George Fox upon the island, and we went to Providence and the Narraganset country. So we took our journey towards Sandwich, where we had a blessed meeting, and were comforted and richly refreshed in the blessed presence of the Lord's holy and blessed power, which was with us, and which opened and enlarged our hearts. When we had spent some time with Friends there, we left them, and travelled on by Plymouth and Duxbury, and had a meeting at Marshfield, and another at Scituate; and the Lord was blessedly with us.

At Scituate some of the elders of their church came to our meeting, where were abundance of people in an orchard, and stood up and made opposition; so I ceased speaking to the people, and joined with them in dispute. But the people were so displeased at the interruption they made, that they signified their dislike, and would have them stay till I had done; upon which, they said they would forbear and come again. They went away; and after their own meeting was over, they came again, and several Friends stayed with me, and a great company of people came with them. Then we went into our meeting-house, which before would not hold the multitude, and there began to dispute; and after some time spent, they always endeavouring to make Friends appear to be in

the error, I said to them, before the people, "If I must be disputed with as an heretic, and your church esteemed as a true church, I am willing we should come to the rule Christ hath left, and thereby be tried, and that is, by our fruits: and if you can prove the fruits of your church to be agreeable to the fruits of any ancient true Christian church, I shall yield; otherwise I must hold my testimony against it as a false church," &c. But they were mighty unwilling to join with me in that discourse. I urged the proof of our practice by Scripture, especially in such a great point as that; and so went on to reckon up the fruits of their church, which were, to fine and take away goods for not coming to their worship, to imprison, to whip with cruelty, to cut off ears, to burn in the hand, to banish upon pain of death, and to hang; for they had hanged four of our Friends. All which cruelties their church had executed upon us, and only upon the account of religion. And if they could prove these to be the fruits of a true Christian church, then I told them I would own them, otherwise they were to be denied. The proof of these things, or to dispute upon them, they would willingly have evaded; but I stood upon its being necessary, that we might be known by our fruits, and our practice proved by Scripture, which they pretended to be their rule: or otherwise all was but vain words, and an idle notion, and had nothing to do with Scripture, &c. Then they were confounded, and knew not what to say; but one of them fled to that decree made by Artaxerxes. Ezra vii. 26. But I showed, how inconsistent it was with the gospel dispensation, Christ's command, and the Christian's practice: and further said, I would prove the Indians better Christians than they, by practice. I instanced the Indian king, who, when they had banished Nicholas Upshall (an ancient, grave man, against whom they had nothing, but that he was called a Quaker) from his wife and family, and out of their colony, he being received by his Friends at Sandwich in Plymouth colony, they stirred up the rulers of the colony to banish him out of their jurisdiction, which they did: and when the Indian king had inquired why they would send that ancient man sixty miles through the woods in the cold winter to Rhode Island? and understood the matter, he desired him to go with him, and he would keep him, and none should molest him, or to that purpose; and offered him land and kindness. So, said I, here was one that would entertain a stranger, a Christian practice, according to Heb. xiii. 2, when your church banished neighbours from their own dwellings,—an act of cruelty, &c. Much discourse we had, but at these things they were confounded; some of themselves having been actors in persecution upon our

Friends, as Friends told me, after they were gone. So the Lord's power went over them, they could not stand the trial; and we parted in the peace and love of God.

Next day we came to Boston, where we had a meeting, and many people came in, and several of note. After a while, when I was speaking, came the marshal and a constable, and many people followed them. The marshal bid the constable do his office, the constable being a moderate man, said so he did; he was to see the king's peace kept. He stood awhile, and heard me; and went away, and told the deputy-governor, he had been at our meeting, but he heard nothing but what was true, and no blasphemy, or to this effect. So the people stayed, and I had a blessed season to open things to them, and clear the Truth of those scandals, which the priests and others had cast upon it; and the people went away greatly satisfied, and spoke well of the testimony they had heard. When priest Thatcher heard this, (for several of his children were there,) it appears he was displeased; and the angry, persecuting spirit got up in him, and next first-day he stirred up two magistrates in his preaching to the people, and they sent and took Friends at their meeting, and committed several to prison. We had appointed a meeting for John Stubbs and James Lancaster the third-day of the next week, who came after us through the country: and when they came, they were put in prison, and banished out of the colony. Thus their old fruits, like old corrupt trees, were brought forth again.

The next day we took our journey to Salem, and there had a meeting, and a blessed season; but we met with some, who were gone into that foolish notion of John Perrot's, keeping on their hats when Friends prayed, &c. After meeting was over, (where many people were in a barn,) we had a meeting with several of the chief of Friends, and such as were gone after that spirit; and a great discourse we had with them, in which we laboured to bring them to an understanding of that notion they were gone into, and so laboured to open and settle the minds of Friends in the ancient Truth and blessed power, which they had believed in, and received from Heaven; and then appointed a meeting to be held the next week against our return. We took our journey towards Piscataqua, and had a meeting at Hampton, as we went; where several people came in, also some of the elders of their church, and they were greatly satisfied; and they went away and gave a good report of the Truth, insomuch that Seaborn Cotton, the priest, was greatly offended. The first-day following, he called the chief of his people together, and would have a church act made, that no members, or member's chil-

dren, should go to a Quaker's meeting; and it was to be confirmed by their holding up their hands: but those that were at the meeting, would not assent; but one of them declared what he remembered of the heads of what he heard at the meeting, and maintained it to be truth. The priest was in a rage, and endeavoured to stir up persecution.

After the meeting was over, we went along to Piscataqua, with Friends who came from thence to meet us; and stayed there till the first-day, and had a blessed meeting, and also had a meeting with the chief of Friends, both men and women, about settling men's and women's meetings. Friends were very open, and all things were settled in sweet unity, after we had opened things unto them, relating to the blessed order of the gospel. So committing them to the Lord and the word of his grace, we returned back again, and had another meeting at Hampton, where were several young people, who after the meeting gave me a paper, in which they signified their desire to be satisfied in something that was as a scruple upon their minds: to which I answered, and gave them great satisfaction. When they saw my openness and willingness to answer, they asked me about divers things, wherein they desired to be informed, and to all I answered, and gave them satisfaction, and so we parted.

Then I and Friends with me, took our journey towards Salem, and came there against the time appointed; and we had the meeting which we had appointed, with most of the chief of Friends; it was about settling meetings to look after the affairs of the Church. In this meeting it was upon me largely to open the service of our men's and women's meetings, and the duty and care of the faithful therein; and when I had done, they confessed the service, &c. to be very good and right. We desired, that they would come into the practice thereof; but when we partly pressed it, they would answer little, but held back; some of them, (like Diotrephes of old, who loved to have the pre-eminence, and so withstood the apostle,) did keep off in their minds, being of that spirit I wrote of before in Virginia, pretending to be against forms. For a while we sat waiting upon the Lord, and staying to see what they would come to; and George Pattison laboured to bring them to a sense of the service, in order that they might come into the practice, and they not being willing to say anything, my spirit being very low, the word of the Lord came unto me, and the dread of his power fell upon me. After some time I opened my mouth with a lamentation, and said, —I was sorry, or grieved, that I had that to say, which I must declare unto them, and that was, that while they stood in that spirit they



were in, they could not act in unity with the body, and in honour to the Head, &c., and therefore our exhortation to them was to condemn that spirit, by which they had been led aside, and to wait for the universal Spirit of life, or to this effect; and so we left them, and they were greatly concerned. The next day we had a public meeting amongst them, and after meeting we came away towards Boston. Then their consciences being troubled, we had to do with several of the chief of them, who laboured to have that reversed which I had spoken; and said, it was very hard, &c. But I told them, I could not do it, the power had sealed it, and it must stand; which was, that they must come to repentance, and condemn that spirit which had deceived, or to that effect. So we left it upon them according to the word of the Lord; some of them have since seen it, and condemned that spirit, and given a testimony in writing against it;—blessed be the Lord, who shows mercy, and restores out of the snares of Satan.

#### CHAPTER V.

*The author travels with John Stubbs.—At Rhode Island, attends a long public dispute, and again at Hartford: his other services.—In 1673, lands in Ireland; visits most of the meetings in that country: returns to England, visits Westmoreland Quarterly meeting;—Case of John Wilkinson and John Story, 1675;—Travels into other parts; troubles respecting John Wilkinson and John Story.*

BEING clear of all those parts [of the country,] we came away strait to Rhode Island, and there we met with George Fox who was preparing to go westward towards Long Island; so he went away, and Robert Withers, James Lancaster, and George Pattison with him. From Long Island they went over to East Jersey, and so over land back again to Maryland; and John Stubbs and I were left at Rhode Island: John Cartwright we left at Piscataqua; he went further eastward, and after sometime he came to John Stubbs and me at Rhode Island. John Stubbs and I went up to Providence, had a meeting there; and as we returned, we had a meeting at Warwick, where none had been before: and several were convinced, and did own the truth. And there we had to do with one Gorton and his company, who were by other people there called Gortonians, but they called themselves Generalists; they were of opinion all should be saved. But they were in reality Ranters: for in our discourse they would maintain and say, no creaturely actions could be sin, and would have no drunkenness, nor the like, to be sin, but

what was spiritual; the outward action was but creaturely. Thus in their filthy, unclean spirits, like the old Ranters, they made merry over the reproof of God's Spirit.

From thence we came down again to Rhode Island; and there we spent some time, and had a long dispute with one Roger Williams, who sent us a challenge from Providence, with fourteen propositions, as he called them, but they were charges; and he engaged to maintain them against all comers; the first seven to be disputed on, at Rhode Island, and the latter seven, at Providence. We spent three days in dispute with him at Rhode Island; but he could not make any proof of his charges to the satisfaction of the auditory; for there was a great congregation every day: it would be tedious here to insert the discourse, if I were able; but I cannot remember it. There is a book in manuscript, of what was taken in short-hand of the discourse at that time; besides there is a book in print, entitled "New England Fire-brand Quenched," &c., which is an answer to a book of the said Roger Williams, which gives a relation of some part of the dispute, to which I refer the reader. William Edmundson came from Virginia, and was also with us at the same dispute; William Edmundson and John Stubbs went up to Providence, and spent one day with Williams there, about the latter seven [charges,] and so cleared themselves to the people, and came away when they had done with him.

After being some time together upon the island, John Stubbs and I went over, with several Friends that accompanied us, to Narraganset; and there we had a meeting the four-and-twentieth of the sixth month, at one Richard Smith's, and next day took our journey towards Hartford. We came first to New London, and from thence to Norwich, and so to Hartford, and stayed there one day; and several of the professors came to us, to dispute with us. The next day we rode nearly thirty miles to a town called Westfield, which was within the Massachusetts colony: a man and his wife received us; and we appointed a meeting. But when they heard of it, some of their officers came to us, and commanded that we should have no meeting; and so affrighted the people, that none durst come to us. We had a little discourse with their officers or elders who came to us; but they would not stay, but cried out against our religion. We asked them if they knew our principles, which they so condemned? Some of them answered, and said, nay, they knew them not, nor did they desire to know them. We asked them, how then they could judge of them; and withal we told the men they were such as the Scriptures did speak of, who spoke evil of the things they

knew not; and they were confounded, and went away; but they so scared the people, that none durst come near us.

So we came away to Hartford again on the sixth-day of the week, and on the seventh-day several came to us, and discoursed with us: and we desired that we might speak with the priest, and they had promised that we should; but when we desired him to come, he (or they for him,) made an excuse, that he could not that day come from his study. The next day being the first-day of the week we went to their meeting, and the forenoon stayed without, till they had done. And when they had done, and came forth, we spoke to the people; but they got away, as if they had been afraid of us; and none would stay. So we returned to the inn, and stayed there till the afternoon; and then we went into their meeting-house, and stayed till the priest had done. Then I stood up, and called unto the people, and desired their patience a little to hear, for I had a word of exhortation to them; and so began to speak. But immediately the sexton came to me to interrupt me; and seeing he could not stop me, he drove the people away. When I saw most of the people gone, I stepped down, and thought to have gone forth after them; but he got to the door, and shut the door to keep me in. Then I went round an alley to get to a second door, but he got over the seats and shut that. Then I made for a third door, he also got to that before me, and shut that, and so made their meeting-house a prison, and kept us in, with a very few people who got not away, till the people were gone, and then let us forth; so we came to our inn again.

After some time several of their elders came to dispute with us, on purpose to keep the younger people away, as some of them confessed; and when we came to discourse with them, they would seem to charge us with breach of the sabbath, in coming to their meeting that day. We took to the Bible and said, "Come, first prove a sabbath-day under the gospel dispensation, and then prove our practice this day to be a breach of it, if you can; and vindicate Paul, who disputed every sabbath-day in the synagogue, &c. and then prove by Scripture your practice this day, and show where any Christians drove the people away from hearing the truth, (for they had granted, we spoke nothing but truth,) and made their meeting-house a prison? So we shut them behind the unbelieving Jews, who gave liberty to Paul and Silas: and they were confounded, and could not tell how to vindicate their doings, and went away. After they were gone, many younger people came into our chamber, and we opened many things to them relating to the way of truth, and cleared up things from the

Scriptures; and they were mightily satisfied. When the old, dry professors saw that the younger people were affected; they sent in a constable, to command all to depart; but they answered and said, they were housekeepers many of them, and therefore he had nothing to do with them: so they would not go. So we continued still opening the Scriptures unto them; and they were affected. The innkeeper, being one of their elders, came and took the candle away, that we might not see to read in the Scriptures; and so left us in the dark: then the people went away, being displeased.

The next morning, John Stubbs and I took our journey westward; and our friends that had accompanied us, returned home to Rhode Island. We went from Hartford to Newhaven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwich, Stamford, and so to Greenwich, where we met with Friends; and there we appointed a meeting. The priest of that town in his pulpit had preached against Friends, and often had boasted, how he would dispute with the Quakers, if any came there; so when the meeting was appointed, the people came with great expectation of what a priest would do. But in the morning he rode away to Stamford to a magistrate, and sent a constable with a warrant to apprehend us; who came at the beginning of our meeting, and took us and carried us away to the magistrate at Stamford. The people being displeased, many of them followed after us to Stamford, and our friends also, to see what they would do. When we came there, many people were gathered about the house, for it was but two miles between the towns; but after a little time we were called into an inner room, where the magistrate lay upon his bed, he not being very well. When we came in, there were none with him but two priests, the priest of Greenwich, and the priest of Stamford, and none were to be suffered to come in but the constable, and one man of Stamford who was a merchant, as they said; he went in and out when he pleased. The magistrate asked us many questions, and we answered him; and he discoursed with us long in many things, and we answered him; for he was very moderate. After a long time one of the priests put in a question; and I said, if we must discourse of divine things, we did desire to be more public; for the people were without, desirous to hear. Then the magistrate said to the priests, "Master Jones and Master Bishop, I desire you to go into the public meeting-house with these men, and there discourse with them before the people; for," said he, "they are sober, rational men." So we accepted kindly of the proffer, and rose up, and went forth; and the priests came after us displeased. But when we were forth of the door among the people, we called



upon the priests to go with us, as they were desired; and so we went up, and they and the people also. When we were settled in the meeting-house, with many people, the priests put it upon us to begin; and so we began with them first about their wages, and then went on to our call, which they put upon us; and then about the light, which they denied: also about the election and reprobation, and free grace. They affirmed the grace of God had not appeared to all men, and that Christ did not die for all men. Several hours we spent; but the discourse is drawn up in a book in manuscript, and therefore I shall forbear it here, for it is large. The next day we had a meeting at Greenwich, but the priest came, and we had a great discourse; which is in the said book. On the first-day following we had a meeting about six miles from thence; then, being clear of these parts, we took boat and went over to Long Island, to Oyster-Bay, and met with John Cartwright; and so visited Friends upon the Island. John Cartwright and I went over to East Jersey, and visited Friends there, and had several blessed meetings; we returned back again to Long Island, and had several meetings. Being clear of those parts, John Cartwright and I came to New York, in order to get a passage for Maryland; we set sail from New York the first day of the ninth month 1672, and from Sandy Hook out to the sea the third-day of the same, and met with rough weather; but the sixth-day of the same we got in at the Capes of Virginia, and on the ninth of the same month we came to anchor in Patuxent River in the province of Maryland, and so got up within a day or two to James Preston's; for the north-west wind blew so hard, that we could not get up the first-day. We then went among Friends in that province as the Lord made way. George Fox and Friends that were with him, who came over land together, were gone down to Virginia, and he also travelled over land to North Carolina, and there found some Friends, and returned over land to Virginia, and came up the bay again to Maryland; and while they were below in Virginia and Carolina, we travelled among Friends in Maryland, and had blessed service.

Upon the first-day of the eleventh month we had a meeting at John Baldwin's at South-River; where were many Friends, and other people, who came together upon the occasion of a dispute to which one Henry Pierpoint had challenged us, who was a kind of fifth-monarchy man. The first thing to prove, which he had assumed, was, that the Scriptures were the only rule to try all things by in matters of faith and doctrine; about which we had a great discourse: and we proved, that the patriarchs

had faith and a rule for faith, before any Scriptures which we have were written; and we showed what was their rule. We spent several hours in dispute about the other three things, which he had affirmed; but there is a book in manuscript, which is an answer to them all: I therefore shall omit any further mentioning of it here. Some time was spent in visiting Friends from meeting to meeting; to which many people came at several places; and the Lord's power opened us, and we were comforted, and the consciences of the people reached. George Fox and the other Friends then returned, and John Cartwright took shipping for Barbadoes.

George Fox and I were some time together; and we were up at an Indian town, at the emperor's house, who had ordered the Indians, both men and women, to be at his house, viz. the ancient and grave; and the young people were at another wigwam. George Fox spoke to them by an interpreter for the space of four or five hours, I suppose it was nigh five hours; and they were very still and quiet, and very attentive, and delighted (as we did perceive) to hear. When the time was over, and we clear, they showed us kindness, and were going to hang a kettle on the fire to boil fish for us to eat, as they told us; but we could not stay, having a great way to go by water, and it was late; so we came away to the water-side, and some of them accompanied us till we took boat. We came down the river again to Friends, and spent some time more in travel and labour in that province.

James Lancaster, George Pattison, and I, took a journey to visit some people that were convinced, up Potomac river; we ferried over Patuxent river, and then travelled through the woods on foot, till we came to them; we stayed a few days, and had a meeting or two, and then returned back again to Patuxent, and to the Cliffs, where we left James, being very weary. Next day George and I travelled to West river, and were at their meeting; and next week we got a boat, and went over the bay to the eastern shore, and went up Miles River to Friends; and from thence we went to meet with George Fox to speak with him, having some intentions to take shipping, and go for England with one John Ore a Friend, a master of a ketch, which belonged to some Friends at London.

When we had been with George Fox a little time, we returned to Miles River to our boat; and after a time we went over the bay towards West River, and through some exercise with contrary winds, at last we got over; and after a little time spent there with Friends, we departed, and went down by the Cliffs, where we met with George Fox come over the bay. We

stayed but little there, and went on towards Patuxent; where we took shipping, and set sail the twenty-fifth day of the second month, 1673, and came out at the Capes of Virginia to the sea on the twenty-sixth day of the same month. When we had sailed but a few days, in a morning early we espied a fleet of ships behind us, about four-and-twenty; then we stopped a little, supposing them to be an English fleet, which sailed out of the Capes from James River, two or three days before us; and when some of them came up to us, they told us, it was the same fleet. So we stayed, and went in company with them, till we came about the Banks of Newfoundland: and then we met with foul weather, which parted us one from another, so that we no more got altogether again. We were six that got together again in our company, and kept together, until we came into the bay at Galway in Ireland, where we arrived the twenty-fourth day of the third month 1673.

#### CHAPTER VI.

*Abstract of some of the letters of John Burnyeat, in continuation of his travels, from 1673 to 1690.—His marriage in 1683.—His imprisonment in Dublin.—Death of his wife 1688.*

FROM Galway I travelled to Limerick, and so to Charleville, Mallow, and to Cork, and Bandon, and as far almost as Baltimore, visiting Friends and having meetings. I then returned back to Cork, and took my journey to Youghal, and so on to Tallagh, and to Kilcomin, and to Waterford, and so on into the county of Wexford, having meetings in all the places: and the Lord's good presence was with us, to our comfort;—glory, and honour, and praise to him for ever!

Then I came up through the county of Cath-erlough, [Carlow] and the Queen's County, and so on into the county of Westmeath, having meetings all along, and visiting Friends; and there George Pattison left me, and took his journey for Dublin, and from thence to London, but I took my journey for Cavan. When I had seen Friends, and had a meeting or two, I took my journey for the north, the county of Armagh and the county of Antrim, and those parts; and I visited Friends, and had many precious meetings, and the Lord was with us, and his gracious presence was our daily comfort;—to him be the glory for ever!

When I had spent some time in the north of Ireland in the service of the Truth, I took my journey for Dublin. And after some meetings there, I took my journey into the county of Wicklow, and so through the province of Munster a second time, and also took Friends in

Leinster, and in the north; so that I travelled through most meetings a second time in that nation. Then being clear of the nation, I took shipping at Belfast the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month 1673, and the twenty-sixth we set sail out of the Lough, and arrived at Whitehaven in Cumberland in England the twenty-seventh of the same month, and stayed about three months in Cumberland for the most part. Then I took my journey out of Cumberland towards Newcastle, visiting Friends and their meetings, as I went along: and from Newcastle I went on into Bishoprick, and through their meetings, and so into Yorkshire, through Cleveland to Whitby, and Scarborough, Malton, and York, and had many precious meetings. I went up to Masham, and from thence Robert Lodge and I, with James Hall, took our journey towards London to the yearly meeting in the year 1674, and stayed some time in that city, labouring in the word and testimony which God had committed unto me. Afterwards I took my journey into the country, and went down into Buckinghamshire, through their meetings; and so on into Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire, and to Bristol, and then back again, and to Shrewsbury, and on as far as Wrexham in Wales, visiting the Churches of Christ; and the good presence of the Lord in his heavenly power accompanying, we were often refreshed and sweetly comforted together, to our joy and his praise, who is our God for evermore.

From Wrexham in North Wales, I took my journey with John ap John, who accompanied me towards South Wales; we visited Friends, and had many meetings as we went along, in Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, and Cardiganshire; and we passed on by the west sea into Pembrokeshire, there we visited the Lord's people, and spent some time amongst them. Then we took our journey through Carmarthenshire to Swansea; and having a meeting or two we passed on towards Cardiff, visiting Friends in Glamorganshire, and then into Monmouthshire, and having visited Friends in that county, we parted; he returned home, and I passed over the water into Gloucestershire, and so to Bristol. I continued travelling through several counties, visiting the churches, and so to London, where I spent some time; and then I went down into Essex, and visited Friends in that county, and returned again to London to the yearly meeting in the year 1675.

From London I took my journey to Hartford, and so northward, with John Graves and James Hall, to York, and there we parted. I went from York to Malton, and so to Scarborough, and Whitby, taking Friends in Cleveland, and so to Stockton in Bishoprick, visiting Friends, and having many precious meet-



ings. I then passed through several meetings in that county; and being clear I took my journey for Cumberland; and being there, I with several brethren was desired to come over into Westmoreland, to a meeting appointed by Friends at their quarterly meeting, which was to be at Powbank. So I went thither against the day appointed, with John Graves, John Tiffin, Hugh Tickell, and Thomas Laithes, where we met with several brethren, who were come out of Yorkshire, at the request of the aforesaid quarterly meeting. Upon this occasion many Friends of Westmoreland came together; who, when we were sat together in the meeting, did present before us several disorders in many things, which were contrary to the truth, by which they had been grieved and sorely exercised for a long time in their monthly and quarterly meetings; so that the spirits of a loose company were set at liberty, and so much borne up and countenanced by John Story and John Wilkinson, that the blessed order of the truth brought forth amongst us by the power of God, was greatly slighted, and endeavoured to be trodden under by that loose company, which was thus encouraged by these two men, who looked upon themselves to be elders, and like Diotrophes, loved to have the pre-eminence; which brought great grief upon the honest and simple minded. So we hearing what Friends had to say in that matter, and observing what was charged and proved, we desired Friends to give us another meeting, and let John Story and John Wilkinson be sent to, and desired to meet us, that we might hear them face to face: although they had been desired by the quarterly meeting, and several others, to come to this meeting so appointed, they had refused; and withal they sent us a letter, denying to come, and disowning our meeting.

Nevertheless, we were willing to have another meeting, which Friends of Westmoreland freely assented unto; and so it was appointed at Milthrop the next day. And we (to wit) six or more of Cumberland and Yorkshire Friends, did ourselves go to them as messengers, and did entreat them to come with us to the meeting, that we might hear them and the Friends of Westmoreland, who were aggrieved, face to face, concerning those things that were in charge against them; but they were so high and so obstinate, that they slighted us all, or any advice we could give. So after some hours' discourse with them, in which we thoroughly saw their spirits to be wrong, we left them, and went to the meeting appointed at Milthrop, where Friends were waiting for us. After we were settled a little in the meeting, we gave an account how we had endeavoured to persuade them to come, through all entreaty we

could, but we could not prevail. So we gave a hearing a second time to the Friends; and then we of Yorkshire and Cumberland withdrew, and amongst ourselves viewed the whole matter, for it was in writing, and opened our hearts one unto another. And waiting upon the Lord, there fell a weighty concern upon us for the Truth's sake, and the blessed order thereof, with our holy testimony we had been raised up into, which by them had been slighted, and scorned, and reproached: so that we could not pass it by; but in the power of the Lord God, which was dreadful amongst us, we gave judgment against that spirit, which was grown so high, and loose, and fleshly, as thus to undervalue the testimony of God, and the bringings forth of his holy power in the churches of Christ, by which all may be kept sweet, clean, and in good order. And when we had cleared ourselves in the rising and springing up of the word of life, and drawn up our testimony in writing, we gave it unto Friends there, and so departed. Of the judgment given I shall say no more here, because it is in writing in many places.

I then went over to Swarthmore, and stayed a meeting there; and then returned into Cumberland, and stayed there some weeks, and visited Friends. Being clear, I returned again to Swarthmore, in order to go over the sands towards Wales, which was before me. When I was at Swarthmore, I was moved to go over first into Westmoreland, to visit the meetings there. So I went over to Sedberg, and had a meeting there; and I had a meeting at Grayrigg, and then came to Kendal, where I met with Robert Lodge, and we had a blessed meeting there. The next day we were at Preston meeting; and then I was clear of that county.

After a little time I took my journey into Wales, through Lancashire and Cheshire, and so coming to John ap John's, near Wrexham in North Wales, he travelled along with me. In the first place, we went to a quarterly meeting that was held at Dolobran, at Charles Lloyd's, for two counties, viz. Merionethshire and Montgomeryshire; and we had a blessed service for the truth there among Friends. Afterwards we went down into Merionethshire, and visited the meetings: and then to Mac-kynleth, and had a meeting. We then returned up into Radnorshire, and visited the meetings in that county. We next took our journey through Brecknockshire and Carmarthenshire, into Pembrokeshire, where we spent some time amongst Friends, and had several precious meetings. Being clear, we took our journey towards Swansea and Cardiff, and had several precious meetings in Glamorganshire, and then went over into Monmouthshire. And after we

had visited Friends, John went with me to the ferry, and stayed to see me take boat, and then returned.

Bristol, 9th of Tenth month, 1675.

DEARLY BELOVED,—Whom the Lord hath called and sanctified, and chosen in the Son of his love, through whom he hath visited you in this generation, as he did the people and the Gentiles in ancient days; that you might partake of his salvation, and of the power of his life, and of the glory of his kingdom, with those that are gone before you. I say, for this end hath the God of wisdom in his love reached unto you in that country, with the rest of this age, that have waited for his salvation, and have sought the rich things of his kingdom in his own way. And now I am satisfied, that many of you in your measures, can seal to the truth of Christ's words, who said, Seek and ye shall find; for as He is faithful that hath promised, even so we have found his words sure and true. And now my Friends, seeing it is certainly so, as many can witness, that they have found that which is eternal, which belongs to eternal life, having been guided by that, which the cloud and pillar of fire in the wilderness was a figure of; every one with all diligence hold that fast, which you have received, that you may grow in, and be guided by it in your further travels in the heavenly journey, towards the blessed heavenly Canaan, which is still before you, as the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. And therefore observe the true mark, and still press forward towards the same, as the apostles and ancient saints did. Take heed, I entreat you, unto yourselves, and the exercise of your minds, lest your eye inwardly be drawn forth to look at another mark; for if you do, then will not the prize be the same that was theirs who were faithful unto death, and so continued unto the end, and obtained the crown. Therefore be you all watchful, to keep the enemy of your souls out of your hearts, that He may reign who is your friend, for ever, who seeks your good, and brings life and peace unto your souls, under whose government and peaceable dominion, you will find rest and pleasure for your inward man.

And now, my dear Friends, since it is the Lord's Truth you have received, and his holy power that you have felt in these countries, even as his people in other parts—dwell you with it and in it with careful minds, that you may therein live unto God, as such who have part in the first resurrection, that you may reign for ever and ever over the power of the second death. And all take heed of the mysterious workings of the wicked one, who works

in deceit by guile, in every transformed appearance, to draw the mind out of the pure centre in the true power, to the likeness and image which hath no life in it, where there can be no steadfastness nor true reigning over the will that is unruly and foolish. Therefore, my dear Friends, keep your watch every one in your hearts continually, that you may not be betrayed from that pure life, that yields virtue unto your souls, and nourisheth up unto eternal life. For I know, that the wicked one, in his deceitful workings you have been acquainted with, and his evil design the Lord by his power, in his light, hath discovered unto many of you; so that you by the same, have escaped his hurtful snares, and yet live in that which must reign at last over all. Keep your habitation in the power that is unchangeable, wherein you may live forever without fading; for the power fades not, but abides in its glory for ever; so that the first is the last, the root and offspring. Blessed are they that have kept their first love, and have stayed in their righteous habitation, into which the power did redeem them; they do still witness a growing from grace to grace, from strength to strength, and from one degree of holiness unto another, until they come to be purely like him, who is their Redeemer, who shall change them, and bring them from glory to glory, till they bear the image of the heavenly Man, and be like him that is altogether glorious, who is putting of his glory richly upon his Church which is his people in this day.

And therefore you that have received the Spirit of the Lord, and are acquainted with it, do you follow it in all its pure leadings with faithful hearts; for it will certainly lead all the faithful to know an increase of glory. And take heed of the spirit of the world, which is not of God, but leads from him; that spirit where it prevails, causeth to wither and fade, and brings barrenness upon the soul, and darkness and death, and then the glory is lost, and the image of the heavenly then is not borne; nor no man in that, is heir of the heavenly inheritance. Therefore it doth behove all to look to their standing, in that wherein the heirship is, that none may come short of that crown, which Paul said, was laid up for him, and all them that love the appearance of the Lord Jesus Christ. And so the God of love and peace keep you all, in his love, fear and wisdom, that your dwellings for ever may be in his peace, which the world cannot take away, nor rob you of; that so with the rest of his heritage, you may shine in the light of his glory, and dwell in the richness of his kingdom for ever and ever. Amen.

This is the desire of my soul for you all,



whom I truly love, and in the Life salute,  
wherein I am your friend and brother,

JOHN BURNYEAT.

I went that same day to Bristol, and stayed some meetings there; and then I went down into Somersetshire, and visited Friends there, and had many blessed meetings. I returned back to Bristol, and stayed some meetings there, and then went into Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, and through Berkshire and into Oxfordshire, and so into Worcestershire, as far as Worcester, and visited Friends, and had many precious meetings through those counties. From Worcester I returned again through Gloucestershire, and had several meetings: and came again to Bristol; from thence I took my journey through several counties, visiting Friends: and so came to London, and stayed there some time in the service and work of the gospel.

Being clear, I took my journey for the north, and did not make much stay at any place, till I came into Cumberland. The reason of my so travelling was, because of a meeting, which was agreed upon by Friends to be held at Draw-well in Sedberg parish, about the former difference, which had been heard at Powbank; chiefly occasioned by the aforesaid John Story and John Wilkinson, and a loose sort of people, whom they did countenance in a liberty that the truth would not allow, and therefore could not be borne with by such tender Friends, as were zealous for the truth, who kept their first love. These therein delighted to uphold that ancient testimony for the Lord, against the priests and their tithes, hire, and maintenance, with other things that were to be borne witness against through sufferings; and also for meeting together to worship God, which from the beginning had been our practice, there being divers statutes with penalties upon us, for so doing; for fear of which, the aforesaid John Story and John Wilkinson, with such as had let in the same fear through fleshly reasoning, did shrink and hide; and so let fall the nobility of that testimony, which we had received and were raised up to stand for in the beginning. And so because of a failure in divers things, and pleading for a liberty from under the exercise of the cross, that the offence thereof might cease, the faithful became concerned to stand up against that spirit, which thus was likely to weaken or overthrow the faith and testimony of many, through its subtle workings in and through divers; who, like those the apostle writes against in his Epistle to the Galatians, that to avoid persecution endeavoured to bring the believers under circumcision, that so the offence of the cross might cease, or suffering for the gospel might be avoided.

Now this difference still continuing, and they abiding obstinate, and not willing to receive advice, or bear the judgment in the Truth placed upon them, Friends in condescension, to see if they could be gained, appointed a meeting at Draw-well near Sedberg, that they might have another opportunity, and be heard what they could further say. Then the matters were fully gone through before many ancient, faithful brethren, who were there assembled; who spent four days in hearing and going through the matters relating to that difference, which was occasioned through the opposition of those to the blessed order of the Truth, who withstood Friends' godly care for the preservation of the dominion thereof in righteousness. And when all things were heard and gone through by the brethren, the judgment was again given in the power of the Lord upon that spirit which they had let in, whereby they had been led into a separation and division, and opposition to the Truth and the holy order and testimony thereof; and they in the same power and love with great bowels and tenderness, were sought to return back again unto that spirit of love and peace, wherein the unity and fellowship of the true body doth consist. But alas! many of them would not be wrought upon nor prevailed with; but in that hardness the enemy had wrought their hearts into, did persist, until they became open enemies to the Truth and the faithful witnesses of it, even to the writing and printing publicly against them, and what the Truth doth lead into: and so are become such as the apostle writes of, that greatly withstood their words, and slighted them: of which Paul, Peter, John and Jude wrote. This meeting at Draw-well, was in the second month 1676.

After Friends had done what could be done at that time, with holy endeavours for the reconciling and gathering into the heavenly unity, and making up of the breach, I returned from thence again into Cumberland with several brethren, to wit, J. T., J. B., Hugh Tickhill, Thomas Laythes, John Steele,\* and so spent a little time in Cumberland; and then I took my journey with John Tiffin towards London. In our journey we came into Westmoreland to visit Friends there, where we met with some of those, with whom we had to do at Draw-well: and then they were grown hard, through resisting the counsel of the Lord, and had set up a separate meeting, and so ran into the self-separation, and grew more into the enmity, and stronger in the opposition, through resisting the love of God, that so richly was reached forth unto them in the heavenly bowels, which, by the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, were open-

[\* See Pike and Oxley, p. 43.]

ed in the brethren at the aforesaid meeting at Draw-well. For the power of the eternal God in great majesty appeared, and in a weighty dread was judgment set and sealed upon that spirit, by which they had been betrayed; and by the same power and word of life was a door opened unto them who had been betrayed, and an entrance in the same was set before them, and they, with much brokenness and tenderness, in the power of love, were sought to return, and be reconciled unto God, and unto his people. But this great visitation being rejected by them, they grew harder and harder, until they grew, many of them, as before said, enemies unto the cross of Christ; and so they withered as to their spiritual state, and became as some of old, whom the apostle wrote of, as trees twice dead, and plucked up by the roots.

From Westmoreland I went over into Yorkshire, had a meeting at Sedberg, and went through the Dales to Masham, visiting Friends there-a-ways. And then J. T. and I, with Robert Lodge, took our journey to York, and from thence towards London, visiting Friends by the way; and so we came to the yearly meeting in the year 1676, where there were many faithful brethren assembled together from most parts of the nation. Amongst many things of concern relating to the truth and the churches of Christ, that division in Westmoreland was laid before the meeting, and how they were hardened, and had set up a separate meeting, and so had withdrawn themselves from the rest of their brethren, and broken the Christian fellowship: which thing, when understood by the brethren there assembled, was a grief unto them. Therefore under the sense thereof, and in that brotherly love, with which their hearts were filled towards them, were there two epistles written from the meeting, one to John Story and John Wilkinson, warning and advising them, as heads and leaders in that sedition and schism, to endeavour to break up that separate meeting, and to be reconciled unto their brethren, before they went abroad to offer their gift: and the other was written to the meeting, as advice unto them to return to their former fellowship with Friends, and lay that separate meeting down, and join with their brethren in the unity of the Truth, &c.

But all this did not prevail with them; but still they grew higher and harder, and went on in the strong resolutions of their wills. Only there were divers individuals who were for a time concerned in that opposition and separation, whose understandings the Lord opened, so that they saw the snare of the enemy, and returned; and under a sense of the Lord's judgments, they gave forth divers testimonies in writing against that spirit, by which they had been seduced, with a confession of the er-

ror they were led into; and so returned into the true fellowship and unity of the Church of Christ, and were received with gladness. Glory to the Lord, who is the Saviour and healer of his people, who now heals and saves by his word, as he did of old!

JOHN BURNYEAT.

#### EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN CUMBERLAND.

Taunton, 7th of Second month, 1677.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—Unto you my love and life reach, and purely flow forth in that which lives forever; wherein I do in the innocency and life of righteousness truly salute you all, whom the Lord hath raised and called to be a part of the first fruits unto himself in this day of ours, wherein the glory of his hidden life he hath revealed unto a remnant, even that which from the wise and prudent of this world is still hid; and from such as turn back into that wisdom, it comes again to be veiled, so that the light of the glory of it they lose again, though they had a view thereof. Blessed are all who keep their habitation in that power which never changes nor decays. The glory of the heavenly things will be still in their view, by which their hearts will be enlarged towards the Lord, both in love to him, and a living people to his honour in all things, that his name may be exalted, and the testimony of his Truth, in its own pure nature in every thing kept up, according to its brightness and glory; as by the power thereof we were raised up in the beginning, as the life of holiness grew in us, dear Friends, that which quickened and raised us from the dead in years past, through which we live unto God; and as we keep in the same, we shall for ever be accepted by him, and be well pleasing in his sight. But out of that you know, none shall be regarded by Him, though ye might do much; for he did not regard them in the days old for all they could do, that did not keep in the life of righteousness, though they might go far, even to the covering of the altar with tears.

And therefore, as I said, that by which you were first quickened and raised, is that in which for ever we must be accepted; so that every one is to mind and wait for an increase, and experience the growth of that wherein there is a coming upwards, from a child's state, to a farther growth. Still it is in the same nature, without degeneration from that which was first, and so the first is witnessed to be last, and ye grow more and more into the fulness of Christ, in whom all fulness dwells. Therefore my dearly beloved, in all your meetings upon the Truth's account, have an eye unto, and wait for an enjoyment of the blessed and heavenly



and heart-breaking power of the Lord God among you; that your hearts may be broken thereby, and your spirits melted into true love and contriteness, and you preserved in that state. Then will your hearts be enlarged in the heavenly wisdom that is pure, peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated; and in that wisdom and power in you all, will all your works stand to the honour of God, and comfort one of another, and your eyes will always be to the promotion of Truth in righteousness, keeping up your ancient testimony, into which God raised you by his power in years past.

In the life and power of God you will keep under, and weaken that which would arise to trample his holy testimony under foot, and so keep the house and family of God in order, and keep to the cross to that, which would be out in a fleshly liberty, to make void the cross of Christ, by which we were crucified to the world, and the world to us. For that which would be from under the cross, is the same that would lead into the world again; and so would make shipwreck of faith and a tender conscience, and lead into headiness, hardness, stubbornness, and looseness again; and then they apostatize from the life of God that is in them, and become reprobates concerning the faith, and so through forsaking their first love, lose their reward at last.

The true elders, elder men and elder women ought to have this care upon them over the younger, that all may be preserved in the first love, and first zeal, that none may lose that, nor draw back into a fleshly liberty, down into the wisdom that is from below, which hath not its spring in, nor from that heavenly gift; which cannot keep the hearts pure, as the heavenly doth. You know it was the gift of the heavenly power, that first quickened us, and made us to live to God; and you know it is the same that keeps our hearts tender and lively, by which we live for ever. For our life that we now live, is by faith in Him who is the power of God; and we feed upon Him, and his flesh is bread, according to his own words; for He is the living bread that came down from God, and still comes down; therefore mind it, wait for it, and stand up for it, and be not starved again upon the barren mountains of your own imaginations, where this bread of life is not to be found.

Dear Friends, keep your men's and women's meetings in the Lord's fear and power; and keep in the holy care where you may have a sense of your concern in the body, and feel your place and charge, every one of you; be zealous for righteousness in the particular and in the general, and the Lord will be with you, as he hath been, I am witness; for none dwell longer in the Truth and love, than they

dwell in righteousness, though they may make a profession. Be not at all discouraged in your work for the Lord and his Truth, by that spirit that would bring a light esteem upon your holy care and godly order in the Truth; for it is the same in nature, that in all ages endeavoured to lay waste God's heritage, and obstruct his work, and laid stumbling blocks in the way of God's travelling people, to cause them to fall, and to turn back again. The Lord will blast every desire, that those go about in this matter who let in this spirit, and bring his life over it, and preserve his people therein; that in this life and heavenly liberty, they may serve him, and praise him, who lives for ever, who is everlastingly worthy; to whom be glory and dominion, world without end.

Dear hearts, you being living in my remembrance, as also the heavenly seasons we had together, when I was last with you, my heart is filled with love towards you; and in that I send these few lines, as a salutation and tender greeting unto you, that you may know you rest in my remembrance, as I believe I do in yours. So the God of love and peace keep you all in his love and fear unto the end, that your portion may be with Him in his eternal kingdom, where there shall be no sorrow, but you may dwell in pleasure for evermore.

From your friend and brother in the fellowship of the gospel, JOHN BURNYEAT.

*A paper of John Burnyeat's, that came to hand since his works were printed.*

THE twenty-seventh of the eighth month, 1667.—In the morning, as I was laying upon my bed, and my soul greatly afflicted under the view and consideration of the state of things, as it was among Friends in the city of Bristol and some parts adjacent, because of the great contention and opposition; and when I was under the exercise, and my life appeared grieved, even until my soul was brought into sore anguish, at times, and grief, to see how hard some were, and unruly and obstinate. In this travail of spirit my heart being bowed, I said within myself, and before the Lord, and unto him; I matter not, what I be, nor how much I be abased, for we must pass through good and bad report, as the faithful in former times did. And then when I was thus gone down into the grave of self-denial, where I thought I could lie and be trodden upon, the Lord God signified unto me by his Holy Spirit on this wise:—Though thou be willing so to be, yet will not I be trodden under; and further said, there are some of them, that are as dead men before me, because they have lifted up their heel against me, and have rejected my word, and slighted or set at naught my reproof.

And further the Lord God signified unto me, that the spirit of Core and Balaam had entered, which would shut truth out of doors, and pluck Christ from his throne, and lead away the minds of people after their own inventions, to worship the works of their own hands. And He further signified unto me, how that the plague of leprosy and sore judgment of hardness of heart was upon them; and they had lost their beauty, and were not fit to come nigh the altar of the Lord, nor to be in the Lord's congregation: and that he would decide the matter. And further he signified to my comfort, there was a Priest to stand between the living and the dead, with a holy censer and pure incense, to make an atonement; and the eyes of all the tender and sensible were to be towards Him, that they might receive the law from his mouth, and that his lips might preserve their knowledge. And further, there was something also of the spirit of Cain, which did appear had entered, even that which did envy Abel's acceptance.

When I had seen these things from the Lord, and it was showed me I could speak forth the matter unto the people, my heart was wonderfully broken within me; and I cried and said, Woe is me! must I be the messenger to carry this message unto this people? And when I was under this exercise the Lord did signify unto me: If I delivered his word faithfully, then should I deliver my own soul; but if not, I should die for it; my life should go for theirs. Then did the dread of the Lord's word, and his majesty strike me down, and made me willing to be given up, without any more reasoning: blessed be the Lord for ever, who both gives the word, and power to deliver it!

JOHN BURNYEAT.

TO FRIENDS IN NEW ENGLAND, VIRGINIA,  
MARYLAND AND BARBADOES.

DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED,—Unto you who are the called of God in those parts, unto whom the visitation of his day hath reached, and upon whose hearts the heavenly light thereof hath shined, in its pure spiritual breakings forth, so that you are become the children thereof, and do walk therein; unto you all doth the tender salutation of my soul reach in the love of God, and in the fellowship, which is a mystery, which is held in a pure conscience, and continued, as we walk and abide in the light, in which we have fellowship with the Father, and with the Son, and also one with another, and so are of one family and household, partakers of that one bread, which all the sanctified in all ages did feed upon; which is that which we are to wait for in this day, that we may live thereby unto God, and grow through the di-

vine nourishment thereof up into his nature, and into his strength, wherein we may triumph over the adversary, as the ancients did of old, and rejoice in the God of our salvation, who is our strength and tower of safety for ever.

Dear Friends, great and large hath the love and kindness of our God been unto us, who where strangers, aliens and enemies in our minds unto him, in this, that he hath called and chosen us to be his people, and to bear witness unto his appearance, and the shinings forth of his light, and of the glory of his presence, whereby he hath richly comforted our souls, and lifted up our heads above all sorrow, even when the enemy hath thought to sink us down into the pit. Thus hath the Lord dealt bountifully with our souls, and been a ready help in the needful time; to him be the honour and glory for ever and ever! So that now it behoves all, after so many deliverances, favours and mercies, to stick close unto the Lord, and seek his glory above all, and that with all their strength, that so he who is the good Husbandman, may be glorified through every one's bringing forth fruit, according to Christ's command.

Now my Friends, this all observe, that none can bring forth fruit unto God's glory, but as they abide in Christ the living vine; from him is the life received, by which every one lives unto God; and it is by the virtue of that life, that every one must act to his praise. And therefore, see that you all retain it in its own purity, and live in subjection thereunto through your whole day; that you may be as fruitful branches, abiding in the right nature, and bearing holy fruit: and then will you feel the holy dew abide upon your spirit, throughout your age, that will preserve you from withering, your leaf from fading; and so your fruit shall be ripe in due season, and not be untimely brought forth in that which will not endure: for that in which we have believed, will endure for ever. The heavenly power which God hath revealed in our hearts, and made manifest for a standing foundation, that is sure for ever; upon which, as you all abide steadfast, the gates of hell, with all the power of darkness, shall not prevail against you, but you shall be able to withstand him, and keep your habitations in the dominion thereof, and dwell in peace upon the rock of safety, in the midst of all storms; and sing for joy of heart, when those that forsake this rock, shall howl and lament for vexation of spirit. For the Lord God will bring his day and his power over all, and upon all, that fly to any shelter, or seek any other defence, that have once known his Truth; and he will be unto such as a moth, and as rottenness, and their strength he will waste, and their garment and clothing he will



destroy, and their beauty and glory he will cause to fade; though they have been as a beautiful flower in the head of the fat valley, yet will fading come upon them, even dryness at the root, and withering and decaying upon the beauty of their blossoms. And therefore let all keep unto that, and in that, which will not decay, come to nothing, nor ever be turned into darkness, but abide in its virtue and glory, in and by which the Lord hath visited you, and through which his day hath dawned upon your souls, the morning whereof you have known bright and clear, as without clouds, in which you have seen the Son in his glory to appear unto your souls, with his heavenly healing, warmth and virtue. Now Friends, this is that which for ever is to be kept to, that the day may be known to increase in the light and glory of it, in its own clearness, without mixture, not mixing with it your own wisdom, thoughts, or carnal imaginations, which do prove such clouds, where they are suffered to arise, that they bring darkness over the understanding, and make the day cloudy and dark, and so occasion wandering, and to some turn the very eyelids of the morning into the shadow of death. And through such things hath the enemy so prevailed over some, that he hath brought them again into the night of everlasting darkness and confusion, ere they have been aware whither he would lead; and thus as a man void of understanding, over whom the adulteress hath prevailed, and so led down to the chambers of death, have many followed those steps, that have taken hold on hell, where misery is sure to be met withal.

Dear Friends, that which preserves from these dangers, is that arm and power which God revealed in the beginning, by which, as we are witnesses, he redeemed our souls out of many afflictions. And therefore let it be every one's care, to wait for a clear and sensible feeling of that same power in its own pure nature, to spring in all your hearts every day, and then will your delight be so in it, and your acquaintance, in a clear understanding, will be so with it, that you will never be deceived, so as to take any other for it. Then to your comfort, will your heavenly peace spring under the power and government of him that is the prince of true peace, and so will your hearts be made truly glad, and weighty, and ponderous, and not to be carried about with every wind; for in this is the true and pure establishment of the soul, with grace in the covenant of life for ever; and these are they whose peace is of a standing nature, who are not given to change. But this I have always observed, that where there is an uncertain spirit or mind, though in some states into which, at times they may come, they may have peace, and feel some refreshment, yet for

want of constancy and steadfastness, which is preserved through a true, watchful and diligent attendance upon that which doth not change, which is sure for ever, they lose their habitation, and their state of peace, and come to be tossed in their minds, and afflicted in their spirits; and also are the occasion of tossing, affliction and distress unto others, who not being aware, may sometimes be in danger to suffer with them, when they fly from the word, that should uphold, as it was with Jonah in the days of old. And therefore it is good for every one to have their hearts established with grace, and in the grace wait for a settlement, that under the pure teachings thereof, they may be preserved from going into those things that will procure woe; and so shall every ones state in that which is good, be more and more constant, and then will there be a growing, and going forward and not backward. For that which doth occasion any to linger, or draw back, is carelessness, unbelief and disobedience; and in such the Lord's soul doth take no pleasure. And therefore in that which doth not change, all live, by which all changeable and mutable thoughts, and imaginations, and desires will be judged down, and the spring of life over all will flow; and the first will be the last; for in that the beauty and glory doth stand for ever. And all that abide not in it, to grow in the virtue thereof, whatever they have been, at the best will be but as a fading flower in the head of the fat valley, as it was with Ephraim; the Lord will take no delight in them, but reject them, and cast them out, as such whose beauty is gone, whose gold is become dim, and whose wine is mixed with water: and so as reprobate silver shall they be esteemed even of men, because the Lord hath rejected them.

So the Lord God keep and preserve you all in that which was from the beginning, and will endure unto the end, that in that ye may flourish and grow, as the lily of the valley, and the tree by the rivers of water. This is the desire of my soul for you all, who truly loves you in the love of God, wherein I remain one with you, and am your brother in the Truth,  
JOHN BURNYEAT.

London, the 10th of the third month, 1677.

Upon the second of the tenth month, 1677, Oliver Morris, an informer, came into a meeting in Mahuntleth in Montgomery in Wales, where John Burnyeat, in the fear of God was speaking to the people, and preaching the gospel of peace and salvation unto them, for their good, as he had received from the Lord; the said informer, with several constables, and many other rude people came twice into the meeting to break it up, and made a great disturbance: but Friends sitting still, only one

who reasoned the matter with him, he at last went out, and all his company to the stable, and there took all the Friends' horses they could find in the town: but after meeting we got them again, they being then taken without any colour of law. But the next day, the said informer went to William Pugh of Mathuern, a justice of peace, so called, who came along with him, and meeting John Burnyeat, and Thomas Ellis upon the road, stopt them both, and caused them to turn back to an ale house, where this informer, and William Pugh's bailiff, swore against them for preaching at the aforesaid meeting, for which the justice fined them, and wrote a warrant and sent for a constable, who by the warrant seized upon John Burnyeat's and Thomas Ellis's horses with saddles and bridles; and so they were constrained to travel on their way on foot, till they could get to an ale house to get lodging. This reward the Lord's servants received at their hands, for their love and good will to the souls of people.

John Burnyeat's horse died within an hour and an half after seizure; and the other Friend's died in the informer's hands within six month time.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

*To the Women's meeting in Cumberland.*

London, 20th of fourth month 1678.

DEAR and well-beloved in the Lord,—with you my soul hath precious unity in the spiritual fellowship, and nearness and heavenly oneness, which stand in that life, by which we were first quickened; in which we live, and in the increase of which we grow into a heavenly understanding and true soundness in discerning and judgment; whereby the faithful come to be more and more accomplished for their places, and fitted for every good work, that so they may answer their office and membership in the true body, whereof Christ Jesus is the head; of which body we are made living members, through his love, who hath called us, and in his Son chosen us to be heirs of life.

Dear Friends, yourselves know that he, who through his bounty hath blessed us with spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, so that we are made stewards of his manifold graces, doth now require answerable service from us all, according to our gifts received from him; and whosoever is found faithful to their gifts and places, shall certainly witness an increase, and grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and so come more and more into true soundness, to the spirit of a sound mind. For you know, how richly the power of Christ was manifested in us and among us in the beginning, and how wonderfully it did work for the redeeming of our

hearts out of the world, the vanity and pleasures of it; that we might love and affect heavenly things, and delight in the glory of that which comes from heaven. But since that time many have been the exercises, and weighty have been the trials, that have been met with in our spiritual progress, through which the Lord hath led us; and many temptations hath the Lord delivered us from, and led us out of; and many weaknesses hath he passed by, and trespasses hath he in his great mercy forgiven; so that to this day we remain, and that in covenant with him: therefore have we cause to praise him, and to sing unto him.

Oh! my dear Friends, methinks I am as if I were talking with you of the Lord's mercies and former loving-kindnesses and dealings with us; and being also under a sense of our present state and capacities, to which he hath brought us, my bowels within me are even melted with a holy love and tenderness towards you; and in that love I send these lines, as the salutation of my soul, in that which lives for ever, and as a signification of that entire love, which in my heart lives towards you; wherein I desire, that both you and I may so mind our present state, and our growth, and the increase of the mercies of our God unto us, as to answer them by a faithful serving of him, and one another in that love which thinks no evil, and is never weary of doing good, and yet will not vaunt itself. Now this is that which lives in my view, the power of Christ; which was so richly manifested in the beginning, and which did then work to the preparing of us to be a people fit to do his will; and so it wrought into a cleansing, washing, and sanctifying of us, that we might be holy vessels fit for his use. Now being prepared, the same power in the faithful works mightily, to the fitting and furnishing of us unto every good work, that we might be to the praise of his grace, who hath called us; and if we so be to his praise, we must grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. And if we grow in the knowledge of Him, as we have known him to save us from sin, and to destroy the evil one, and so to be our sanctification and redemption; even so we must wait to know him to be made of God unto us wisdom, that he may be our wisdom, and that the fountain of it unto us may be the gift of his holy power in our hearts. And so then, as it did mightily work in our hearts to prepare us, even so will the same gift be felt to work mightily to furnish us with wisdom, and to enable for every good work; and so you will know him to be made of God wisdom unto you. For the holy dread of the power upon the heart in righteousness being felt, guides in wisdom him or her who speaks; the same holy fear and dread upon the heart



guides him in silence, who in silence sitteth, whose mouth is not opened, and so he is made still : and Christ your head, who is one in the man, and in the woman, is wisdom unto you ; and so here all will be kept in your places, as you keep in subjection unto Him who is the Head, the Husband of the true wife.

So dear Friends, mind His heavenly power, and keep under a holy reverence unto it ; and that will keep you savoury and reverent in your meetings, and clear and in a good understanding, and subject one unto another ; and so you will be co-workers together, and helpers one of another, and you will come to have the benefit of one another's gifts : and thus as members, will you supply in a blessed unity every one your office in the body. Therefore my counsel, as a brother in love, unto you is, let all be subject : let none, in whom the tender life in a heavenly reverence doth move for counsel, advice or otherwise, quench it, or stop the service ; for in so doing others may be wronged, as well as the individual, unto whom the Lord intends benefit by the gift ; for it is not good to stop : only let all take heed, that their own spirits may be subject, that Christ may be head in all, and that he may be your wisdom. And be open and ready in your hearts to receive counsel, help and instruction one from another ; and keep down the forward, heady and rash spirit, that would run without reverence, and speak without the true fear, from which none will rightly understand, or have a true sense of the weight of the service of this day.

O ! it is fresh in my heart, the dread, the reverence, the fear, that our hearts were filled with in the beginning, in which we went about Truth's concerns ; this same is still to be felt and minded, and then all will be kept savoury : and in this will all your meetings, your care, and labour of love be a sweet smelling sacrifice unto the Lord.

And Friends, let your monthly and quarterly meetings be kept orderly for the service determined and aimed at, that you may be retired from the world, and such not concerned in the service proposed for such meetings ; that so all that come, may be either capable of doing service in a reverent mind, or learn that which may be for Truth's honour, their own good, and your comfort. Then will all you who are concerned, get into your service without straitness ; and so will be a help one unto another in your particular gifts, and the spring of life will be opened among you ; and your meetings will be delightful unto you ; and you in that will be a delight one to another : and then with one consent, in the pleasant unity you will do the Lord's work together, as his servants and hand-maids, and be a part of his

pleasant heritage, which he hath chosen, and upon whom he rains down his blessings daily.

And so the God of peace and love fill your assemblies with his presence, life and love ; that you may flourish as the plants of his right hand planting, and be faithful through your whole day, is the desire of my heart and soul, who remains your brother in the Lord Jesus Christ.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

*Epistle to Friends at Bristol in the time of their sufferings.*

London, 20th of the Third month, 1682.

DEAR FRIENDS,—The love of my heart and soul is richly extended forth unto you. Surely my heart is affected with the exercise you are under, and endure in this day, wherein the Lord seems to be pleased to try you as in a furnace of affliction, and to prove your faith and patience, that you may come to know the value of it, even of that which is more precious than gold that perisheth. Truly my heart believes, that the Lord doth not suffer it to come upon you to destroy you, but to try you ; and when his good will is fulfilled in that, and they have filled up their measure, whose hearts are hardened in their cruelty, he will find a way to deliver and bring forth his tried and proved people, whose hearts are right before him, and whose souls are wisely set to seek him. To such shall all things be rightly sanctified, and the blessing, and the peace and glory shall rest upon their inward man, with the richness of that life which comes from heaven, for which you suffer ; for it is your innocent suffering for this, as you have the witness thereof in yourselves, that brings the crown and diadem of glory to be put upon the head of your inward man. So that the saying of the apostle comes to be witnessed, the Spirit of God and of glory shall rest upon you. Oh my most dearly beloved Friends ! How is my soul melted into tenderness, and my heart broken in the love of God towards you, and in the sense of your long and weighty trials, that you have endured and gone through ; and yet for all must they seem, as if they were but beginning. Is the strength of the hard-hearted such, that they are resolved to make a full end, or to try what the Lord can do ? Will they prove their arm to the utmost ? Well, the Lord in his own time will manifest, that it is but flesh, and not spirit, and therefore that which must decay and wither, and be dried up, and so prove weak at last, when the unseen arm of the Lord, which they know not, shall be revealed, and stretched out, and made bare ; which you that look not at things that are seen, have a faith in ; which faith is that by which you live, and in which you have your victory, and in which

your hope doth fasten as an anchor, both sure and steadfast. So that though the winds blow, and the raging waves swell high, yet you are preserved from being overthrown and destroyed.

Dearly beloved, methinks I find a word of sweet exhortation in my heart unto you, whom my soul loves, who may be, or are tried in this exercising day with bonds or imprisonments. In the first place, get into a quiet frame of spirit within yourselves, every one, and into a resignedness freely to the will of God, out of time, looking as little at that, as you can; for if you do, it will make your exercises worse and harder. For this I have experienced, that when a man is most freely resigned to the will of God, and in a right spirit most given up to suffer for him, he is fittest to have his liberty, and most commonly it is the nearest to him. Dear lambs, I know there is sometimes a travail in spirit, to get into a right place with the inward man, when the outward man is in bonds; but when the heart once gets thither, all things are made easy and comfortable, by him who said, My yoke is easy, and my burden light. And now be all concerned thus to get through in your spirits, and then you will feel that the word of God is not bound, but free; and your souls will be free in it and its holy power, and so be fed by the milk of it, that your souls will draw spiritually from it, by which you have been born again. Being thus in your inward man renewed unto God, and up into his life, where the habitation of peace and quietness is for your souls, that they cannot reach to bring a disturbance to—and there feeling your ease, joy, peace and pleasure to be such, that you can in your prison-house sing joyful praises unto the Lord; then my Friends, be watchful, tender and kind one unto another, and over one another, that love, peace and joy may be maintained among you all, who suffer rightly and innocently for the Truth of our God; that so you may be one another's joy and crown of rejoicing in the Lord Jesus Christ, your life and strength.

And dear Friends, where there is innocency and simplicity, bear one with another, and help one another, that in your sufferings you may have fellowship one with another; and so keep in the fellowship of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, where all may be humble and tender, that so while others are striving to provoke you to come out of your places, and to offend the Lord, you may not provoke one another, nor be an occasion unto any one to go out of their place in the Truth, and so to lose their peace with the Lord and in his Spirit. For I have observed, that there is a care to be [exercised] amongst Friends, at such times and in such conditions, when they are kept up together, that

all things may be kept sweet and pleasant, and that they may even join together in bearing the burden that is laid upon them; and those that are more grown, and deeper in their experience, of what they are called unto, may help the weak, and so fulfil the law of love.

Let not unprofitable discourse be gone into, for it may lead into a striving, which may hurt the unity that should be kept in the light, and hath sometimes grown into a heat, which hath set some spirits against one another, which should have been one, and kept in the unity, where the love and comfort is. And so all watching in the light, and waiting to feel the healing power and life in your souls, there will be a sweetness and heavenly oil over your hearts, in which you will have a delight one in another, and in one another's good; and this will help you all, and so the strong will be comforted in the innocent and reverent care of the weak, and the weak comforted in the love, care, gentleness and kindness of such that are strong. This preserves as a pleasant family, to the honour of the great Lord and Father. And so then shall you see, how he will delight in you, and appear among you, and enrich you, and bless you every one with a portion from himself, out of his heavenly bounty, and divine rich treasure, that none will want bread, nor refreshing wine to nourish you in the inward man; but the holy gift in you will be as a well, springing up unto eternal life.

And so, you dear suffering children of the Lord God Almighty, my heart and soul most dearly salutes you all, and in the love of God I have unity with you in your blessed testimony, for which you suffer; in which the God of all grace and truth comfort your hearts, and bear up your heads over all your hardships and deep sufferings, which, as I understand, are renewed and increased upon you. That through him, for whom you suffer, who is your God, and the great Lord of heaven and earth, you may be strong to endure and abide to the end, to his glory and honour, who is over all, and worthy of all, blessed for ever, Amen.

From your friend and brother, in that which shall outlive all hardship, in which we have believed.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

London, 1680.

DEAR FRIENDS,—You whom the Lord hath visited and reached unto by his own holy arm of heavenly power, for that blessed end for which he hath visited many nations, and appeared unto many people, viz., that he might show glory again unto mankind, which through sin they were fallen short of; that so in his visitation he might renew that heavenly image, whereby he might be glorified again among the sons of men; and now in this great day of



visitation, which hath dawned upon the nations, you in these countries have been visited and reached unto, and graciously saved and delivered from the snares of death, and opened unto the way of life; so that you have both seen into that hidden glory, and tasted of, and been enjoyers of, the power of that life which hath no end. Now the care which always ought to dwell upon your hearts, is this, that you may keep in possession that which you have received; that, as was said of old, None may take your crown from you, or none may fall short of that rest, which is prepared for the visited and redeemed of the Lord. The way you have known, God hath showed it unto you, and called you to walk therein; and the mark you have seen, the Lord hath set that before you, that you might press towards it, as the ancient Christians did, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. And now, dear Friends, that which I desire all may be concerned in, is, that there may be a pressing forward towards the mark, and a going on in this way, which the Lord hath cast up or revealed, and called you to walk in; for it is he that travels on, that shall come to the blessed end, and obtain the crown of glory; and not such as linger or sit down by the way, either to take up a rest, or look for another inheritance besides what God hath promised.—He that continues unto the end shall be saved; and he that is faithful unto death, shall have the crown of life. Therefore, let a concern be always upon your minds in this weighty matter, that you may see how it is with you, and whether you are still in your journey upon your travel towards the mark for the prize. And as you must mind whether you are in your travel, pressing forwards or no; even so you must mind also, that you press forwards towards the mark, or else you may come short of the prize, the blessed inheritance; and so be such as James speaks of, that ask and receive not, because they ask amiss. For the heavenly wisdom is to be sought after and waited for, which comes down from above, and which teacheth and guideth in the heavenly way, the heavenly path of life and salvation, where every one's steps will be sure, and their goings will be established, and their understandings will grow. For the just man's path will be as the shining light, that shines more and more unto the perfect day: here none will be like those that beat the air, or run at an uncertainty; the apostle said, they were not such, yet there may be such, whose pains and travels may be great. Therefore, still I say, let your pressing be towards the mark, in the sense of the Lord's power, which is the true guide, and the true cross, which mortifies and crucifies the flesh with its affections and lusts, and keeps self

down in the death, out of reputation, for there is none due unto it. For whosoever gives and seeks reputation to self, which ought to be made of no reputation, such can never rightly seek God's honour, nor work his work, nor obtain the right prize, nor attain the crown, but must fall short at last; for it is in him that crucifies self, and makes it of no reputation, that the election stands, and in whom the heirship is for ever. Therefore, dear Friends, wait to feel his power in your hearts, and diligently mind the blessed work thereof; that you may feel how it purgeth your consciences from dead works, and cleanseth your hearts from sin; for sin defileth the heart, so that it is not prepared for the Lord, he will not dwell therein. Therefore it must be washed, and dead works must be purged away; for no man can serve the living God therein; it must be the living works in the living power, wherein we can be accepted. And so let all mind the living power, which is the living guide, which doth guide in the living way, and keeps alive unto God; and so you will all be kept a living people, and grow up in the living wisdom that is from above, which is inwardly taught by the living gift, that is received from the Father of lights, with whom there is no variableness, or shadow of turning. And as you grow up in this wisdom, you will be constant; there will be an establishing: and such will show out of a good conversation their works, with meekness and wisdom. But sayeth the apostle, "If there be envying, and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the Truth: this wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, and devilish: for where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work. But the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, and then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; full of mercy and good fruits, &c.: and the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace;" so that you may see the fruits brought forth manifest the wisdom from whence it comes: the heavenly peaceable wisdom brings forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness, and is full of mercy, is gentle and easy to be entreated, and full of good works; but the earthly brings forth the contrary. Therefore, sayeth the apostle, if there be bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the Truth; say not, thou art in the heavenly wisdom, while this lodgeth in thee; for this wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly and sensual, and therefore can never establish, but brings confusion, because he is the author of it, who can never work good.

Therefore dear Friends, let your hearts be always kept in subjection to that power, which bridles your wills and crosses them, and keeps

you lowly, humble and gentle, where the daily dying, which the apostle was in, may be witnessed; and so you will see the true pressing forward towards the mark, and the true growing into dominion over him that would hinder. And you know, that he, whom we ought to hear, saith, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart:" and so, as every one learns of him, and minds the leadings of his power, and the teachings of his Spirit of grace in their hearts, they will grow more and more like him, and come into his nature and healing spirit, and so in his grace and life be as healers and saviours: and therefore was it said by the prophet, they should be as saviours upon Mount Zion. Now Friends, every one mind this saving, healing power in yourselves, and bow in your hearts unto it, and be still in your minds and calm; and then you shall see how it will sweeten you, level your spirits, and bring down that which is high, and lofty, and hard; and you shall see, how the mountains will melt at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Jacob; and you shall see, how the winds and seas obey your Saviour, and into what calmness he will bring your spirits; and then when all is still, your ear being opened, which is the first work of his word, you will be swift to hear, and hearing, your souls will live: and you will come down out of all the noises, floatings and swellings, into the calmness and stillness, where you will admire your Saviour, and say, What manner of man is this, that even the winds and seas obey him? And you will see, that though Jordan overflow its banks, yet at the leadings on of our Joshua, and at the entrance of the feet of our High Priest, it must be driven back; that the ransomed of the Lord may pass over dry shod. Much of this nature may be read in spirit, as there is a hearkening and keeping low; but the forward, rash and hasty, are often tossed upon the waters, and are very uncertain in their ways and doings; and therefore do produce unto themselves much affliction of soul and spirit; for to them the promise doth not belong, where it is said, He will keep them in perfect peace, whose minds are stayed upon him, because they trusted in him.

Now Friends, methinks the way is plain; may every one be careful to attend upon the power and its openings, and give way thereunto, and be humble; for it is the humble he teacheth his ways, and the meek he will guide in judgment, and the willing and obedient he will feed; for the promise is, they shall eat of the good of the land. Therefore I do beseech all, be mindful, be you all careful, keep your hearts out of the world, and the drowning, surfeiting cares and pleasures of it, that you may neither be choked, nor surfeited with the excess thereof, nor be so led up into the worldly pleasures,

and liberty out of the Truth, which that draws into, as thereby and therein to forget the Lord, and to overlook your inward state. For if any so do, they lose the glory, the beauty, and the sweetness of their heavenly condition; and then they grow weary of the way of the Lord, and are ready to say, as some of old, What profit is there in serving God, or in keeping his ordinances? And therefore may the God of life stir you up, and awaken all unto watchfulness and diligence, that you may grow rich in the inward man, and be replenished with the virtues and graces of God; that you may be a fruitful people in those parts of the world, to the honour and glory of him who hath called and visited you; who is worthy of all glory and honour, praise and dominion for ever!

And dear Friends, my heart's love reacheth unto you all, who love and fear the Lord; and in the love of God I dearly salute you all, and send this as a testimony of that love, which still lives in my heart unto you, and therein I remain, your friend and brother.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

Hartford, 19th of the Fourth month, 1682.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Unto you, whom God hath visited in his love and mercy, and unto whom he hath showed kindness through his Son our Saviour, whom he hath given for salvation unto the ends of the earth; unto you, I say, doth the real love of my heart reach forth, and for you in my heart there dwells a care, that as God in the exceeding riches of his love and mercy hath visited you, and called you to be saints, through the sanctification of the word, and purifying through faith, that you being made holy, might become heirs of eternal life through his Son Christ Jesus, and of that eternal kingdom, into which no unholy thing must enter. And now, seeing you are called with this holy calling, thus to be heirs through faith in the Seed, in whom the election and heirship doth stand for ever; do you all mind the heavenly rule and government of this holy Seed in all your hearts, that your spirits may be kept in their places, in subjection and reverence unto Him, whom the Father hath anointed, and whose Spirit the Father hath sent forth into your hearts, to lead you into all Truth, even into Him, who said, I am the Truth, in whom the fulness dwells; that you might be in Him that is true, even in the Son, in whom the heirship is: that so you may be heirs, yea, joint-heirs with Him, that is true and holy for ever.

And now my Friends, seeing the Lord in mercy hath called you unto this high and honourable calling, to be saints and heirs in Christ, mind your calling, and what you are called unto; and be careful to keep in him, and walk



in him, as you have received him, and to sit together in him, in heavenly places, as the saints of old did: for the heavenly places are in him, the safe dwelling, and he is the way, and in him is the safe walking; and therefore did the apostle exhort the saints to walk in him, as they had received him. Now my dear Friends, all learn to know what it is to walk in Christ, the power and righteousness of God, and then your steps will be sure; for he is the light, and day, where there is no occasion of stumbling. And you are to mind your sitting together in heavenly places in Christ, not asunder, not out of the unity, but together in him, who is but one in all, and holds all in oneness, in life and fellowship that abide in him. For he cannot be divided, his coat was without seam; that was the figure, and so is his Spirit, that is the covering of his body now, which he hath purchased with his own blood; it hath no division or seam in it, but is one, although it differs in manifestation or gifts, as to degree or operation, because of the many offices proper to the distinct members of one and the same body, whereof Christ is the head; yet the life through the whole body, by which every member is supplied with ability to answer its place, is but one, and thereby is the body kept in unity. For the life doth rule the members of the true body, and therefore that member that goes from under the government of the life, must needs die; death comes over it, and the power of death rules it: and hence come the breach of unity, and the discord, and the strife, and the contention.

Let all your hearts be kept in the sense of the true life and power of God, and in subjection thereunto in true love, lowliness of mind and humility of spirit. In this right frame of spirit you will be ready to serve one another in love, and not to rule over one another in lordship; for that is not proper, no, nor is it natural to the living members of the living body, unto whom Christ is the head, and over whom he rules. And so dear Friends, you all keeping in the power, and that ruling in your hearts, that keeps tender and lowly, you will be full of an holy care and the living zeal for the Lord's honour and for the preservation of his people in righteousness, that the Truth may be kept atop, and righteousness lived in by all, who make a profession of that honourable name and Truth, in which we have believed, and through which we have been saved, and sanctified, and made holy. Then will unity, love and peace spring and grow among you, and you will be a joy and comfort one to another, and strengtheners and helpers one of another in this great work and day of God. The faithful keeping their places, and their care in every meeting, and minding the order and govern-

ment of Truth in themselves, to be kept in humility, and the holy tenderness in their own hearts, there will be that sweetness and peaceable reverence, that will be savoury and comely in the eyes of all. Living and walking under the government of this peaceable spirit, you may come to be rightly concerned for God's glory, in the blessed order which the Truth hath led into, and by the power of God is now set up in the churches of Christ, for the keeping of all out, that are unclean, unruly and unholy, and preserving the camp of God in that purity, that is proper for it; that He who is holy, may delight to dwell in the midst thereof.

And dear Friends, all you that keep your habitations in the Lord's power, neglect not your gifts received from Christ; but be concerned in your places, and according to your abilities for the honour of Truth; that every thing that would bring dishonour to that worthy name, by which ye have been called, and give occasion of stumbling to the weak, may be removed in the wisdom of God, or at least by the tender power of God judged out from among you; that the camp may be kept clean, and righteousness may run down, and the glory of the Lord break forth upon you, and you therein may shine to His praise and glory for ever more.

I was also willing to let you know, that our meeting this year at London was very quiet and peaceable; blessed unity and comfortable fellowship in the power and love of God were witnessed among us, and in that we were gathered together, into that care and concern, which the state of the churches of Christ in this trying day requires. For many of our Friends, in divers places in this nation, are under great sufferings for their testimony: but otherwise the Truth doth prevail and gain upon many hearts; and through these trials God will magnify his power in the end, and crown his people with dominion; for through sufferings will the Lamb and his humble and faithful followers have the victory.

We had also account from divers countries, of the prosperity of Truth, and the state of Friends, at the yearly meeting now lately over, as Holland, and the country that way, and from Ireland and Scotland; and so had an account in letters to the yearly meeting of the state of things, and the affairs of Truth, to our great comfort. And therefore it is desired, that if the Lord should so order, that we may meet together, as hitherto we have done, and intend, if he permit to do, that you in America would endeavour to send over against that time from your several countries, an account of the prosperity of Truth, and how it is among you as to the affairs thereof, that at that meeting

Friends may have an account from you, as we have from other parts. And for this end it was desired by dear George Fox, whom many of you know hath a general care upon him for the good of the whole body, that at your half-year's meeting in the latter part of the year, you might draw up an epistle, which might be sent to be at London at the yearly meeting every year, and so from your half-year's meeting in every place, there may be an account given yearly, which will be a refreshment and comfort to Friends. Therefore it is desired, that if this come in time to your half-year's meeting, you would be mindful of it, and answer the desire of Friends; and let copies of this be sent to Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and to Long Island, and Rhode Island, and to Sandwich, and where there may be a service, or to Scituate, if the half-year's meeting be there, and to Barbadoes, or the Leeward Islands.

So with my love to you all, in that wherein all the faithful have fellowship, I conclude and remain your friend and brother in the Truth,

JOHN BURNYEAT.

*An Epistle to Friends of Bristol, directed to C. J.*

Eaglesfield, Cumberland, 1st of the Sixth month, 1682.

DEAR C. J.—In that everlasting Truth and seed of life, through which the God of Truth hath visited us, is the love and true endeared affection of my heart and spirit richly extended unto thee, with thy dear wife, and your children; as also to the faithful and true hearted to the Lord in that city, who in this trying day are given up to God, both to do and suffer for his name's sake. My soul, I can still say, is deeply affected with your suffering state, and you are many times livingly in my remembrance, and that in the near approaches of my spirit unto the Lord: for in that, in which the access unto him is experienced, you are brought very often into my view, with the suffering under which it is the pleasure of your Heavenly Father to prove your faith and confidence, and to let you know the preciousness thereof in the time of need. And now my dearly beloved, see that you keep in the faith that gives the victory, and truly saves and defends; and know that ancient saying true for ever, The very hairs of your head are all numbered, and not one shall fall to the ground, without your Father's providence. Therefore let your eyes be unto him, for salvation and preservation, and know that He can and will deliver, when he sees good; for you know him that is the living God, that reigns, and will reign over all, and in due time make all know that he can do

whatsoever he pleaseth in heaven and in the earth.

Mind your knowledge of him, in that which may be known of him in your hearts, and your unity with his life in your souls, that you may all feel the peace thereof, and the holy spring therein, which man by all his cruelty cannot put a stop to. But when they that seek to destroy you, and to take all comfort from you, have done all they can, this spring being open in your hearts, you have comfort, peace and joy, that they neither know, nor can keep from you. Oh! you dear suffering children and tender babes of the Almighty, who are called to this day of temptation or trial, how is my very heart's love let forth unto you at this time, as at many other times! The Lord, the God of strength, be with you and strengthen and fill your tender souls with the glory of his life, and the sweetness of his presence, that your spirits may praise him with gladness in the midst of all these exercises, with which you are compassed. And now my dear Friends, methinks I see the wall with which the God of Israel doth compass you about, over which the adversary cannot shoot an arrow; though his boasting may be great what he will do, as it was of old. Oh! happy are they that abide within it, and spread their cause before the Lord, who is the living God. Remember the king of old, who commanded silence, and said, Answer him not a word, and so returned to the temple and to the altar of the Lord, and spread the cause before him, and confessed the weakness of the daughter of Zion to bring forth; and also his faith in the sufficiency of God's power, when he said, Thou art able to save, &c.

Live up to the Lord in your spirits, and be faithful, and keep your peace with him in the inner man, and mind your unity with his Spirit, and take heed of that which would obstruct your fellowship with his life; let no fair pretences prevail over you, that may have any tendency to bring you into bondage; for that bondage will prove the greatest slavery: and this I believe you know right well.

And now my dear Friends, all of you minding your inward freedom, and your spiritual ease, in the freedom and liberty given you of God through Christ your Saviour; you will have a habitation filled with glory, riches and comfort, over which the enemy's cloud cannot come: and in that you will see through to the end of all, that would either darken, or bring distress. You will see how good it is to trust in the Lord, and to rely upon his power, and he given up freely to his will.

My love is truly unto you all, and in the love with which I have anciently loved you, do I salute you all, you tender suffering children; and with my soul and spirit desire, that God in



mercy and kindness may bless you with spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, and enrich your souls with the Divine fatness of his house, and pleasure of his life, that you may have joy every day, and delight in your bosoms; that so your strength may be renewed, and your ability so increased, that you may be able to bear what is upon you, till the Lord see good to work your deliverance, and ease you of the yoke and burden that you bear. Which the Lord in mercy take off, if it be his pleasure, is the desire of

Your friend and brother in the fellowship of the sufferings and tribulation, and also of the consolation, which we are called unto through Christ Jesus our Lord.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

#### CHAPTER VII.

*An abstract of some of John Burnyeat's letters to his brother, T. A., of London, in continuation of his travels for the last eight years of his life, being all in his own hand-writing.*

DUBLIN, the twenty-eighth of the eighth month, 1682.—I am arrived here safely from Cumberland, and was at all those meetings I had appointed in Westmoreland, viz. I had a large meeting at Camsgill on the third-day of the week, it being the general meeting; it was a most pleasant day, the meeting out of doors very large, Friends so generally came in. And indeed the Lord's power was with us; and my heart was greatly enlarged unto Friends. The fourth-day following I was at Sedberg; the meeting was without doors by the meeting-house, the doors being shut up by the officers, it was quiet and large. The fifth-day I was at Grayrigg; sixth-day at the Height; first-day at Swarthmore; and on the third-day at Hawkshead, and had a blessed meeting; my heart was comforted. The fourth-day we had a great flood, which hindered me from getting home that day; but I got to Keswick in Cumberland; and fifth-day got home to our meeting at Pardsay, and was also there the first-day, where the Lord enlarged my heart to clear myself heartily that day. The third-day I was at the men's meeting, where the Lord was richly with us; everlasting glory be to Him for ever! The fourth-day early I came down to Whitehaven; several Friends came with me, but the ship being ready I could not stay. So I went on board, and the next day in the evening arrived safely here at Dublin; where all is well.

Dublin, the thirteenth of the ninth month, 1682.—It greatly pleases me to hear of Friends in England, and how it is with them in this trying day. For as we love the Truth, and one

another therein, we have a concern upon us for one another, and for the Truth in general: and therefore I delight in the Truth's prevailing, and in Friends' prospering therein. The Lord stir up all concerned in their places, to be faithful, that none may shrink in the day of trial, &c.

Last week was our half-year's meeting; many Friends were here, and a blessed season we had, through the enriching virtue of the Lord's power; and in love, peace, and concord, all was carried on amongst us: and so all was sweet and comfortable. There is a discourse of putting the laws in execution against Dis-senters; however, if the Lord suffer such a thing to be, I believe, it will be for his own glory at last—in manifesting the approved, and trying the faith of his people. But we are yet quiet, save some that are in prison for tithes. Our meetings are large and full in this nation, and Friends tell me, there is an openness in many places. O! that we may be found faithful, that we may work with him in his vineyard and harvest.

Dublin, the sixth of the tenth month, 1682.—The Lord preserve us all in the faith which gives the victory, and faithful to God in this trying day; wherein it appears, that the Lord sees it meet to try his people, both in their faith and patience, that the approved may be made manifest. We have large meetings in this city, and an openness in divers places in the country. I have been in the counties of Wicklow and Carlow, and the Queen's county, and at the Moate, and Edenderry: and to-morrow I intend, if the Lord will, to go forth again to the province meeting at Rosenallis.

The following lively Epistle is without a specific address.

Cork, the 25th of the Tenth month, 1682.

DEAR FRIENDS,—In the everlasting covenant of life and peace, and in the pure spring of divine love do I remember you, and very dearly salute you all, who in the faith that gives the victory, remain and stand steadfast. Keep your habitations and dwellings in the heavenly places, in Christ Jesus your redeemer, who hath redeemed you out of the wickedness that is in the world, unto himself, and so into his own power and nature, which is righteous; that you might become the righteousness of God in him, and be restored into the image, nature and state, in which man was created, by him that made all things good and man in his own image, that he might delight in man, and that man might honour and glorify him. Now this work of restoration, you know, God hath sent his Son to effect and accomplish in man, and for man, that again man might honour his

Creator, and become the delight of his maker, whose delight is to dwell in the habitable parts of the earth, even among the sons of men. Therefore, that you may be his delight, and that he may take pleasure in you, keep in that which hath renewed, or doth renew and change the heart and spirit, that in the newness thereof you may serve, and honour, and glorify him, from whom the renewing power and word doth come, that so the new creation, the new heavens and earth may be known, wherein righteousness dwells; and that you may have your conversation there, and shine as lights among this crooked and perverse generation, in whose heaven and earth unrighteousness doth dwell. And, as the apostle said, the Lord will not only shake the earth, but the heavens, also, that that which cannot be shaken, may remain. I believe, that the heavens of many will be shaken, before this searching, winnowing, trying day be over, that is growing upon the nations and people; for the heavens of many are covered with darkness and thick clouds, and the glory thereof is gone, and the brightness and steadfastness thereof is lost; not a star to be seen, except a wanderer out of its course, out of the covenant, that hath greatly lost its light, and so in the clouds of darkness driven to and fro by the variable, uncertain winds, that are, and may be suffered to blow, to shake that which is shakeable, and remove that which will not endure, that that which cannot be shaken may remain, and the glory of that may appear which will endure.

Dear Friends, God hath manifested that which is sure for ever, and will stand, and you have known the power of it; and as you keep in the holy sense thereof, you will be steadfast, constant and firm in your minds, and not soon shaken, nor removed from your habitation and steadfastness in the gospel of Christ Jesus our Lord, which is the power of God, which is above all powers, thrones and dominions, and will stand, and cannot be shaken. For the gospel power and kingdom, is above John's ministration, and he that is least there, is greater than John; and is come to that which is surer than a reed, that may be shaken with the wind; though it be not broken, yet it may be shaken. They that would dwell there, and not come on to Christ the Rock, that cannot be shaken, their dwelling is not safe, their habitation will be thrown down, and their houses made a desolation. Methinks I see it so in our days, upon such that have sat down short of the eternal substance that ended all shadows, John's, as well as those that were before him.

Therefore, dearly beloved, you that have known the eternal substance, the living power of the Lord Jesus Christ manifested in your hearts, by which you have been quickened,

raised up, and made alive unto God, keep to the power in your souls, and mind its living in you, that you therein may live unto God, and so abide a living people through your age, God's living witnesses in your day, without alteration; and be such as have not only been hearers of the word, but doers also; whose house is built upon the rock Christ Jesus, which by the storms and winds cannot be thrown down. For the sure foundation being kept to, you will endure, and the Lord will bless you with peace in your souls, and true pleasure in your hearts, and you will enjoy the true riches and heavenly treasure, and learn, as you keep to the power of God in your hearts, to lay up this true treasure in heaven, through the true faith, where the thief cannot come to steal, nor the moth to waste or corrupt. Your riches and treasures, that you trust and delight in, being thus laid up in safety, your hearts will be quiet, and settled in the kingdom, in heaven, where the treasure is; and then Christ's words will be witnessed; where the treasure is, there will the heart be also.

Oh, my dear Friends, how true are these things! happy are they that grow up into the experience thereof, through the operation and openings of the heavenly power in their hearts; such are kept free from that which would entangle, and their feet at liberty, that they may run cheerfully the race that is set before them. For the riches, the prize that their hearts are upon, being before them, and the mark also that they look at, this draws them to press forward; so that they are not of them that draw back to perdition. And thus Friends, you may see where, and in what, your profitable exercise is through your day, and where the lasting gain, riches and treasure are to be got, that will endure, and be your portion, when the enemy and all his instruments have done what they can. This made David say, he would not fear what man could do unto him, for the Lord was his Shepherd, and the Lord was the portion of his cup, and the lot of his inheritance. Therefore keep your hearts out of the world, and the riches thereof, which are uncertain; and also above delighting in the glory thereof; and let your delight be in the Lord, and in the sweet and pleasant enjoyment of his righteous, peaceable power all the day long, that you may still feel a habitation therein, and a place of safety to flee unto in every needful time. Wait upon its holy springings in your hearts, that your souls being thereby united unto God, you may dwell in his covenant, and so in unity with him and his blessed Son, and feel the fellowship, which is a mystery, held in a pure conscience.

And dearly beloved, live at peace among yourselves, and wait for the spirit of love and



concord to spring in all your souls, that the true mark of Christ's disciples may appear among you. Remember what he said unto his of old; By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if you love one another; and what the apostle said, He that dwells in God dwells in love. I entreat you, wait for the power of it in your hearts, that you may therein serve one another, and the whole body may be edified, the weak strengthened, the faint-hearted encouraged, and the lame not turned out of the way, but all helped forward on their way. And all being thus in the righteous holy power, exercised for good, which it will lead you unto, will be a strength and comfort, and crown of rejoicing one to another, and helpers forward of one another's joy in the Lord. Surely this is needful in this day, wherein Zion hath so many enemies; she had need to be as a city that is at peace within herself. So the God of peace keep you all in the dominion of his life, that therein you may reign over every hurtful thing, and dwell in the holy mount of safety, where the destroyer cannot come; upon the holy hill of Zion, about which he hath appointed salvation for walls and bulwarks; that you may all witness peace to be within her walls, and prosperity within her palaces. And so every day high praises may be in your hearts and mouths unto her King, who is King of kings, and reigns over all, who only hath immortality, and dwells in the light: to whom be glory and eternal praises, saith my soul for evermore, Amen,

From your friend, and one that truly loves you in the Truth.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

#### LETTER TO FRIENDS IN PRISON.

Castle Salem, in the west of Ireland, the  
30th of the Tenth month, 1682.

DEAR R. S.,—Unto thee with thy dear wife, C. H., R. V., and theirs, with the rest of Friends there in prison with you, doth the living sincere love of my heart truly reach and livingly flow forth; for I can say of a truth, that you are often near my soul, and livingly in my heart, and that in my nearest approach unto the Lord, when my life opens, and my spirit is let forth through the power thereof, and poured forth into his bosom, (as blessed be his name, he gives us access by his own Spirit) even then are you many times fresh in my heart and livingly before me, as if I were present in body with you; and with great delight do I put up my supplications upon your account, unto the Lord our God, rejoicing to feel the Lord so concerned for you, that by his own Spirit he so often stirs up a remembrance of you in my soul, and that upon such holy occasions. Oh!

blessed be his name, he is the keeper of Israel, that neither slumbers nor sleeps, but remembers his people, and his eye is open to see their afflictions, and his ear is open to hear their complaints and tender groanings; and no doubt but he will arise in his own due time, to work deliverance and salvation, and they shall glorify him. Oh! my dear Friends, how is my soul overcome in the weighty love of God at this time unto you all, who suffer, or are given up to suffer, and value your testimony above all things for his name's sake that hath loved you; and so are of that number, that love not your lives unto death, but are given up to follow the Lamb, whithersoever he goes. My heart is affected with you in your testimony, and can say, as Deborah of old, my heart is towards you, who offer yourselves willingly among the people, now to suffer in the Lamb's battle (as they did to war in the outward war) for that is the way the Lamb and his followers do overcome; he was made perfect through suffering: and the promise still is, the Lamb shall have the victory; everlasting glory, and honour and praise to the living God that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb, who is worthy for ever more.

Therefore dear Friends, look not out, look not back; but to the Lord your rock and strength look for help and for deliverance; for you know, that it is from him that salvation comes, and not from the hills and mountains; for he is the God of the whole earth, and the mountains shall melt at his presence, and before him shall the hills flee, yea the sea also shall flee, and Jordan shall be driven back, that his ransomed may pass on, his redeemed people may enter into their rest. Oh! therefore, let us cleave unto the Lord our Saviour, and so follow Christ our redeemer, who can cut a passage through the great deep; let us not be dismayed at any thing, that may rise up in our way to oppose us, so long as our Leader is with us, and our blessed Rock attends us, and we feel our dwelling within the munition thereof; our bread will be sure, and our water will not fail, and our hearts will not be barren, our souls will not be faint; but we shall grow through the blessings of Israel's God, and live, when with all their cunning the enemies of the Truth have contrived our overthrow. For there is nothing can hurt us more in the trying day, than want of faith in God's power and arm of strength, which never failed them that put their trust therein. And therefore, my dearly beloved, with whom my soul is bound up in the covenant of life, wherein I have unity with you, and can say, although you bear the burden, yet my heart is concerned for you, and also with you in your godly concern and testimony, for which you suffer; and therefore cannot you be forgotten by me. For as we love

the Truth, and the holy testimony thereof, for which you suffer and are in bonds, in spirit we are often as bound with you, and fellow-feelers of your burdens. And furthermore, we cannot propose to ourselves any other, than ere long to be sharers with you, to be partakers of the like sufferings, trials and exercises; and therefore still it is our safety to be prepared in our hearts, and into the will of God to be given up to do or suffer for his name's sake.

For our days do seem to be like the days of old, wherein the apostle said, they were killed all the day long, and accounted as sheep for the slaughter. If we look into the Scriptures, we have a cloud of witnesses; and so through what was written aforetime, which was written for our learning, we may have comfort, and our hope strengthened, and so be encouraged to trust in the Lord our strength, and in whom our hope is. And now it is still to be our care, as lambs or sheep, to live in innocence, and so as lambs to suffer for our innocence, and for our testimony, which we are called unto; and surely, I often consider, what more innocent practice can we ever be found in, than in our peaceable meetings, to wait upon the living God and to worship him, in his peaceable spirit, by which our hearts come to be cleansed of all evil, and our spirits gathered into the peace and love of God, in which we love God again; and not only so, but have our hearts filled with love and goodwill towards all men, in the peace and sweetness of which, we are enabled to pray for the good of all, even our enemies. And if this must be misinterpreted, and our righteous and godly intentions counted a transgression of the law, and a breach of the peace, I do not know what such who so do, can call innocence. Surely, every one whose heart is rightly exercised in this godly duty, which the living God calls us unto, must needs be innocent before God, and in that frame of spirit, wherein we cannot, nay, dare not, desire the hurt of any; but as the Truth ariseth, pray for all men, both for rulers and people. Thus I know, under the exercise of the righteous power of Christ in our meetings, are our hearts qualified; and then if we must suffer for well doing, under the name of evil doers, we shall be happy; and may satisfy ourselves, with what Christ of old said, the servant is not greater than his Lord: for if they accounted him a blasphemer, and said, he had a devil, and so persecuted him; we may well look unto him, and comfort ourselves in following such an example.

Be ye comforted, you faithful sufferers with Christ and for him, and comfort your hearts in the recompense of reward, which is with God for you; and wait for the Spirit of God, and of glory, that it may rest upon you.

Never look out, for your cause is good; it is that which God hath called you unto, and you are happy in your nobility and valour; and whosoever shrinks from their innocent testimony in this matter, will suffer loss in their inward condition: for if any draw back, such shall know the Lord will not go with them, nor have any pleasure in them, nor be their comforter, but reprover.

My soul desires that all may be valiant for the Truth, and stand in the power thereof, to what the Lord hath called unto, that so you may be together as a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid. For though the foxes have holes, and the fowls of the air have nests, yet remember what Christ said to the man who said he would follow him.

The Lord give you all valour and strength, and enrich you with true patience, which tribulation worketh into the right exercise, that you may all grow up into the true experience, and into the hope, which makes not ashamed; that the love of God may be shed abroad in your hearts every day, by his Spirit, which he hath given you: and then will you all feel a dwelling in his covenant, and in his peace.

And so in this covenant, peace and love, I very dearly salute you all, and in it do I still remain, your friend and brother.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

Cork, the eighth of the eleventh month, 1682. I have been through these parts as far as Castlehaven, and had a meeting there yesterday week, and so returned back again to Cork, to the six-weeks meeting; where we had a blessed season, the Lord's power was richly amongst us. And after to-morrow, I think to go towards Youghal, and so into the county of Tipperary, and then to Castle-dermot meeting; and then for aught I know, towards Dublin. I am comforted in my service amongst Friends, who are generally glad of my coming, and of what they have an expectation of in relation to my marriage: but my heart is fully satisfied, in that I feel the Lord's goodness towards us, and in his fear I do delight to wait upon him in this, as in other things, and desire that we may be a good example. And, therefore, I find it our way not to be hasty: the Lord give us wisdom to walk so, as that he may be glorified, and Friends in us comforted. This I desire above all earthly things.

Dublin, the thirtieth of the first month, 1683. I am concerned to hear of the continued sufferings of our Friends in England: we are yet at ease here, as from those things: the Lord work our hearts more and more into thankfulness, and guide us in wisdom, to walk worthy of these favours, that in displeasure he may never take them from us; but whenever he is pleased



to remove them, it may be in his love, for a trial unto us, as I believe it is with many of his faithful ones, whom my soul desires he may still preserve in the faith that gives the victory.

I have been in the north, and did pass amongst Friends, and had a blessed service. I am intending to go forth of this city to-morrow towards Wicklow, and so through the county of Wexford to visit Friends there.

Dublin, the tenth of the third month, 1683. We have now accomplished that concern of marriage, which we have for some time been under; and blessed be the Lord, he has been unto us a comfortable director in our undertakings in this matter, to the satisfaction of Friends in the general, who were with us. And besides the Friends of this city, we had many of the Friends of the south end of the nation, who were come to be at the half-year's meeting, and some the sooner upon our account; and abundance of other people. We had a blessed meeting; several brethren were with us, and the Lord's power assisting, all things were well, and we had peace and comfort, and the Truth was honoured; and not only Friends, but many sober people were greatly affected with the management thereof. Well; the Lord will honour his name and way and people, if we be but careful to honour him. The Lord is good unto us: we have cause to mind his goodness unto us; and truly that which is chiefly in both our hearts, is to seek his glory, and above all things to desire preservation in his wisdom.

Dublin, the twenty-fourth of the fifth month.—There is a report abroad, that meetings will be disturbed and broken up, but nothing is done yet; it may be that Friends here, as well as in other parts, must bear the burden, as to the right part in suffering; and I hope, it will be Friends' care to be given up in the innocency, to suffer for that testimony the Lord hath raised in their hearts, by which we have been kept innocent and clear from the beginning under all governments: and so we never could touch or join with that which did seek the hurt of any. This must be our cloak or covering, and this gives boldness, and is and will be the ease of the spirits of all the faithful, and that which will answer the consciences of our adversaries. I believe, if some suffering do come, it will work for good through trying our spirits, faith and patience, so that many may come to know themselves, and the Lord, and his power also, better thereby.

From the Marshalsea prison in Dublin, the ninth of the sixth month.—We are very likely to partake in some measure of suffering with our Friends and brethren in England. The last first-day, the mayor sent the marshal to our meeting in the forenoon; I was speak-

ing, and he commanded me to go with him, which after some discourse I did. He commanded the meeting to disperse, but Friends kept quiet in their places. I was carried before the mayor, with whom I had some discourse to this effect: He asked me, why we did act contrary to the government, having been commanded not to meet? I told him, we do nothing in contempt of the government. But, said he, why do you not obey then? I said, because it is matter of conscience to us, and that which we believe to be our indispensable duty, to meet together to worship God. To which he answered, you may be misled. I told him if we were misled, we were willing to be informed, if any could do it. Then it was urged, other dissenters had submitted, and why would not we? I said, what they do, will be no plea for us before the judgment-seat of the great God. So after some other discourse, the mayor committed me to this prison. The professors have left their public meeting-places: the bishop of Dublin sent for them, and they consulted together, and with consent returned this answer, that they would forbear. The bishop also sent for A. S. and did to him require the same of Friends; but A. S. told him, we could not forbear to meet to worship God, &c. In the end the bishop said, if we would meet, we must take what did follow, &c. However, I hope it will work for the honour of Truth. The Lord preserve Friends faithful and valiant: I hope God has a remnant, that will stand in the trial: though if sufferings do come hard, it may cause some to turn their backs. Let the Lord order, as He pleaseth; I know no better way, than to endeavour to be prepared for suffering.

#### EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN GLOUCESTER PRISON.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Unto you, who are faithful sufferers in that city, with the rest of the faithful in that country, who in your hearts are given up to suffer for the holy name of the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, who hath called and redeemed, chosen, and given you hearts not only to believe, but also to suffer for his name's sake, and thus had counted you worthy as vessels of his choice; unto you all, I say, in the name and love of Christ Jesus our Lord, I send greeting, and with all the tender salutation of my soul and spirit in that near affection and holy union, into which, by the power of the Holy Ghost we have been gathered and united: so that as members of that one body, into which we have been baptized by that one Spirit, wherein the true access unto God doth stand, we have our fellowship together, and so drink together into that one spirit, and are refreshed with the water that flows from the living Rock, that followed Israel of old, who is

the Rock of our age, the stay of the generation of the righteous in this day, that upon which we have our sure standing, so that we cannot be easily moved. Though the winds do blow, and the waters swell and toss, and the unestablished be driven to and fro, and so afflicted in their spirits, yet this Rock abides for a habitation and being of safety unto all them that keep firm thereunto; and as they abide near in their spirit unto the holy power thereof, they find the living spring of that grace from the same in their souls, that the world cannot take away, whose treasure the thief cannot steal, nor the moth waste; for it is heavenly, and kept by a heavenly hand. And such who mind this, will be ready to offer up their earthly substance, and also themselves, into his hand and will, out of which no man is able to pluck. And surely, in this day there is no true rest or satisfaction to the souls or spirits of Friends; but as they get hither in the faith with their hearts and spirits: and when we are here spiritually, Oh, this holy shield, how doth it defend! Oh, the holy Rock, how do we sit under the shadow of it! Oh, the holy joy, that the dwellers upon this do feel in their spirits, though the tempest be great! Oh, the God of heaven keep us all in the holy sense of this, that our spirits may be borne up from sinking under our exercises in the trial; that so we may all glorify him in our day.

Dearly beloved, you tender, suffering children, whose hearts are tender of God's glory, and therefore are willing to give up yourselves and your all for his name's sake, that you may be of that number, who following the Lamb whithersoever he goes, and not loving your lives unto death, that you may stand with him upon Mount Zion: my heart and soul is knit unto you, and you are near me, and in the unity of the ancient life, I feeling love abundantly to flow unto you, you have had a proof of the sincerity of my love of old unto you: and truly, you that stand in your innocent testimony faithfully, do engage my heart still more and more in the love unto you. Oh the tender meltings of my spirit in the sweetness of the love of God, in which I reach you, and rejoice with you in your joy, which all the wrath of man cannot put a stop unto. I know, your hearts are at ease, and your spirits free, and the weights and burdens from off you who are freely given up to suffer, though in these bonds outwardly; but there can be no such spiritual portion received by any that shrink from their testimony in this day of trial. For the word is true for ever, they that suffer with him, shall reign with him: He, the Captain, was made perfect through sufferings, he must be followed by all that come in the fulness, to partake with him of his glory, And such who draw back, and

would find a place of safety for themselves to escape their sufferings for their testimony, though they should fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, the Lord's hand will find them out, and there will not only be a holding back of the portion, but a spiritual pain will overtake, where the heart is tender; and because thereof, uneasy will every place be unto their spirits.

And therefore, my dear Friends, keep in the faith and word that justifies, and then will you reign in the seed that is heir for ever; wherein you will overcome, and inherit, and be conquerors, and so triumph with the Lamb that must have the victory, before whose feet the crowns of all the mighty must be laid down; unto whom the kings of the earth, and all flesh must bow; in him we trust, his heavenly kingdom we wait for, and pray for the coming of, that even such as are our enemies, by the power thereof may be converted unto God, and so have an inheritance with us in that kingdom, that hath no end. That so mankind might rest together in that hope, that makes not ashamed; where the love of God might be shed abroad in all hearts by his Spirit. Thus God is filling the hearts of his children with good will towards all: the Lord keep us therein for ever!

Dear Friends, by this know that I am well, and am now come to have a share with you of the sufferings that attend for the gospel's sake. I have been three weeks a prisoner here in the Marshalsea of Dublin. So in the true fellowship of the gospel am a partaker with you both of the sufferings and consolation that attend us for the testimony thereof. I remain your brother.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

From the Marshalsea, in the city of Dublin,  
the 25th of the Sixth month, 1683.

Dublin, the ninth of the seventh month.  
—We are satisfied, that the Lord's hand is in all these things; and doubtless, he hath a purpose to magnify his arm, and thereby to exalt his own name and precious Truth in the end; and in his so doing, his people shall be comforted, and receive the reward, even every one that endures unto the end. And truly, as our eye is unto Him in our exercise, we feel still a ground for a sure hope, even that which abides as an anchor sure and steadfast; by which we are held, that we cannot be driven away. In this is our comfort, when we seem as to the outward, as if we had no surer place, than upon the tossing waves of the troubled tempestuous sea; all is uncertain, no steadfastness or stay for rest unto any in looking out. And therefore I often think, I am satisfied it is God's way, thus to blow upon the nations with the



breath of his displeasure, that all the waters (for the people are waters) may be tossed together, and that they may be made restless, and driven on heaps, and into confusion; and so become a sea into which Babylon, as a great millstone, must fall, to make her perpetual end; even that mystery Babylon spoken of, of old, that hath so prevailed, and made the nations drunk, and gone over peoples and languages;—not one people only; and all that partake with her in her sins, must partake with her in her plagues and judgments. And therefore is the Lord calling out of her; but her sins, her delights and delicacies, many are unwilling to part with: and that is the reason why many stay there, that do not think themselves within her borders. But the nations are drunk with her wine, and know not what they are doing; for their understanding is lost. O! the sadness of that day! my soul often doth view it; but the greatness of their sin doth draw it down upon them, which is come into the view and remembrance of the dreadful God.

And therefore may all the righteous rejoice, who truly feel redemption out of her, and are come, through Christ the seed, to be sons and daughters of Zion; and so heirs of the peaceable Jerusalem, which is built upon the rock and foundation, which the gates of hell cannot prevail against.

We are here still detained prisoners, and have of late written to the mayor; but he answered, he would not set us at liberty without an order from the deputy.\* Then we wrote to him, and A. S. and S. C. did go to him, and he was very kind to them, and told them, he had a greater love for us, than any other dissenters, because he believed that we did mean honestly.

Dublin, the fourth of the eighth month, 1683.—I have been a time in the country, and came into the city again but yesterday. I went to the province meetings at Rosenallis, and have visited many meetings: I was comforted with Friends in the good presence of the power that did attend us. Things are pretty well among Friends, and our meetings large and full. We feel little of those sufferings which our dear Friends in England have heavy upon them: the Lord preserve us tender, low and humble, that we may be worthy of such a mercy from the hand of the Lord.

Dublin, the sixteenth of the eighth month.—I am now cleared of my imprisonment; we wrote to the deputy a few lines, which he carried to the council. After which he sent his secretary to the recorder of the city with his order for our release; which was very full and clear, without anything demanded of us.

I have not heard that Friends in any part of this nation are meddled with. We enjoy great favours at the hand of the Lord: O! that we may walk worthy thereof for ever, and be moved thereby to a sense of what our dear Friends in England still suffer; and then will the mercies we live under, be rightly valued.

Dublin, the ninth of the twelfth month.—I have been through all the meetings in Ulster, and returned home but the third-day this week. I had a blessed time amongst Friends, and found things in the main very well. I had large and peaceable meetings, which is a mercy I desire the Lord may so sanctify unto us, as that we may walk worthy of them, while they are afforded us: and when he sees meet to order it otherwise, we may be prepared. I have been but little at home of late, and know nothing but that I may go next week forth of town again towards the other end of the nation.

Dublin, the seventeenth of the first month, 1684.—I came home this day: I have been through the most of the South and Western parts, and have had a good journey, and found Friends generally well, and all our meetings peaceable.

Dublin, the twentieth of the first month.—In my last I hinted, that I was but newly come home from visiting Friends in the South-end of the nation, and so from the Province-meeting at Castle-dermot. I came home on the second-day, and an appointed marriage\* was to be on the third-day, which [took place] accordingly; and abundance of people there was, so that we had a good opportunity, and the people generally well satisfied: so that a very great report of recommendation is abroad through the city concerning our order and method, and the gravity and solemn manner of our accomplishing it. It is greatly our comfort, when in all our ways we honour the Truth. I have had a busy winter in travelling, and that prosperously; and now I see nothing, but I shall have liberty to stay awhile at home. The Lord is good to us, and orders things to our comfort; and we are comforted in him, and one in another: blessed be his name for ever!

Dublin, the ninth of the third month.—It is just the time of our half-year's meeting, and there are many Friends in town. We had a very large meeting, and very quiet and well, and things in the general very well amongst Friends as relating to Truth. We have cause to be thankful to the Lord for his mercies and comforts we enjoy; who is the Author of all mercies and comforts, sanctifying all things rightly to them that fear and love him, through the sanctifying of their hearts by his word, that

\* The Earl of Arran.

\* This was Amos Strettel's marriage.

keeps, bears up, and upholds. The Lord keep all our hearts stayed in this, and then will all things work together for good, according to the ancient saying.

Crabtreebeck in Cumberland, the twelfth of the sixth month.—I left Dublin, sixth-day was a week; I have some intent to go over into Scotland, but am not yet certain of the time: but do hope, if the Lord preserve me in my liberty, to return into this country again.

Graysouthen, the nineteenth of the sixth month.—Between two or three weeks' time I hope to be as far as Edinburgh.

Leith, the sixth of the eighth month.—I have had a very peaceable and prosperous journey, since I came into Scotland hitherto. I came to Edinburgh at the time appointed, and stayed here one first-day; and then took my journey into the north, and J. H. and J. T. with me. I spent about three weeks there, and in my journey: had meetings, while I was there, almost every day, and a blessed open service, through the Lord's power, amongst Friends. For there is an open, tender-hearted people, and they were glad of my coming; for there had not been any English Friend among them of a long time. And being clear, J. T. and I came away this day a week, and left J. H. there; we got to this town the fourth-day of the last week, and were at Edinburgh the fifth-day at their meeting, and yesterday had a blessed meeting there in the forenoon, and here the afternoon. To-morrow we intend to take our journey for the west; and do hope to be clear this day week to go for England, and to be in Cumberland to-morrow week, if the Lord will. Hitherto all hath been very quiet where I have been; and I hear nothing, but Friends' meetings are quiet all over Scotland, and Friends are suffered to be quiet: but in some places they are very busy with some other people. Here hath been a pretty deal ado about a plot; but of these things we know nothing, nor in such doings have any hand, and therefore about it desire not to meddle. Though others' doings may bring sufferings upon us; yet still our happiness is, to be kept innocent, that if we suffer, it may not be for evil-doing; and then it will be well.

Eaglesfield, the twelfth of the ninth month.—Truly in this trying day, wherein we are all of us like to have our faith and love to God tried, our greatest concern always is, to be in our hearts truly and wisely given up, and resigned to the will of God; that we may therein rest in and under whatsoever the Lord may order for us, or call us unto; and then may we have peace in every exercise, and have dominion in our spirits over every opposition, many of which the true travelling Israel of God meet with in this age.

I got very well through the west of Scotland, and met with no disturbance: all was quiet when I was there. Our meetings are quiet in Cumberland: I suppose, I may stay yet about two weeks here.

Stockton, the eleventh of the tenth month.—I came out of Cumberland about two weeks ago, and was at Strickland-head, and then came on into Bishoprick, and thought I should but have touched at Darnton [Darlington] and this town, and so on into Yorkshire; but when I was at Darnton, it came upon me to give Friends a visit further in this county. So I went to Durham, and had a blessed meeting there, and did visit the prisoners. Then I went to Sunderland, had a meeting there, and then to Shields, and to T. F.'s and had a meeting there. I thence returned to Shotton, and to this town, and had a blessed meeting in the evening yesternight, it being their meeting time. They are usually kept out of their meeting-house here; but yesternight we got in, and the meeting was full and peaceable: and so have been all the meetings, where I have been. And now I am ready to go over into Yorkshire, and do hope to be at York in about two weeks' time. I suppose I may be there first-day come two weeks.

Grayrigg, the twenty-sixth of the eleventh month, 1684.—I have had a very comfortable and peaceable journey, and came through Cleveland and the Moors to Whitby, and from thence up to Malton, and to York: meetings have been quiet all along where I have been. Yesterday fortnight a constable was at the meeting-house before I came, and stood in the way to speak with the Friend that I came along with, it being just before the sessions. He had a warrant, and was to give his return at sessions; and therefore threatened, that if we would not forbear to meet that day, he must carry us before a justice. However, after we had reasoned awhile with him, we parted, and went into the meeting; and he went away, and did not come into the meeting. So we had a blessed meeting, and parted in peace; and the Lord's power was over all, to our great joy.

This was all the appearance of molestation I have yet met with: and I have had a very good season, and abundance of meetings, since I left York. In Yorkshire I was at Robert Lodge's house, and had his company a pretty time out of Yorkshire. I went to Lancaster, and when I had visited Friends, I came into Westmoreland to Preston meeting; and yesterday was at Sedberg: we had a peaceable meeting, but out of the meeting-house in the street, the meeting-house being locked up from Friends. I intend some meetings in this county, and so down to Swarthmore, and on into Cumberland, as the Lord makes way.



Eaglesfield, the twenty-fifth of the twelfth month.—I have had a very peaceable journey, and visited Friends' meetings very fully in Westmoreland, and all was quiet. Since I came into Cumberland, I was at Carlisle and the Border; now my service seems to be over, and I am preparing to go home. I was at Workington this day, and to-morrow I intend to go to Whitehaven, and to take the first opportunity for Dublin. Thus far I have been preserved very well through all my travels; and now I hope I shall get home.

Dublin, the 25th of the first month, 1685.—I got well here last night, but was put ashore in the north, in Strangford River, about seventy miles from Dublin, and about four-and-twenty from Lisnagarvy: and being put ashore there, I found an openness in my heart to give Friends a visit in the north; so I spent near two weeks among them, and had many good meetings. I am very glad and my heart is truly thankful to the Lord, for his preservation through this last journey so safe and clear, and that he ordered my way so comfortably home; where I hope I may be of service in my place, and a comfort to Friends. The Lord our God is to be minded by us in all things.

I find things amongst Friends generally pretty well, as formerly, and meetings very large and peaceable here and in the north. I am intending to go out of town to the province meeting.

Dublin, the sixteenth of the third month.—At this half-year's meeting we had a very great appearance of Friends out of the country, many say they have not seen so many ever before: and to our public meetings abundance of other people came, even far more than could get into our house: and they were very sober, so that the Truth hath a good place amongst sober people. Though the professors, who shrink and hide, we are informed, do rail against Friends; they seem as if they were given up to hardness of heart, and so set in their blindness and hardness, that they go on, till the rod comes upon them. For they do not lay anything so to heart, as thereby to be brought off from the evil error of their hard and prejudiced minds. It doth appear that they envy Friends' good, and are offended that we do not fly into holes as they do. But as for Friends, they are very cheerful; and we have had a very blessed season, and are kept in unity, peace, and concord in our meetings and concerns: and the Lord's good presence is precious with us, to our comfort and consolation. And blessed be the Lord, he is not wanting to us, both to sanctify our hearts, and also to fill them with his spiritual mercies, and to contribute of his other mercies and blessings, whereby he may make our days pleasant unto us; that with gladness

and joy of soul we may serve and praise him, who is worthy for ever. Amen.

Dublin, the fourth of the sixth month.—Yesterday I came home, having been through the south end of the nation, and between six and seven weeks away; and have had a very comfortable journey amongst Friends, and peaceable. Blessed be the Lord for his mercies towards us.

#### EPISTLE TO J. BANKS.

Dublin, the 19th of the Sixth month, 1685.

DEAR J. BANKS,—Unto thee with thy fellow-prisoners, who suffer for the blessed testimony of that precious Truth, in which we have believed, doth the real and tender affection, and love of my heart and soul flow forth at this time; and in the sweetness and peaceableness of that which is our life, do I dearly salute you, and in the unity thereof tenderly greet you all, whose hearts are kept up in that, and under the holy conduct of it, for which you suffer. In this we have our unity, which in itself lives and reigns over all, and shall reign in its own pure dominion and dignity, even the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom principalities and thrones, and dominions must be subject. It is for His testimony, you know, that you suffer, to wit, the testimony of Jesus, which you have received from him by his Spirit, and thereby have it sealed in your hearts. Though many do not understand the weight and certainty of your testimony, for which you suffer, and therefore may look lightly upon it; yet you, who are enjoyers of the power, and have received the Spirit of Jesus, which is the Spirit of prophecy, and so his testimony therein, you feel the weight of, know the certainty of the testimony for which you suffer; and so in your sufferings have your peace and justification.

My dearly beloved in the Lord, see that you all hold that fast in your hearts in the rich possession of it, for which you suffer, that you may feel your reward with you, and your comforter in you to bear up your spirits over all your sufferings; and so you will have a satisfaction in yourselves, that whatever others say, or may think of your sufferings, and the reason thereof, you know that it is for the Truth and its testimony that you suffer, and for keeping of your consciences clear in the sight of God. And so in the hidden man of the heart, you rest in quietness, in that hidden life which you receive from Christ; and here is your peace and comfort, which no man can take from you; or knows of it, but such as are in fellowship with you, who live in, and love the same testimony. Those who know not your reward, your crown, or your peace, cannot reach to take it away; and

that is our joy, that we have a crown and inheritance, that is out of their sight, and so out of their reach.

Oh, therefore let all take heed, that through carelessness or looseness of spirit, or any other thing, you be not beguiled or betrayed from that, to the losing of it, while you are suffering for it! You know, my Friends, it is possible; such things have been even in our age, that while some have been suffering for the Truth, they have been betrayed from the Truth, and the innocency and simplicity of it in their hearts; and so have lost the Truth, even that for which they were called to suffer. For you know it is an inward thing, and must be held in the inward unity of the mind in a spiritual fellowship; and if there be not a care, even while we are in one thing doing for the Truth in the outward, in the inward we may lose it, and our justification by it; and then whither shall we go for our peace and recompense? The God of my life give you all wisdom and fear, and fill you with holy reverence, that you may still stand in awe before him, and be watchful over your spiritual path, and the feet of your souls and minds, that you may tread in the invisible way of peace and righteousness.

And dear Friends, live in peace and love together amongst yourselves, and in a holy, solid life before all men, keeping out of the spirit of the world in all things; that as it is upon a religious account you suffer, you may appear in all other things to be religious men, or otherwise you know, the Truth cannot be honoured by your suffering. For if men, who suffer for or upon the account of religion, appear not to be religious men, this overthrows the glory and beauty of their religion, and brings it into disesteem amongst men; and therefore did Christ command, that our light should shine before men, by their seeing of our good works, &c. And have a care of provoking one another unto any thing that is evil; but endeavour to stir up and provoke one another unto love and good works; that you may build up one another therein, and so help to bear one another's burden, and fulfil the law of Christ, that you may all be kept up together in the justification and peace. And so dear Friends, my heart's love being unto you, I send these few lines as a testimony thereof, by which you may know, you are in my remembrance in the love of God, and my heart hath an honourable esteem of your testimony, and your sufferings in righteousness for the same. I desire to be remembered to Friends in the country, both below Carlisle, and above, and Friends in the city; to John Carlisle and family, with the rest. My wife's dear love is to you all. My love is with you. Farewell! From your friend,

JOHN BURNYEAT.

Dublin, the sixth of the seventh month.—I am glad to hear, that things are so still and quiet in England, and that Friends have some little breathing time of ease from their sharp persecution. It is the Lord's mercy towards us: but our innocency is that which must speak for us; and if we lose that, our defence would depart from us; and then there would be none to fly unto: for vain is all help from below. Therefore it will be our happiness to rest quiet, with our faith in Him; for he is able to preserve, who promised them of old, he would give them favour in the eyes of the king of Babylon. And it had been their safety to have trusted in His word; but in their taking their own way, they brought ruin upon themselves; and so will all do now, whose eye is not unto the Lord to stay their minds upon him, but who look out to follow their own contrivances. I know the Truth will keep out of all such things, if Friends be careful to keep under the conduct thereof: but if fleshly reasonings prevail in the unbelief, then the eye goes out, and the mind [falls] into the haste; so the patience and long-suffering is lost, and the hope and faith let fall. Then the creature can neither trust in the Lord, nor stay rightly for His time and season.

Our meetings are very quiet and peaceable, which is a mercy we greatly value, and our hearts in the Lord's Truth are at rest, and that is our comfort. Both there and here, and wherever we are, it will be our place to be prepared for suffering, that is likely to be our portion for the Truth: and it is but as it was of old, if any will live godly in Christ Jesus, he must suffer persecution. I am ready to go out of town to visit Friends in the county of Wicklow.

Dublin, the nineteenth of the seventh month, 1685.—I am sorry, that so much occasion of offence should be given to some Friends here, by some that take liberty there, (viz. at London,) by running back into such things as the Truth condemns, and so to be encouragers of pride and vanity, which will grow too fast, to the drawing down of the displeasure of the Lord upon man. Therefore I would have Friends to stand in that which is plain, and keep to the cross in their trades and dealings, and clothes, and in all things, that they may remain standing witnesses for God in righteousness against pride, and all the vanity of the world; for therein will stand our safety for ever. I desire, that we may live up to the Truth in all things, that the blessing may attend us. And indeed, we had need to be circumspect; for every lawful thing is not expedient; because there may be an unlawful liberty strengthened thereby. The Lord keep us all in his wisdom truly lowly and humble, that we may still honour him in all things, and remain a people



through our day to his glory. For if with us in our day we let the spirit of the world prevail to the overthrowing of our own testimony, what example and footsteps shall we leave to them that come after us?

I am full, and could say much, for my heart is concerned to hear those, who themselves are not so good as they ought to be, strengthen themselves by bad examples. For though some may be slow to mind that which is good, so as to learn good from the example thereof; yet they are quick to take encouragement from the contrary.

#### EPISTLE TO FRIENDS.

Dublin, the 12th of the Eighth month, 1685.

DEAR FRIENDS,—In the universal spirit of life and truth, and of righteousness and peace, doth the tender affection and pure love of my heart flow forth and reach unto you all, who are true lovers of the power and the holiness of the same, wherein alone it is, that we bear the image of him whose name is holiness, and his nature and being in purity; so that in that only we do draw and may draw near unto him, and have fellowship with him, and enjoy his presence, who is our God, our life and salvation. In the unity of that, whereby we have been quickened, and through which we live unto him who hath quickened us, do I exhort and beseech you all, to mind with reverence his secret and sweet visitations by his holy power upon your spirits in your hearts; that you feel that to appear there, and so through the brightness of its appearing to destroy him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; and not only to appear and destroy him and his works, but also to abide with you, and dwell in you, and so make you his dwelling-place. And you being watchful, shall not watch in vain, because the Lord will be your keeper; and then, he keeping the city, the watchman waketh not in vain.

Thus you may see it fulfilled in your own hearts and so have comfort and confidence with holy David, and with him live above the fear of evil, though you might walk through the shadow of death, because of the Lord's being with you. Friends, see that you all be mindful of him in his appearing by his power and spirit of grace in your hearts, and let him have room there, and not to be straitened, thronged or oppressed; for he delights to dwell alone there, and have the whole heart to himself, and at his own disposing, that he may fill it with that in which he takes pleasure, and in which he only may be glorified and honoured. Therefore doth he require the heart, saying, my son,

give me thy heart; and Christ commands that we should love him with all our hearts. So let him have room in your hearts, and take heed that with this world, the spirit of it, nature of it, and love to the things therein, your hearts be not filled, and so taken up, that there be not room for him, whose coming is with such glory and fulness, that he fills all who are rightly poor and empty, with that fulness, richness and glory, that there can be no want to them, who have him for their portion and inheritance; and keep single in their hearts before him. But where the heart is filled with delight in, or desire after other things, out of the covenant of God, which is out of his favour, there the Lord will not delight to dwell, there is not room; nay, he will not delight to appear there, because it will be his grief and an oppression unto him. Was it not so of old, when he took up his complaint against both Judah and Israel? as you may see, Amos ii. how the Lord pleads with them, and threatens them, what he would bring upon them for their sins, which he reckons up against them; and withal to aggravate their crimes, as he might justly do, he also tells them, what he had done for them, how he had destroyed the Amorites for their sakes, brought them out of the land of Egypt, led them in the wilderness, given them the land of the Amorites to possess, raised up of their sons to be prophets, and their young men to be Nazarites. But, saith he unto them, ye gave my Nazarites wine to drink, and commanded my prophets, saying, prophesy not; behold I am pressed under you, as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves.

Hence it may be understood, that when he hath been at work, and hath done good by his glorious power, who worketh wonderfully for them, and now in them also who believe in his power; if there be a going from him, and letting other things into the heart, where he should rule and have his dwelling in man, and so with man, it becomes a grief and an oppression to him, and a provocation, that he will not always bear it, nor spare man, though he is long-suffering, as may be seen very fully in that prophesy of Amos, and more at large through the Scriptures, which were written for our learning, that we might be warned, and thereby stirred up to that diligence, care and watchfulness which may tend to our preservation.

And now considering these things that were of old, and observing, how that in our age the Lord hath made known his wonted goodness to us, even that which doth far exceed the outward privileges of outward Israel; for that which he blesseth us withal, is a possession and enjoyment of a degree of his own Life, who is the Creator, by which he created all things, which is more than the enjoyment of the crea-

ture; the loss of which was the great penalty laid upon Adam, if he broke the command; which he having lost, is again restored unto us through Christ Jesus, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, which we having received, do thereby live unto God, and therein serve him.

Dear Friends, the thing that is chiefly in my mind unto you is, to entreat and beseech you all, to be tender in your hearts, and careful over your spirits, that you may not let in, nor join with any thing, that will bring grief or oppression upon your life, or lead you into the transgression of the law thereof. Mind the exhortation of the apostle, grieve not the spirit, by which you are sealed, &c. As you are careful, watchful and wise to take heed to the holy conduct and blessed leadings and direction of this spirit and the law thereof, your souls will dwell in peace, and your feet will tread in a safe path, even the path of peace, and your steps will not slide; but you will witness what David said of old, to be true, the righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein forever; for saith he, the mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom, and his tongue talks of judgment. The law of his God is in his heart, none of his steps shall slide. So here you see, what it is that keeps from sliding, the law of God which is in the heart; this preserved David, for it was as a lantern to his feet, and a light unto his paths.

Oh! my dear Friends, you may be happy; yea, we may all be happy, if we be as careful as we ought, to walk by this rule. Oh! the sweetness, peace and glory, that he fills the hearts of all his people with, who take heed unto his law: the Spirit is not grieved, the life of the soul is not oppressed, the soul, life or spirit of man is at ease, and so in the glorious liberty of the sons of God, and in that state, where it can sing unto the Lord and praise him. Therefore all of you mind your dwelling and inward liberty, and spiritual freedom from all the corruptions of the world, and of the flesh, both inwardly in yourselves, and all temptations from without, that you may reign in the dominion of the Seed Christ Jesus for ever, and so with him be co-heirs of that heavenly inheritance and possession, which he hath purchased for you.

In the unity of that life, which reigns over all, do I very dearly salute you all, who love the Truth; and in that do I desire, that the God of life may bear up your spirits by his power, over all that would defile or oppress; that you may be preserved to remain the sons and daughters of God, without rebuke in and among this crooked and perverse generation, amongst whom you shine as lights, to the glory of him who hath called you out of darkness in-

to his marvellous light; who over all is worthy of glory and honour and dominion, world without end. From your friend and brother in the Truth,  
JOHN BURNYEAT.

Dublin, the eighteenth of the ninth month. We have had a comfortable season this half-year's meeting, quiet and peaceable, and in love and unity among ourselves; so that we have cause to be truly thankful unto the Lord for that mercy, amongst all other mercies we enjoy from his blessed hand.

#### LETTER TO ROGER ROBERTS.

Dublin, the 23rd of the Eleventh month, 1685.

DEAR R. R.,—In the love and unity of the blessed Truth, which lives and abides for ever, do I very dearly salute thee and thy wife; and therein is my heart's desire for you unto the Lord, that by his blessed hand and power, you may be supported under all exercises that may attend, and in your minds perserved with an invisible eye unto the Lord, taking notice of his orderings, as it is his hand that brings to pass what he sees good; and then in his fear and love there will be a reverent submitting to his will without murmuring or repining at what the Lord doth. Though nature in the true and natural affection, which good men and women cannot be without, may be broken and greatly bowed down; yet as long as the mind is preserved from murmuring at what the Lord doth, it will be well; there will be a heart capable of giving him his due, as it was with Job.

Dear R., I must needs say my heart is concerned for you, both upon thy own account, having heard of thy great weakness, and affliction thou hast been under, and also because of the loss of thy dear and tender daughter, who in your absence is taken away both from you and us. But what shall I say? It is so, and the Lord hath done it; and it is not safe to dispute the case with him, or say, why hath he done so? but tenderly submit to his will, and bless Him that gives and takes away, as he sees good. However, this I think I may say to thee and thy wife with safety, you need not sorrow, as such who have no hope, because of the ground God hath given for a sure hope of her eternal well-being, which is the mark we are all pressing towards; and they are happy who do obtain it. For I was with her the day that she died, in the afternoon, and had a serious, weighty season with her. She sent for me, and told me, as soon as I came to her, That now she was satisfied she must die; and her heart was wholly set after her assurance of peace with the Lord; and her desires to us, to wit, her husband and me, were,



that the Doctor might not trouble her, for she was not willing to be hindered from a quiet departure. For her heart was set after a peaceable departure out of this world; as was evident from her words several times. She was very sensible, and spoke to me with a good understanding; and seemed to be concerned for many (as she said) who came to meetings in Dublin, who did not mind their conditions, or the stay of their minds, whom she feared would scarcely be saved. My heart, I must needs say, was greatly affected with her exercise and concern, and was comforted in the sense of that living presence, that was with us at that season. When we had spent some time together, and were refreshed, and I to go away, she did most solemnly take her leave of me in great affection, and signified how kind she took my visit; withal seriously saying, Farewell dear John, if I never see thee more. And so I came away. In a few hours after she was struck with death.

In the evening my wife and I went again to see her; we found her very ill, but she lay quiet under the extremity of her pain. We, with several other Friends sat by and waited on her, until she departed, which was about the eleventh hour at night. She went away in quietness, as I found before was her desire. And we sitting and standing quietly by her, our hearts were broken; and I felt a glorious melting power, which tendered my spirit, and a brightness and a light that did shine; and it was sweetly in my heart, when she was departed. She is not gone into darkness, but is in the light. The sense whereof was a great satisfaction to me, because I know the glory is there, in the light for ever. And now poor lamb, it is her gain, though your and our loss. For considering her years, she was a modest and good example; and as she said to me at that season, She was never inclined to vanity. I perceived her care was sometimes greatly for you, fearing your exercise would be great. Well, I must needs consider, that the loss of such a dear child cannot but come very near tender parents; yet you may be comforted in a satisfaction of her well-being, and so rest; and even say with David, We may go to her, but she cannot come to us; and so comfort your hearts in the Lord, and rest in his will.

And dear R., this may find thee something better in health, than we have of late heard; however, I am sure my heart truly desires that it may be so: and if the Lord give strength, I should be glad to see thee here. For methinks, all this while thou hast been absent, thy place seems to be empty; I cannot look upon it, that thou shouldst be from amongst us. But if the Lord give strength, thou shouldst be here, bearing and having thy share with us: for I look upon thee as one of us, and so methinks would

not have thee delay, as the way opens. My wife's very dear love is to thee and thy wife; and our love is dearly to Ellen Callow, and Friends there. For further account of things, I may leave to other hands. We are all quiet and peaceable here. So with my true and endeared love unto thee, I conclude and remain thy friend,  
JOHN BURNYEAT.

Dublin, the twenty-ninth of the fourth month, 1686.—Though the world be full of tumults, disquietness and amazements; yet, blessed be the God of our salvation, who hath brought us into a degree of that rest, which the distresses that are from below cannot reach: so that there is something known to retire unto for a sanctuary, that the world knows not; neither can the destroyer come into it. Therefore our safety is, always to keep our interest therein; that we may have our privilege to our mansion there, and so rest in the time of trouble, where no hurter nor destroyer can come. The Lord's power is to be admired, loved and believed in for ever, who gives us blessed seasons, and calms, and quiets. It is true for ever, the winds and seas must obey him: blessed are all that put their trust in him. Fears and restlessness do possess the hearts of many; but for our parts, we have an eye unto the Lord, and know he hath a hand in ordering of, or suffering all things, for ends best known unto himself; and therein we rest.

I desire that the Lord, by the indwelling of his power in our souls, may still so keep and preserve us in that simplicity and godly sincerity, wherein we may always know one another, and be a comfort one unto another, in the plainness and simplicity of that blessed truth, which saves and sanctifies from all unrighteousness, and unites unto God, and brings into near fellowship one with another. For this is that which sanctifies, fits, and prepares the heart of man for every good virtue, and settles and composes his nature, not only for heavenly mercies, and that he may receive and enjoy them, but also for his station in this world; and the enjoyment of temporal favours; that he may receive and enjoy them with a blessing, and in true comfort; and also be a blessing and a comfort in his place unto all concerned. This is the happiness and advantage, which is to be witnessed through the working and indwelling of that eternal power, which God Almighty has revealed in the hearts of his people in this day, as there is a faithful minding of, and subjection unto it, in the true love of it. And surely many there are, who if they knew the comfortable effects of it, would not abide under its condemnation, as they do: but it is, as it was said of old, They will not believe, though a man should tell it unto them.

Dublin, the sixth of the eleventh month, 1688.—The account of the death of my dear wife will be come to hand before this, which is no small exercise to me. But though my loss be great, in having her removed from me, yet I believe it is her gain. For she has been under great weakness and exercise of body a long time; however, this I can say, she bore her exercise beyond expectation; and told some Friends, she believed she was kept the longer, because I was so unwilling to give her up. And I must confess it was hard, that it could not easily be got to, and that for several reasons: but when I saw that it must be so, I was made willing, for her exercises took hold of my spirit. The morning of the day she departed, she said to me, she was afraid her passage would be hard: I told her, I did hope not. She was under a great exercise of pain, but bore it with wonderful quietness, and abode under it as one waiting for deliverance; and very sensibly spoke to me a little before her departure. So she went away like a lamb, without so much as a groan. We lived comfortably together; her nature was good, kind, and courteous; she was merciful, very considerate, and of good understanding: she will be greatly missed in this place, for Friends had a good love and esteem for her; and I have experience and know, that many who seemingly might exceed in appearance, will come far behind.

Dublin, the seventh of the twelfth month.—We are pretty quiet here at present; but people's hearts are like the troubled waters,—no stay or settlement, who cannot tell what way to go to be satisfied, or be quiet in their minds: only they who know the truth, may rest there and be quiet, under the covering of it; otherwise it would be mighty uneasy. I did intend for Cumberland, but at present Friends could not well bear my going away, neither have I freedom in myself; so I rest in my place, waiting the time and season for it.

Dublin, the thirteenth of the third month, 1689.—Our half-year's meeting is over, at which were assembled many Friends and brethren from divers parts of the nation, according to our usual manner. We enjoy our meetings peaceably and in quiet generally over the nation; and in most places our meetings are large, and many people come in; and all the people have [now] their liberty in the free exercise of their consciences in matters of religion. And as for Friends and truth, they are in good esteem, both with high and low. The Lord's care and mercy over us hath been largely manifest, and Friends learn great experience of the preservation of the mighty arm of the Lord in this great day of trial, which is upon this nation; yet to our joy and comfort, Friends are carried over it in the faith of the

Son of God, and have been preserved miraculously, even beyond our expectation in several places, where their trials have been very great, and the dangers, as to appearance, dreadful; yet Friends have kept to their habitations, trusting in the Lord, and following their lawful concerns and business.

At this half-year's meeting our hearts were made more than ordinarily glad to see one another's faces in such a time as this; and the Lord's power and presence were with us, which crowns our meetings: and in the sense and sweetness of the same are most of our Friends and brethren this day gone towards their outward beings in the peace of God, and in great love and unity, which did preciouslly abound amongst us in this our meeting, throughout all our concerns and affairs.

The fourth-day next I am intending to go into the country towards our province meeting; and think to visit Friends before I return.

Wexford, the fifth month.—I have had a very comfortable journey among Friends, and for the most part very large meetings, beyond my expectation, and very peaceable, viz., on the third-day at Tipperary, and fourth-day at John Fennel's. But at Tipperary I had like to have been got hold of by the rapparees, and lost my mare; but I got away and escaped, and rode back into the town. Last first-day we had a very large meeting at Edward Gooding's; it was their monthly meeting. This day we have a meeting here, to-morrow at Samuel Watson's, and the fifth-day at the meeting that belongs to Lambs-town. I think Carlow monthly meeting is next first-day, I intend to be there.

Dublin, the twelfth of the eighth month.—Friends, as far as I can have account, are in the general pretty well in health, and at liberty, and our meetings quiet and peaceable; and so are all others, for aught I know. But many in the country are under sufferings, as respects the loss of their goods, by reason of the wars this land is greatly attended with. However, the eye of our Friends is to the Lord, who doubtless suffers not all these things to come to pass without a cause, but to be a chastisement for the sinfulness of the children of men. O! that all would take warning, to keep out of that which provokes him to displeasure, that his hand might be removed. And truly, that which is our comfort and stay in the midst of all, is the holy presence of his power, which attends our meetings; from the evidence of which we receive our satisfaction, that the Lord is well pleased with us. And this is that which bears up our spirits in the time of exercise.

Dublin, the twenty-fifth of the first month, 1690.—I had the opportunity this last winter



to go amongst Friends throughout both Leinster and Munster, which was a great satisfaction both to me and them. Friends are generally well, and our meetings are full, and we enjoy them in quietness as formerly: and the Lord's presence is with us to our great comfort, which is valued by all who are rightly sensible of it, as a great mercy.

Dublin, the twenty-first of the sixth month.—I have been visiting Friends in the North, and had an acceptable and comfortable season amongst them, and found them very cheerful. It is still to be lamented, that sin and wickedness should so abound; but the Lord doubtless will plead with all that grieve him, in his own way and time, though he be long-suffering. And therefore it will be our happiness, to rest quiet under his disposing and ordering hand, by which he will in his wisdom and power overrule all men and things, who knows best how to execute justice and judgment upon all, according to their works or deserts; for before him all things are naked and bare, therefore he cannot miss in judgment. We resting here, and waiting upon him, it quiets our spirits, and sweetens them: and also I can say, it makes many bitter things sweet and so sanctified that we meet with comfort in tribulation. And though it be natural unto and lawful for us in affliction, reverently to pray for and desire deliverance, and also when obtained, to rejoice therein, and bless the Lord therefor; yet still our happiness is, to mind his providences, and wise ordering of all things, and therewith to be content, without either murmuring at, or struggling against, what he sees good to bring to pass. And so here we shall all rest in one fold and covenant, and feed in one pasture together, and so have a fellow-feeling of one another's joy or sufferings. For our resting place is but one in the Truth, and our salvation stands therein for ever; and therefore we need look at no other.

JOHN BURNYEAT.

*The Testimony of Friends in Cumberland, concerning that faithful servant of the Lord JOHN BURNYEAT, belonging formerly to Pardsay meeting in Cumberland.*

HE was born at Crabtreebeck, in the parish of Lows-water, in the said county; his parents were of good repute, and his education was according to his parentage. The Lord visited him in his young and tender years, and inclined his heart after good things; whereupon he gave himself to reading the Scriptures, that thereby he might be informed of those things that made for his soul's peace; and going from one man to another, who were counted men of experience, yet found no true satisfaction, until it pleased the Lord to send his ministers to

turn his mind to the invisible word of life, which he gladly received into his heart, and came to wait in humiliation, to feel the operation of it. So that he was brought forth early in the day of the breaking forth of God's light and power in our age, when it pleased God to visit many people in divers nations of the world, and to make known his everlasting Truth in the North country; which day of light and truth, and grace, many waited for, and were in readiness to receive with joy and gladness of heart. Amongst whom this our dear friend John Burnyeat, being called by grace to the knowledge of the Lord, his truth and power, and receiving the same in love, faith and obedience, he came to witness the effectual working thereof to his sanctification, and so became a vessel of honour fitted for his Master's use, even Christ, and learned to rule his own house well, in washing first the inside, and the outside appearing clean also. Then his light began to shine before men, to the glory of God, that called him. And this being first done in him, and for him, to his particular peace and satisfaction in the Lord's eternal Truth, then the Lord opened his mouth in a few words in much tenderness, which tended greatly to the comforting of his people; he always being careful to wait for the motion of the Word, and to keep close with it: whereby he grew in his gift, and was drawn forth to visit Friends in this county, where we dearly loved him. He was faithful in the discharge of his duty, when called to give testimony against the hireling priests in the steeple houses, to gather people from the mouths of those greedy shepherds that feed themselves, and not the flock, and did not profit the people at all. And for these things he suffered imprisonment a long time under a severe gaoler, in a close, nasty place. For the Lord sent him forth in his joyful opening power and spirit, to preach glad tidings of salvation by Christ Jesus, sometimes to the spirits in prison, and to them coming out of prison, and entering into the glorious liberty of the sons of God; and to them who walked steadfastly in that glorious, pure liberty; "he that hath an ear to hear, let him hear;" whereby he was a blessed instrument in the hand of the Lord, both for convincing and converting to God, and for the refreshing, comforting and strengthening of them in the faith, grace and truth, that they might be built on the rock Christ, the foundation for all the chosen of God in him throughout all generations, that man might answer the end for which he was made, even to glorify God; who is worthy of glory and praise for ever!

He was a man of an excellent spirit, and of deep experience in the things of God and mysteries of his kingdom, which were richly made

manifest unto him: and it was his delight to be meditating therein; whereby his experience was daily increased unto the conclusion of his days. He was a man tender of God's glory, and earnestly sought the spreading and propagating of the Truth. The Lord made his travels successful, and he saw the fruit of his labour; and the Lord blessed him with the fruits of his holy Spirit, whereby he became well qualified for the work of the ministry, a nursing father, lending a hand of help to the feeble of the flock, and comforting the mourners in Sion. For his doctrine did drop as the dew, and his speech as the small rain. He was a pattern of righteousness to the young generation, over whom he was very tender: and to the aged he could give counsel; so that God made him a strong pillar in his church, and clothed him with divine wisdom, that he was capable of speaking a word in season to all, which was as a nail fastened in a sure place.

He was one of the Lord's worthies in his day, of a quick sight and clear discerning; of a strong arm and skilful hand, whose bow abode in strength, and carried the arrows to the mark aimed at: like as the men of Benjamin, that could sling stones to a hair's breadth; so he fixed judgment upon the head of the transgressor. And his arrows returned not in vain, particularly against that wicked spirit of separation, wherever he met with it.

He was often concerned in testimony against those that professed the Truth and way of God, and yet did incline to suit themselves to the vain fashions and customs of the world, as inlets to a wrong spirit, and became evil precedents to others, especially young people, that are too much employed in their minds with foolish dresses and fashions, who never knew the weighty work of Truth and power of God in their hearts to work a change there; but were too apt to look out at others. These things he did often testify against, as one having authority, being himself redeemed out of those things by the power of God.

His innocent deportment and blameless conversation preached wherever he came. Gravity and patience were with him; moderation in meat, drink, and apparel—having laid aside all superfluity of naughtiness and received with meekness the engrafted word; all which were as ornaments upon him, and preached for the Truth abundantly: as also did the many living testimonies he bore, that flowed through him as showers upon the tender grass.

He was a true labourer, who spared not his life unto death, and was willing to spend and be spent, that he might gain upon the sons and daughters of men, to turn them from darkness unto the true light, and from the power of satan unto God. Oh! what shall we say of him!

he was a faithful preacher of the gospel, not only in words, but in life and practice, and his memory shall live for ever. For his labour and travel both at home and abroad, in prison and at liberty, have been such as cannot easily be forgotten by many, who have reaped the benefit thereof. For the Lord was pleased wonderfully to appear by him, and sound through him, to the awakening many to righteousness, and greatly encouraging all the faithful amongst God's people. In deep exercises he was as a skilful physician, to apply that which was suitable unto all; yea, he was quick and sharp, on the one hand to search, as on the other hand to cure, heal, bind up and comfort: but unto the hypocrites he was dreadful and terrible, though he was a man of large compassion. Many an untrodden path he travelled, and passed through great dangers both by sea and land in visiting Friends, not only in England, but also in Scotland, Ireland, Barbadoes, New England, with the islands adjacent, passing through wilderness places and dangerous waters. Through all which the Lord in a most wonderful manner preserved him, with the rest of his servants, from the hands of wicked and unreasonable men, and was ever near him for his preservation both inwardly and outwardly.

The Lord clothed him with humility before all, as became the gospel he preached, which he preached freely, counting nothing near nor dear unto him to be parted with, suffered, or to be done, but a willingness was wrought in him through the mighty power of God, who always strengthened him to do, to suffer, and to undergo all things whatsoever for his worthy name's sake. Although the Lord had bestowed eminent gifts on him, yet he would condescend to the weak capacities of all, to reach to the good in all, that he might lay a foundation to build upon. He had the word of reconciliation committed unto him, whereby he was made instrumental to reconcile many to God by Jesus Christ, and one unto another. And the Lord caused him to triumph in Christ, and made manifest the savour of his knowledge in many places, and his ministry is sealed in the hearts of many, who are satisfied of his faithfulness unto God, who hath received him into his rest.

Now although his body be gone to the dust, yet his spirit lives; and that word of life, which was his pleasure, remains for our comfort, who are yet behind in that pilgrimage, which he hath passed through; and may be attended with the temptations which he is delivered from; who hath finished his day's-work: whom the Lord raised up to shine forth as a star in several parts of the northern and western world. And his mild and grave deportment did so well become his deliberate minis-



try, that it greatly heightened his esteem amongst his neighbours; so that he was not without honour in his own country. And when at any time he came into Cumberland, where he was born and educated, his neighbours would abundantly flock to the meeting to hear him. Yet he was far from glorying in his gift, or desiring to be popular; but would rather restrain such, who would applaud him; having self in no reputation. He may be truly numbered among the righteous, who sought God's glory and the peace and unity, flourishing and prosperity of his church, which Christ is the head of. Much more might we say concerning him, but shall attribute nothing to him, but to the Lord's power, that did support him.

And now, if Samuel had cause to mourn for Saul, and the children of Israel wept thirty days for Moses, much cause have many now to mourn for the loss of so dear a friend. But though our loss be great, his gain is beyond utterance; who hath received the blessed recompense of reward for his labours and travels, for all his service and suffering. And having finished his course and time in this world, is entered into life and happiness everlasting in the world to come. And we pray the Lord of the harvest, to raise up other labourers in his room, and also in the place of others that have finished their testimonies for God and Christ, that God over all through Jesus Christ may have the honour, glory and praise, from generation to generation, who is blessed for ever, Amen!

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace. Psalms xxxvii. 37.

|                     |                    |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| PHILIP BURNYEAT,    | RICHARD HEAD,      |
| JOHN TIFFIN,        | CHRISTOPHER STORY, |
| JOHN BANKS,         | PETER FEARON,      |
| THOMAS LAYTHES,     | JONATHAN BOWMAN,   |
| THOMAS DOCKWRAY,    | JOHN BOWSTEAD,     |
| CHRISTOPHER WILSON, | THOMAS WILSON,     |
| THOMAS FLETCHER,    | JAMES DICKINSON.   |

Broughton, in Cumberland, the 22nd of  
the Second month, 1691.

#### *The Testimony of several women Friends in Cumberland.*

IN brokenness of heart and tenderness of our spirits we have this testimony concerning our dear friend and brother John Burnyeat; that he was one of the Lord's worthies, chosen and fitted by him for his work and service, and it was his whole delight to do the will of God; so he came more and more to know of his doctrine, whereby he was made a good instrument in the hand of God, for the converting many from the error of their ways to the way of

truth and righteousness. He was one on whom that prophecy came to be fulfilled, that saviours shall come upon Mount Zion to judge the Mount of Esau, and the kingdom shall be the Lord's. For he well knew how to divide the word of God aright, which dwelt plentifully in him as deep waters, and the well-spring of wisdom, as a flowing brook; so that he was often as a cloud full of rain, emptying himself at the Lord's command, causing the seed of life to spring; whereby God's inheritance was confirmed. He was a man of a thousand, clothed with innocency and beautified with humility; words are too short to set forth the excellency of that spirit by which he was guided; neither can we express fully, what is in our hearts concerning him. Yet shall we attribute nothing to him, but to the Lord's power, that wrought effectually in him, to the making him to shine. For he was an instrument of good to many, making a difference; saving some with fear, pulling them out of the fire, hating even the garment spotted by the flesh: being found in that pure and undefiled religion of visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction; and through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ keeping himself unspotted from the world: and therefore knew how to save upon Mount Zion, and judge upon Mount Esau. Much might be written concerning him, for we know the very desire of his heart and bent of his spirit was, that God through his Son might reign in the house of Jacob, and the kingdom might be the Lord's. He abhorred the appearance of gathering to himself, and had self of no reputation; therefore the Lord honoured him with his divine presence, and made his company, although dreadful to the backsliders, yet very desirable unto many, especially those who knew his integrity and zeal for the exaltation of the name and truth of God; in whose hearts he was highly esteemed for his works' sake, which shall follow him, although he is at rest from his labour, being got to his desired haven, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. And there the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor, for the accuser of the brethren is cast down, temptations cannot enter; an overcoming is known by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, who have not loved their lives unto death. And to him that overcomes, saith Christ Jesus, will I grant to sit with me in my throne; as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne: he shall not be hurt of the second death, but with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and with all the faithful in the kingdom of God, without ceasing sing praises unto Him, who sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and evermore; who is worthy!

O the great loss we have of him! How can we but lament; yet it is his everlasting gain: for he shall never return to us, but we may go to him. And that word of life, in which his life was hid, yet remains for our support; which, as we are careful to keep to, will preserve us, as it has done him, to enter into that mansion of glory the Lord hath in store for all the faithful.

He was dear unto us in the Lord, with whom our souls were bound up in God's everlasting covenant; and though his body is gone to the dust, yet our souls rejoice with many more, in that we enjoy his spirit, and are come to the general assembly and church of the first-born, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaks better things than that of Abel; where our joy is full, and our spirits bowed and subjected to the will of God, where our peace flows and the life arises, that fills our hearts with praises, that ascend as sweet incense to the Lord God and to the Lamb, who is blessed for evermore!

The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and he delighteth in his way. Psal. xxxvii. 23.

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.

MARGARET FAWCET, MARY WILSON,  
JANE WILSON, MARY BOWMAN,  
MARGARET HEAD, SARAH FALLOWFIELD.  
JANE HALL,

Broughton, in Cumberland, the 22nd of  
the Second month, 1691.

*A Testimony of several Friends in Ireland, in whose hearts it sprung, and who gave it forth in the behalf of our dear brother JOHN BURNYEAT.*

As for our dear friend and worthy brother in the Lord, John Burnyeat, late of Dublin, deceased, whom some of us have known many years, we have this testimony in the truth concerning him, viz., that he has been steadfast in the Lord's work, an able minister of the gospel and faithful labourer, who had a word in season to minister to the several conditions of Friends and people, dividing the word aright; a strengthener of the weak, and a free feeder of Christ's lambs and sheep, with the food he had freely received, to the comforting of many. His testimony for the power of Truth and righteousness was clear, and many were convinced by him. His conversation was so heavenly, and becoming the principle of Truth he

was a preacher of, that we know no one that can truly charge him with anything that might spot his profession or ministry. He was a man excellently well qualified for the work whereunto he was called of God, the Lord having endued him with a large measure of his spirit. He had great openings and discoveries of the mysteries of God's kingdom: he had also the tongue of the learned, and was fitted for every good word and work the Lord employed him in. His qualifications were beyond many; and though little in himself, yet in the Lord a mighty man of valor. In all times of suffering and exercise he failed not to be in the front; he was a valiant in Israel, and a pillar in the house of God: he did sympathize with the afflicted, seeking the good of others; and above all the honour and prosperity of Truth were in his eye.

When he took his wife amongst us, how careful and circumspect was he of Truth's honour, and the concord and unity of Friends and brethren! And where he came among Friends, he would not be idle, but did often visit the sick, and comfort those that were in distress or affliction. For indeed, he was a true servant to all honest Friends, as well the poor as rich; and would freely administer of his outward substance to such as stood in need. He was meek and gentle, and of a healing spirit; and it was the love and mercy of God to us in this nation, and particularly this city of Dublin, to order his outward abode and settlement amongst us. By whom many were convinced of the Truth, and turned from the evil of their ways; and the peace of the church, the unity and fellowship of Friends increased. He was one of the archers of Israel, who could shoot to an hairs'-breadth, to the wounding of the hairy scalp of the wicked one, and the putting of the Lord's enemies to silence.

He was a messenger of glad tidings, and directed us to the blessed light that God had caused to shine in our hearts, when we were strangers to it? yea, then did it appear as a witness for the Lord against all ungodly practices. It was a day of glad tidings to many, when the Lord made him one of his trumpets to us, to sound his gospel to the reaching God's witness in our hearts: Oh! that it may not be forgotten by any of us who have been turned to God! He had a true love for all tender-hearted Friends, and travelled for their growth and prosperity in the blessed Truth, not only in these three nations, but also in the western islands and America, to the turning many to the blessed way of life and salvation, as by accounts appear.

He was a true pattern of godliness and piety, in an humble, meek, and inoffensive conversa-



tion, apt to teach, ready to give heavenly advice and instruction: a good example in all things. An early comer to meetings, and a diligent waiter therein: many times he would sit a pretty while in silence, not being forward to speak, reverently waiting upon the opening of the heavenly life, like the good householder spoken of, to bring forth of his treasury things both new and old. He was deeply experienced in the work and service of the Lord, and was a great comfort and support to many in their great sufferings and hard exercises; and did mightily strengthen and encourage Friends in their several places of abode. Twice, during the late troubles, he visited Friends in Munster and in this province of Leinster, unto whom he was very open; and had large meetings: for in many places the world's teachers were fled, and left their flocks. Many times in the public meetings he would bear a faithful, plain and clear testimony against superstition and idolatry, and against that loose, wicked, blasphemous, and unclean spirit, that many gave up to be led by. As soon as the way was open to the north, he visited Friends there.

Now after the death of his wife he had some intentions to go for England, and sent his son thither; but seeing the troubles of wars coming on, and that many afflictions and exercises would attend us, and that many people being possessed with great fears, fled for England; at which time many testimonies came from Friends of sundry meetings, for all to mind the Lord's preserving power, and not to let fears take hold of them, as it did of others, who knew not the Lord. \* Our dear friend, though he had an opportunity, had no freedom to go for England; but gave himself up to stay with Friends here, and bear a part of the sufferings that might attend us. In which time he was a precious instrument in the Lord's hand for the comforting his people in the time of great afflictions and calamities; for he was a cheerful encourager of us. He was a dear friend, a true brother, a diligent overseer and tender father; a perfect and upright man in his day, who feared God, and eschewed evil. And though he sought the salvation of all, yet could not bear with deceitful men and evil workers, who professed the Truth, yet brought dishonour to it; against such he had a just indignation and godly zeal. Oh! the remembrance of his fatherly care over God's heritage in keeping things in good order, is not to be forgotten: for his care was great that the professors of Truth might walk answerable to it in a chaste life and blameless conversation.

And in all his travels, into whose house he entered, he was content with what things were set before him, were they ever so mean; which was great satisfaction to many poor, honest

Friends, amongst whom his lot was cast. He would not usurp authority over his brethren, but was of a healing spirit and lamb-like nature, and of a good report in all his travels.

Our dear Friend and brother did greatly delight to read the holy Scriptures, and would often and with great earnestness advise Friends frequently to read the same, and the young and tender in years more especially; as also Friends' books, wherein the principles of Truth were treated of; that so none might be ignorant of the principles of the true Christian religion, now again preached and clearly held forth.

He was at our province meeting at Rosencallis a little before his decease, where he bore a living, fresh testimony amongst Friends to our great comfort, and exhorted Friends to faithfulness. From thence he went to Monroth, and had a meeting there; and from thence to Ballinakill, and had a meeting there. So he came to the monthly meeting at New-Garden, where many heard him bear a living, sweet testimony, in the opening of the word of life, to the refreshing of their souls. After meeting he came home with our friend John Watson to his house; and feeling himself not well, took his bed, and was visited with a fever; and continued sick for the space of twelve days. All which time he was preserved in his senses, and in a sweet frame of spirit; and did often say he was finely at ease, and quiet in his spirit. The Lord did attend him with his heavenly power and presence, to his comfort and our great satisfaction. He said to John Watson, that he ever loved the Lord, and the Lord loved him from his youth, and that he felt his love. He was wonderfully preserved in a sensible condition to the last; and on the 11th day of the seventh month, 1690, about two of the clock in the afternoon, he quietly and peaceably departed this life, about the fifty-ninth year of his age, and is gone to his rest with the Lord, and his works follow him.

And as he honoured the Lord in his day, so he was honoured with the company of many ancient Friends from several parts of our province, to accompany him to his grave at New-Garden, where he was decently interred the 14th day of the same month; and there we had a good meeting, to the great satisfaction of many Friends and others.

And now surely, if David did well in sorrowing for Absalom, we have reason greatly to lament the loss of so dear, tender, and upright hearted a Friend, whose labour and travel was great both in body and spirit, faithfully to serve the Lord, his church and people, and to exalt his glorious name and propagate his living Truth in the earth, and to preserve unity and peace in the churches of Christ. But believing it is the Lord's will that is done concerning

him, in a holy and reverent resignation and submission thereunto, we ought to be content; knowing it is his unspeakable gain to be absent from the body, and at home with Christ.

And thus, dear Friends, we that yet remain do see how the Lord is pleased to remove from among us many of our ancient Friends and faithful labourers in the gospel of peace, who have been serviceable in this day for the gathering and confirming of many in the Truth, that we may walk therein. And Friends, we that are yet behind, are the more immediately concerned for to labour in the heavenly gift of his divine grace, which the Lord in his love hath bestowed upon us, that so we may come up in this gospel day to succeed them that are gone before us to their rest in the Lord, in bearing a faithful testimony to the blessed Truth; that our memorial may live to ages to come, as this our dear friend and elder brother's doth amongst God's people to this day: who having faithfully finished his course here in great patience and an humble and holy subjection to the will of God, hath now received a crown of immortal glory, which is laid up for all the faithful followers of the Lamb, and lovers of the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ: to whom and the Father through him be glory and honour both now and for ever. Amen.

|                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| ANTHONY SHARP, | JOHN WATSON,   |
| ROGER ROBERTS, | HENRY HILLARY, |
| AMOS STRETTEL, | JOHN HAUKEs.   |

Dated in Dublin, the 22nd of the  
Second month, 1691.

*To the rulers, ministers, and people of the Island of Barbadoes, who see and take notice in any measure of the hand of the Lord that is upon them, and have desires in them to have his judgments removed.*

FRIENDS,—It is sin that provokes the Lord, and causeth his judgments in his wrath, to come upon a nation, a people, or a particular; for that doth the Lord visit with his rod, and many times smite with his sore judgments. While that is lived in, the Lord will not hear, though man may cry and make many prayers, as you may see in the Scriptures of truth. Read Isaiah the 1st, and see what the Lord said unto Israel, when they were revolted, and become a sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity. Though they offered sacrifices and burnt offerings, and called assemblies, and observed the new moons and the appointed feasts, the prophet called them the rulers of Sodom; and said, "Hear the word of the Lord ye rulers of Sodom, give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah; to what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices, saith the Lord,"

&c. And further told them, that though they spread forth their hands, he would hide his eyes from them, and when they did make many prayers, he would not hear; their hands were full of blood; and therefore commanded them to wash, make clean, and put away the evil of their doings from before his eyes, and cease to do evil, and learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow, and then come and let us reason together, saith the Lord. So here you may see, this is the way for man to cease from doing evil, and to learn to do well, whereby he may come into acquaintance with the Lord, and to have his prayers heard and his requests answered, and so the judgment to be removed. And also Daniel's counsel to the king was, that he should break off his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities by showing mercy to the poor, that it might be a lengthening of his tranquillity. Dan. iv. 27. All along in the Scriptures of truth, you may see that sin was the cause why the Lord was angry with any people, and why his wrath came upon any nation; and that the Lord, though he spared long many times, would not be reconciled to them, till they obeyed his call in turning from the evil of their ways; and if they would not be turned, at last he brought his judgments upon them to cut them off.

You may see concerning Israel many times, both in the wilderness, where the unbelieving and disobedient were cut off and perished; and also, after they were come into the land of promise, how often because of their sins, he brought his judgments over them, and destruction upon them, after he had warned them, and by his prophets called unto them to leave their wickedness, and to learn to do righteously, and to amend their ways and their doings. Because they would not hear, but continued in their sin, the Lord brought his sore judgments upon them, and rejected them, and cut them off, and laid the land desolate, notwithstanding the multitude of their sacrifices, of their prayers, and of their observations. So that he that killed an ox, was as if he slew a man, and he that sacrificed a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck, and he that offered an oblation, as if he offered swines' blood, and he that burned incense, as if he blessed an idol; and all this was because they chose their own ways, and their souls did delight in their abominations, as you may read, Isaiah lxi. 3, 4. Therefore were all their performances rejected of the Lord, and he brought their fear upon them; because when he called, they would not answer, when he spoke, they would not hear, but did evil before his eyes, and chose that in which he delighted not. So that all along you may see in the Scripture, it was not that which people did, as upon the ac-



count of the worship of God, that at all pleases him, or appeased his wrath, while they did evil before him, and chose that in which he delighted not; as is very evident from the Scriptures of truth, in divers testimonies therein to this purpose. Time would fail to mention all; and what was written aforetime, was written for our learning, and that we should take warning by their example, who sinned and continued therein till the day of mercy was over, Rom. xv. 4. 1 Cor. x. 11.

Since the Lord hath stirred in you to take notice of his judgments, and of his hand upon the people of this island, prepare your hearts to seek the Lord in his own way; and before you pretend to draw nigh unto him that is holy, or to worship him, or to offer an offering, or to keep a day unto him, forsake your sins, put away the evil of your doing from before his eyes, and learn to do well, that your prayers may be heard, and that you may keep the day holy unto the Lord. Observe the fast which the Lord hath chosen, which is, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free; and to break every yoke; to deal thy bread to the hungry, with such like works of righteousness. And then the Lord hath promised, that to such, their light shall break forth as the morning, and their health shall spring forth speedily, and their righteousness shall go before them, and the glory of the Lord shall be their rereward. Then may such cry, and the Lord will answer, and say, Here am I; when there is a taking away from the midst of you the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and the speaking of vanity, &c., Isa. lviii. 6, 7, 8, 9. Therefore try your ways and your doings, and let none think that the Lord is like a man, that he will be satisfied with fair words or pretences; where his voice is not hearkened unto and obeyed, but sin lived in, and the fast kept which the Scripture condemns, which the Lord hath not chosen, as you may read, Isa. lviii. 2, 3, 4, 5, verses; for you may see there, how that that people did seek him daily, and had a delight to know his ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinances of their God.

They asked of me the ordinances of justice, saith the Lord, and they take delight in approaching to God; and then cried, Wherefore have we fasted, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our souls, and thou takest no knowledge? The Lord gives the reason; Behold, saith he, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure, and exact all your labours. Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness; ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high, saith the Lord. Is it such a

fast that I have chosen, a day for a man to afflict his soul, and bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? saith the prophet. Nay, as I have showed before, this is not it; therefore let every one consider how they are prepared to keep the fast that God hath chosen, that the fruits thereof may be brought forth by every one that pretends to it, or else their cry will not be heard on high; for the Lord knows every one's intent, and takes notice of their doings; so that it is not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, that shall enter and be accepted, but he that doth the will of God. Here you may see, there are two fasts, the one chosen, and the other rejected; and the fruits of both manifested, whereby they may be known, who are the true fasters, and who are not, agreeably to what Christ hath said; every tree shall be known by its fruit. Let all mind what they do, and what they bring forth; for they that fast for strife and debate, and do smite with the fist of wickedness, they do not fast to the Lord; their voice he will not hear, according to the Scripture.

And such who instead of setting the oppressed free, of undoing the heavy burdens, and of breaking every yoke, do bring under oppression, and lay heavy burdens, and make yokes instead of breaking them, such are not the people the Lord will accept in their fasts, nor whose prayers he will hear. Because they walk not in the equal way of the Lord, but love to wander, and have not restrained their feet, therefore saith Jeremiah, the Lord doth not accept them, but will remember their iniquity and visit their sins; and the Lord commanded the prophet, that he should not pray for that people for their good; for said God, When they fast, I will not hear their cry, and when they offer burnt-offerings and an oblation, I will not accept them; but I will consume them by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence, Jer. xiv. 10, 11, 12. So you may see all along, the Lord doth not regard all that man can do, or may do, so long as he wandereth from God, and doth not restrain his feet from walking in the evil way.

Thus hath it been in all dispensations of the Scripture before, and therefore much more under this last and most glorious ministration of the gospel of Christ Jesus, which is professed by you, wherein the former comes to be fulfilled and finished, or perfected, where Christ himself is the great Lawgiver, who gives out his ordinances and precepts unto all his people, who according to the promise of the Father, gives unto them the Spirit, and writes his law in the hearts of all the children of the new covenant, Jer. xxxi. 33, which they are to ob-

serve and to walk after; and if any one do otherwise, he ought to be dealt withal, according to the command of this great Lawgiver, Mat. xviii. 15, 16, 17. First to be spoken to, and see if he will hear, either a brother, two, or three, or the church. And if he will not hear, nor be gained, then saith Christ, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen and a publican." But he gives no commission to Christians to persecute, to put in prison, to take away goods, to pull down their houses, to put their feet in the stocks, to root them out of the world root and branch; no, nor to wish it so to be done unto them. But if any do, he will reprove such, as he did the disciples, when he told them, They knew not what spirit they were of, when they desired fire to come from heaven; for he came not to destroy, but to save, as you may read, Luke ix. 54, 55, 56. And you may see what the apostle Paul saith, who was a wise master builder; he saith, One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike; but between them, he saith, Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. So you may see, here is no forcing upon any man, in those things that appertain to the worship of God; but as Christ overrules the conscience, and persuades the heart, and brings man into a belief that it is according to the will of God, so that it may be done in the faith, without which none can please God; for saith the apostle, Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, Rom. xiv. 5 and 23 verses. Therefore as the gospel is professed, let Christ's commands be observed, and the example of the primitive Christians followed, who were blessed in their day, and had the witness of acceptance with God; who were persecuted, but never persecuted any, nor sought to trouble any, as upon a bodily or outward account, for their conscience; though they did reprove them sharply, that turned away from the power of Truth, and became enemies to the cross of Christ, whose belly was their God, who gloried in their shame, and minded earthly things, and so served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies, Phil. iii. 18, 19.

Now such the apostle did bear testimony against, or any others that did unrighteously; but we do not read that he either did, or desired to have it so, that they that did not serve the Lord Jesus Christ, should be put in prison, or in the stocks, or any such bodily punishment, but left them to the righteous judgments of the Lord at his coming, having warned them, and so not to have fellowship with them as brethren; but according to Christ's command, let them be as heathens or publicans. And so all may see very clearly, who will read the Scripture with a single eye, that it is not of Christ, nor according to the primitive example of the

church in her best state, to enforce the conscience of any, to do anything as a duty to God, which they themselves had not a persuasion unto, though they did very sharply reprove, and very zealously bear testimony against all such, who made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, and turned from the guidance and leading of the grace of God into lasciviousness, wantonness, and fleshly liberty. And therefore I cannot but desire that all who profess Christianity, may follow the example of those who were the first and wisest builders of Christianity, who laid the foundation so that another cannot be laid. And he that would build upon this that is already laid, otherwise than they builded, must suffer loss in the day when his works come to be tried.

And therefore if any see the Lord's rod, and his judgments in these things that are upon the people of this island, let all such humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, and wait to feel his mighty power to subdue the man of sin, and to bring under that which hath oppressed the soul, that through the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the oppressed may be set free, and every yoke may be broken, that it may be witnessed which was spoken by him, John viii. 36, If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed. Then people come to the fast which the Lord hath chosen, and that fast cannot be accompanied with cruelty; there is no smiting with the fist of wickedness, nor bringing oppression over the just, where Christ is owned and followed, as the Lord hath appointed, as a witness, a leader and a commander, for which he is given to the people, as you may read in Isaiah lv. 4. But where these evils are brought forth, as the fruits of any fast, by those that appoint or pretend to keep a fast, is it not like unto Jezabel's fast, that she caused the elders and nobles of the city to proclaim, where the just man was witnessed against, condemned, and stoned to death for nothing, but because he could not give or sell his inheritance away, which the Lord had given him? So we desire the good of all men, and that every one may take notice of his own ways, how he walks before the Lord, and do unto others as he would be done unto; and that all may be free upon the account of things that appertain to God, and so left to the judgment of him that knows all hearts, that from him they may receive reward.

As for those things wherein man is concerned, if any man do wrong or injury to another in person or estate, we say, let such be punished according to the law, which was made for the transgressor, and let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream, Amos v. 24. This is the way the Scripture largely testifies, wherein man may come to be



accepted, and the wrath of God appeased, and his judgments removed, and so the right desire answered.

From a lover of peace and righteousness, who truly seeks the good of all men,

JOHN BURNYEAT.

Written in Barbadoes, about the 29th of the eleventh month, 1670, upon the occasion of a fast, that was pretended to by the people of the island, because of a great sickness that was upon them, whereof many died; of which my companion William Simpson then died.

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## MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF CATHARINE PHILLIPS.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Some account of her parents—early visitations and religious exercises—remarks on engaging in the work of the ministry—first appearance therein.*

As the dealings of the Almighty with me from my youth have been singular, and are worthy to be retained in remembrance with thankfulness, I have committed to writing some remarkable circumstances of my life; tending to awaken future thanksgiving and watchfulness in myself; and, considering how wonderfully the divine arm has been manifested for my help, to encourage me to a steady trust therein, and to perseverance in submission thereto; in order to leave to my surviving relations, some memorials of the various exercises and dangers which I have passed through, and of the merciful support and preservation vouchsafed from the Lord therein.

But first it appears proper for me to leave a testimony to my parents, who not only professed the Truth, but had it in possession. My father, Henry Payton, of Dudley in Worcestershire, son of John and Catharine Payton, respectable members in the Society of Friends, was called into the work of the ministry about the eighteenth year of his age; and, when young, travelled much in the service of Truth in divers parts of this nation, Ireland and Scotland, as also in the American colonies; and from the testimonies of Friends, I have good reason to believe that his service was truly acceptable and edifying to the churches; his ministry being lively and clear, and his care not to exceed the openings of Truth therein apparent. His deportment was grave, his conduct clean and steady, and his charity in proportion to his circumstances, diffusive. He was an affectionate husband, a tender father, and kind master; serviceable amongst his

neighbours, and beloved and respected by them. Many years before his decease, he was disabled not only for public service in the ministry, but for acting in the private duties of life in providing for his family; being afflicted with a paralytic disorder, under which his faculties gradually gave way. I was much his companion in his long weakness, reading to him and attending upon him; and can give this testimony respecting him, that he retained the savour of the divine life to the last; and frequently manifested a religious concern for his children, and particularly for me his youngest child and tenderly beloved by him. He would often say, "The Lord bless you my children," when his speech faltered so that he could articulate but little. In the seventy-fifth year of his age he was released from his affliction, and I doubt not is entered into everlasting bliss.

My mother was the daughter of Henry and Elizabeth Fowler, of Evesham in Worcestershire. She was a religious woman, endued with a strong and steady understanding, and many singular virtues, whereby she was fitted for the part she had to act in life. This was peculiarly exercising in part, through my father's incapacity for business, the care of a pretty large and young family, and a considerable business, that not of the kind most fit for a woman, devolving upon her. When my father was disabled from acting for his family, being engaged in a partnership in one branch of business which terminated in great loss of property, his affairs were in a very unsettled state; all which, with other trying circumstances, my mother passed through with admirable steadiness, fortitude, and patience; and through a long series of necessary worldly engagements, she was favoured to retain the best life. The Lord greatly blessed her endeavours for her children, in temporals; and I doubt not heard her prayers that the dew of heaven might rest

upon them. She would say, she desired not great riches for her children, but that they might dwell in the fear of God. Her steady and strong conjugal affection was manifested in my father's long indisposition, by tender attention; and after his decease, by her frequently mentioning him in terms, which evinced that their union was founded in that love, which death cannot dissolve. She said that when she married him, she was so far from being intimidated at the thought of his leaving her, to travel in his ministerial office, that she entered into the solemn covenant, with a resolution to do her utmost to set him at liberty therein; and when it pleased divine Wisdom to deprive her of a husband whom she might offer up to his service, she was desirous that some one at least of her offspring might be called to the ministry. This was fulfilled in me, whom she tenderly loved; but, I believe she as freely dedicated me to the Lord as Hannah did Samuel, and was always ready to put me forward in his work; yet was weightily concerned that I might not run before my true guide. And although, after I was called to the ministry, it was my lot to be much absent from her, she never repined at it, but frequently encouraged and incited me to faithfulness: so that among the many mercies bestowed by bounteous Providence, I may justly number as not the least, the having such a parent.

She was an affectionate mother to all her children, yet very quick-sighted to their faults, ready to reprove them; and not subject to indulge them in childhood; but educated them in industry. In fine, she was an example of fortitude, cheerfulness, gravity, industry, economy, self-denial, and resignation to the divine will. She was generous to her friends; her house and heart always open to receive the Lord's messengers: for which she would say she thought a blessing was dropped upon her family. She was charitable to the poor; rather choosing to save from other expenses, that she might have to dispense. She died in the ninety-first year of her age; and retained a considerable degree of soundness of judgment until near the close of a useful, but careful life.

Thus descended, it may be supposed I was in the way to receive religious instruction from my infancy; and indeed I cannot date the first dawn of divine light upon my soul. With humble thankfulness I may say, that early in the morning of life I knew the Lord to be a God nigh at hand; convincing of evil, and raising breathings after the saving knowledge of his divine love and power. Friends who travelled in the ministry usually lodged at my father's house. I loved their company when very young, and their tender notice of me I commemorate with gratitude. Here I may re-

mark, that if our youth prized the favour of the company and converse of such whose "feet appear beautiful upon the mountains" of salvation, and who have had large experience of the love of God, they might profit much thereby. But, alas! how often do some avoid their company, scarcely giving them an opportunity of manifesting to them that tender affection wherewith their spirits are clothed; being probably afraid of reproof, on account of their indulging in liberties, contrary to the pure liberty of Truth; which they think hard, although it be given in that love which seeks the true happiness of their souls. I could read well when very young, and spending much time with my afflicted father, I read to him; and the experiences and sufferings of faithful martyrs, and of our worthy friends, with the accounts of the glorious exit of such as launched out of time in full assurance of everlasting bliss, made profitable impressions upon my mind; my spirit being often tendered thereby, and my love of virtue and piety strengthened; so that I may truly say that such holy persons, "though they are dead, yet speak." May their language be heard by the youth of the present and succeeding generations; and incite them to eschew the paths of vanity, and to follow the footsteps of Christ's companions. So will the song of his redeemed be theirs.

But, notwithstanding these promising beginnings, as I grew up I yielded to divers temptations, and was allured from the simplicity of Truth; the evil propensities in nature getting the ascendancy. But even in my childhood I experienced many conflicts, and my convictions for evil were strong; so that at times my heart was sorrowful, and my pillow watered with my tears, although my countenance and deportment were mostly cheerful. Once, having yielded to temptation, my sense of guilt was such, that I concluded I had sinned against the Holy Ghost; and that agreeably to Christ's testimony, I "should never be forgiven." This so affected my tender mind with sorrow and unutterable distress, that it could not be entirely concealed from the family; although I was enabled, even in childhood, to keep my exercises of mind much to myself. I think I must have been about eight or nine years old when it was thus with me; and as in childhood I was several times visited with fevers, which brought me very low, I was led to consider how I was prepared for the awful change wherewith I was threatened; and a weighty sense rested upon my spirit, that my soul was not pure enough for admittance into Christ's holy kingdom. Sometimes I would covenant with the Lord to be more circumspect and watchful for the future; but the airy natural disposition again got the ascendancy, whereby an occasion for



repentance would arise. My natural disposition was very volatile, and my apprehension quick; and as my faculties opened, I delighted much in books of a very contrary nature and tendency to those which had engaged my attention in childhood. I had a near relation, who, notwithstanding his having been divinely favoured in his youth, had slighted his soul's mercies, and pursued lying vanities. He kept house in the town; and through him, myself and my sisters had opportunities of obtaining plays and romances, which I read with avidity. I also spent so much time at his house as to be introduced into amusements very inconsistent with the simplicity of truth, and my former religious impressions; so that my state was indeed dangerous, and but for the interposition of divine Providence, I had been left to pursue courses which must have terminated deplorably. I also read history, was fond of poetry, and had a taste for philosophy; so that I was in the way to embellish my understanding, as is the common phrase, and become accomplished to shine in conversation; which might have tended to feed the vain proud nature, render me pleasing to those who were in it, and make me conspicuous in the world. But the Lord, in his wisdom, designed to bring me to public view in a line directly opposite to worldly wisdom, pleasure, or honour; and when he was pleased more fully to open to my understanding his great and glorious work of renovation of spirit, I saw that I must desist from these publications and studies, and pursue the one necessary business, viz. working out the salvation of my immortal soul: and I esteem it a great mercy that I readily attended to this intimation. However lawful it may be, in proper seasons, to look into the works of nature, and become acquainted with the history of former or present times, my attention was now powerfully attracted to higher subjects; and had I pursued those lower things, I might have become as a "vessel marred upon the wheel." This is, alas! the case with many who have been divinely visited, but who, not deeply and steadily attending to the instructions of pure wisdom, but seeking to be wise and learned; in matters which merely relate to this present state, have not advanced in the simplicity of divine knowledge; and although it has remained obvious that the Lord's hand has mercifully been turned upon them to form them for his service, they have not grown up to that degree of usefulness in Christ's church, whereto they might have attained, had they passively abode the turnings of his preparing hand. Were the sons and daughters of our religious Society, who are favoured with good natural understandings, clothed with heavenly wisdom, they would become and appear truly great, in the dignified simpli-

city and humility of the service of the King of kings. Human knowledge and acquirements too often puff up the minds of youth; and indeed some of more advanced age pride themselves therein, when, as examples to the rising generation, they should be clothed with humility. It was observed of a truly honourable member of our favoured Society, that "he was a divine and a naturalist, and all of the Almighty's making."\* I have read very little on natural philosophy, and am not in a disposition to boast of my acquired knowledge of either human, natural, or divine things; but I may say, that I have admired how by one gleam of heavenly light the understanding is opened into natural things; so as in degree to behold, as at one view, the general economy of the divine Former of all things, as it is displayed in the outward creation. This produces adoration to him under the humbling sense of his power, mercy, and wisdom, as well as admiration of his works; and discovers that they are indeed marvellous, and in their full extent incomprehensible. Therefore, let not the faculties of his adopted children be so improperly occupied in exploring them, as to prevent an advance in their various stations in his militant church: when happily their souls are fixed in the triumphant, they will know so much, as for ever to inspire the angelic song of "Great and marvellous are thy words, Lord God Almighty, in wisdom hast thou made them all!"

From these remarks I return to my education, which, whilst I was at home, had not been entirely neglected, as to useful and necessary learning; yet, as through the afflicted circumstances of our family, I had been kept pretty closely there until I had attained my sixteenth year, my mother concluded to send me to London, and put me for one year under the care of Rachel Trafford, who, with her sister, kept a respectable boarding-school; not doubting her attention to me, as she when young had spent a considerable time in my father's family. She was affectionately kind to me; and, as a minister as well as mistress, I believe her mind was frequently exercised for the religious improvement of her scholars; which at times was manifested by verbal supplication for them, as well as advice and reproof.

I improved much for the time I stayed in the school; and my school-fellows behaved well to me; but being so far advanced towards maturity, tall, and proportionally grown for my age, I looked rather too much like a woman for a school; yet some of my school-fellows were older than myself, which I believe increased my mistress's anxious solicitude for our preservation, we being, to use her own expres-

\* William Penn's account of George Fox.

sion, a school of women. I soon connected myself most intimately with my mistress's niece, who acted as a teacher, and with one of the scholars, a sensible, agreeable, well-behaved young woman, but not of our Society, who was admitted into the school to qualify herself in needle-work, for a school-mistress. As neither of them were much under the influence of religion, I did not profit by their conversation, in the most essential respect. But after I had been a few months in the school, I was favoured with a renewed visitation of divine love, and grew uneasy with my situation. Home became desirable, although I knew it to be a house of affliction; and on my intimating it to my dear mother, my brother James fetched me there, sooner than she intended when I left her.

Thus far I have commemorated the dealings of the Almighty with my soul, manifested principally in tender mercy; but now the day was coming wherein his righteous judgments were manifested against all that was high, and opposite to his pure Spirit; in which day my wanderings from Him, the Shepherd of Israel, were brought to my remembrance, and my sins set in order before me; which wrought great humiliation and brokenness of heart, with strong cries to Him, that he would graciously pass by my transgressions, and receive me into covenant with himself. Although this dispensation was not agreeable to degenerated nature, which, like Adam, when he had transgressed, seeks to evade the condemnation; yet, because of the glory which I was favoured to discover beyond it, and the divine love which I saw therein, I said, in the secret of my soul, "It is good for me to be under it;" and I was made willing patiently to abide the judgments of the Lord for sin, in order that I might witness remission thereof through the baptism of repentance, and the sanctifying life or Spirit of his Son Jesus Christ. And this mercy, in the appointed season of infinite wisdom, I experienced; so that my past transgressions were blotted out of the book of remembrance, upon the terms of my future steady perseverance in the fear of God; and in the sensible exaltation of the attribute of divine mercy over judgment, my soul rejoiced with humble thankfulness. Yet as when the children of Israel were delivered out of Egypt, and travelled through the wilderness, they had new trials of various kinds to encounter, insomuch that they thought their sufferings rather increased than diminished, and frequently feared perishing in that desert land; so, being now relieved from the oppressive weight of past actual transgression, and travelling after the saints promised inheritance, which is a state of establishment in righteousness, I had to pass to the attainment thereof,

through many deep baptisms and exercises of faith and patience. I was now brought into my own heart, which, by reason of the irregularity of its passions and inclinations, might well be compared to an uncultivated wilderness; through which I must travel, and wherein I must receive the law for the ordering of my outward conduct. O! the seasons of hunger and thirst, the tossings and perplexities, the "thunderings, lightnings, and tempests," which seemed to threaten destruction, which I had to pass through in that day, are to be had in everlasting remembrance; with thanksgiving to that divine hand which preserved me from being so far dismayed at them as to look back with a desire to return to that country, or state, from which I happily escaped. The adversary here transformed himself as into an angel of light, and, under the specious appearance of righteousness, represented the way so strait, that it was impossible to walk therein and act as a rational being; thereby endeavouring to discourage me, or prevent my attaining to the true gospel liberty, in the use of the creatures, and the course of my conduct. Indeed, in this season of deep distress, both the "earth and heavens were shaken;" some of those religious principles, which I had received by education, were called in question; and I was left without any foundation of certainty respecting them; nor could I attain to it by the testimony of others, or the writings of such as had vindicated them to the world; being to receive my conviction of them, from the deep ground of divine revelation.

All which I have seen was necessary to fit me for the service which was appointed me; that the foundation of my faith might be laid in certainty, and that I might be able to testify with boldness, that I had experienced what I asserted to be the truth; and be also suitably qualified to sympathize with, and minister to, such as were in the like states. I saw early for what station I was designed in Christ's Church. This manifestation of the divine will, my soul received with a good degree of resignation; nevertheless, until the Lord's time for putting me forth to service was come, I was frequently assaulted with fears, lest it should be required of me at such time, and in such manner, as would be doubly hard to flesh and blood: and the adversary was very busy with his presentations, intending thereby either to dispirit my mind from pursuing its proper duty, or, by hurrying me into what had the appearance thereof, to bring me into confusion. But, in all these "voices of the stranger," there was a want of that certainty, which I had concluded should attend such a discovery of the divine will, and which I was happily led to look for; and I was at length strengthened



to covenant with the Almighty, that whenever the evidence was clear and strong, I would submit thereto.

And here it may not be unprofitable to remark, that some minds are more liable to be thus affected than others. Such as have a strong and quick imagination, and whose hearts have been deeply affected with the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and of the love of God to mankind; whose desires are strong, that the one might come to an end, and the other abound in the earth; it is difficult for these at all times, especially when young in religious experience, to keep the quiet habitation, wherein alone the voice of the true Shepherd is to be heard, and distinguished from that of the stranger. But as the will becomes gradually resigned to that of God, and the imagination in its natural working silenced, and the soul comes more constantly to worship in the Lord's temple—the adversary in these false appearances is bound, or if suffered to present them, there is strength acquired to stand still and try the spirits. This I have seen, in the light of Truth, to be absolutely necessary before we move in the Lord's service; the want of which has been productive of much confusion, and administered cause of reproach on our high and holy profession, to such who are seeking for an occasion to lay waste the belief in divine revelation.

But to return:—being come to the aforesaid state of resignation, I waited quietly to discern the puttings forth of the divine hand, in a state of earnest prayer, that I might not be suffered to move before the proper time; which I have good ground to believe was heard and answered; and that from the motion of divine life I was constrained to supplicate the Almighty in our little meeting at Dudley, the tenth day of the second month, 1748, being then newly entered the twenty-second year of my age. May such of the Lord's children, whom He appoints to the solemn important service of the ministry, humbly and patiently wait to know when to move therein; as through neglect of this some have stepped into it, before they have fully passed through the dispensation of preparation for it; and, if ever they have become strong in his service, they have continued long in a state of weakness. Yet let none despise "the day of small things." A few words spoken under divine direction, are often blessed to those to whom the Master of the solemn assemblies directs them.

I continued to minister, as the Lord was pleased to give me ability, in great brokenness of heart, and for a time in but a few words; for great fear was upon my spirit lest I should minister in the wisdom of the creature, which ever brings death, and begets its like. In a sense of this danger, strong were my cries to

the Almighty, that what I handed forth to the people might be unmixed, let it appear ever so simple or despicable in the view of the worldly wise and learned. And as I continued to move in fear and trembling, the Lord was with me, and enlarged my understanding, and increased my service in the openings of Truth: at which his people rejoiced, and, in obedience to his requirings I felt sweet peace. Yet was my spirit frequently in heaviness, being humbled with many deep exercises, which I found profitable to establish it in righteousness, although painful to nature. I leave it as an observation, that I have seldom, if ever, seen any stand, and arrive to any considerable degree of usefulness in the Church, whose foundation has not been deeply laid in afflictions and exercises; whereby they are crucified with Christ, and shall therefore rise with him to glory and honour, in the present as well as in a future state. But in all my afflictions and deep baptisms, the Shepherd of Israel was with me, and preserved and supported my spirit to the honour of his own name, to whom alone I could attribute the praise. For in those allotted days and years of tribulation, very little instrumental help was afforded me; my lot being cast in a quarter where there were none near who were capable of giving me much assistance or wise counsel, not having trodden in the same steps. I sometimes thought my case was hidden from some of the Lord's servants, who were concerned to visit his heritage; or else that they were in part restrained from ministering to it; and my tongue was much sealed in silence, for my exercises were incommunicable.

All this I saw to be of excellent use, as the contrary might have led to a dependence on the servants, which ever brings weakness; or have been productive of confusion, through my imparting my case to such as were not skilful to minister to it, and who nevertheless might have advised therein. I have seen it to be profitable and necessary for such as are in a state of infancy in religion, to dwell with their exercises; leaning simply on that arm, which alone is able to carry through them; and, until the mind has acquired a depth of judgment to distinguish clearly who is on the Lord's side, to be very cautious to whom they communicate them; lest they be wounded, by discovering those, whom they have chosen for their friends, to be enemies, to the cross of Christ. Yet when the Lord directs, in times of great strait, to advise with some experienced servant, it will undoubtedly be advantageous; and a steady sympathizing friend is a great strength and blessing, when it is afforded in divine wisdom.

I am inclined to close this chapter with a little poem, which I wrote in my nineteenth

year; as it has been handed about in manuscript, and suffered much by copying. Between my eighteenth and twenty-second year I penned several small tracts, all of a religious nature; but soon after I appeared in the ministry, I dropped my pen in regard to verses. I do not say it was a sacrifice required; but the continuing of the practice might have proved a snare in some way. It might have engaged my attention too much, or tended to make me popular, which I have ever guarded against; for I was early afraid of my mind and services being tarnished with vanity. And here I may add, that from the time I came from school, I read but little, save religious books; and after I appeared in the ministry, until late in life, reading even them was much taken from me, except the Scriptures: all which I believe was in divine Wisdom, that I might not minister from what I had gathered from religious writings; but might receive the arguments I was enabled to advance on behalf of the Truth, by the immediate revelation of the Holy Spirit. And I can with truth say, that the Lord has been to me, mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance, to my own humbling admiration. May all the praise be given to him now and for ever!

#### A PRAYER FOR WISDOM.

MAKER supreme, of heav'n and earth,  
Of sea, of air, and sky;  
O! thou who gav'st to all things birth,  
Lord, hear me when I cry.

To Thee, invisible, I'll pray,  
Thou only righteous God;  
And Thee, omnipotent, obey,  
And fear thy dreadful rod.

Riches or life, I do not crave,  
Nor any transient things;  
The one has wings, and in the grave  
Are laid the proudest kings.

'Tis heav'nly wisdom I admire;  
'Tis this is my request:  
Oh, grant, great God, this my desire,  
And I am fully blest:

Wisdom to worship thee aright,  
To understand thy will,  
To do my duty in thy sight,  
And thy commands fulfil:

That when my fleeting sands are run,  
And death shall set me free;  
When the short thread of life is spun,  
My soul may fly to thee:

Where I shall live eternally,  
And fear no end of time;  
But praise thy name, enthron'd on high,  
Thou pow'rful God divine.

Not with a weak and mortal voice,  
But in celestial strains;  
In heav'n, the centre of my joys,  
And end of all my pains.

#### CHAPTER II.

*Visits Wales.—Circular meeting at Coventry.—Western Counties of England.—Goes to Bath on religious service.—Pays a religious visit to Ireland.*

HAVING now entered the list of public combatants in the Lamb's army, I pretty soon became concerned to travel for the promotion of Truth and righteousness; and for more than twenty years, had but little intermission from gospel labours.

In the fifth month, 1749, old style, I left home, in order to visit some part of Wales; in which journey my dear friend Lucy Bradley was made willing to accompany me, although, as she said, she knew not that her call to service was much farther than to assist me; with whom I travelled in sweet unity, she being a true sympathizing friend, and deep travailler in spirit, as well as rightly qualified publicly to minister. We visited the meetings of Friends in Radnorshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorgan-shire, Pembrokeshire, and part of North Wales; and in about seven weeks I returned home in peace and thankfulness, to my dear mother and relations; who had been made willing to give me up for Truth's sake, and gladly received me back. In this journey the principal share of the public service fell to my lot; wherein the Lord was evidently with me, strengthening for the work of the day to the honour of his own name; and the testimony of Truth was sometimes exalted, in its own authority, over the libertine and hypocritical professors of it. The youth, and tender honest-minded, were visited and refreshed in divine love; liberty and strength were afforded to declare it to those not of our Society; and I had ground to hope that our labour was not entirely in vain: some persons being powerfully affected, who, I hope, long retained a sense of that visitation; particularly William Phillips from Cornwall, who was then upon a visit to his relations at Swansea.

In less than a week after my return from this journey, I went to the circular yearly meeting for the seven western counties, which was held this year at Coventry, and was very large, and, in the main, satisfactory. It was attended by many valuable experienced ministers, who were careful of laying hands suddenly upon me; although I had good reason to believe that the most weighty of them loved me; but were fearful of hurting me by discovering too much approbation or affection; which some minds, in the infancy of religious experience, have not been able to bear. After my return from this meeting, I was stripped of that strength wherewith the Almighty had been pleased to clothe me; which, with some other discouragement,



ment I met with, sunk me very low, insomuch that I was ready to doubt of all I had known, and to call in question my commission to minister: and my soul was attacked by the adversary in some of his most subtle appearances, and baptized into a cloud of darkness. This dispensation I afterwards saw to be serviceable; the more so, as before my return from my Welsh journey, I had a prospect of another into the west of England; for therein I forgot all my former services, was emptied of all self-sufficiency, and became as weak and depending as when I first engaged in the weighty service of the ministry: and it lives in my experience, that thus the Lord will deal with his servants, for their preservation, that they may dwell in a continual sense, that the excellency is of Him; from whom proceeds wisdom, power, light, utterance, peace, and every good gift.

My concern for the west continuing and increasing, I imparted it to my relations, who being willing to give me up, I sought for a companion, but could hear of none suitable. This added to my exercise; for it seemed very dangerous for such a child as I, to travel alone; but after waiting as long as I durst, I laid my concern before Friends of our monthly meeting, and requested their certificate,\* but told them that I knew of no companion; and if they had not been free to let me go alone, I believe I should have been easy to have waited longer; but they gave me a certificate; and in the eleventh month, 1749, I left home in great humility and fear, being accompanied by my dear brother James Payton, who went with me to several meetings in our own county, and left me not without some doubt on account of the natural weakness of my constitution, which he feared might suffer in this winter's journey. I proceeded to Bristol, and from thence, through part of the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, to Penzance in Cornwall, and returned back to that city in the spring.

Although I went from home alone, I was not much without a suitable companion, the Almighty putting it into the heart of one or other of his servants to accompany me. Mary Fry, of Sutton in Wiltshire, went with me through Dorsetshire; and Mary Pole, of Milverton in Somersetshire, through Devonshire and Cornwall; who were both very tender of me, and

serviceable to me. The latter was not in the ministry, but a solid sympathizing friend, and true labourer in spirit in meetings.

I visited the meetings of Friends pretty generally in Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall; some of which were attended by many people of other societies; before whom the Lord gave me boldness to testify of his Truth with good authority, and to lay open the false and dangerous opinions of some professed Christians, particularly that of unconditional election and reprobation; which dark principle was then likely to gain ground in these parts. I was concerned to appoint meetings at several places, where Friends had no meeting-houses; all which I hope had their service. At Truro in Cornwall, I had a satisfactory meeting, although the people at that town had heretofore manifested their dislike to Friends labouring among them; but they behaved pretty peaceably now, and I had cause to believe my service in this meeting tended to open the way for the circular yearly meeting to be held here; which it was in the year 1752, much to the satisfaction of Friends. At Bath, in my return, I was concerned to appoint a meeting for the strangers in town, it being the season for drinking the waters; to which some of them came, and it was a memorable opportunity, the power of Truth being exalted to the reducing of their light and airy spirits, to some degree of solidity; for which my soul bowed in thankfulness to Him who calls to and qualifies for his service. In this meeting a man sat opposite to me, who wrote by intervals while I was speaking, and I apprehended was taking down what I said; but my spirit was borne above looking at that, being bound to the testimony of Truth.

After staying about a week at Bristol, I went for the Welsh yearly meeting, which was held this year at Brecknock, being accompanied by John Curtis, a valuable minister of Bristol, and divers other Friends. In our way we appointed meetings at Caerleon, Pontypool, and Abergavenny; at the first of which places, I could not find that there had ever been a meeting before; but the people behaved well, and I hope it ended to the satisfaction of the sensible Friends present. It was held upon a first-day in the afternoon; and while we were in it, a number of people were going about the street with a fiddle; it being the custom in some places in Wales, after what they call divine service, to entertain themselves with music, or other diversions. What an inconsistency!

That at Abergavenny was large, and I hope of service in opening the way of the testimony amongst the people. Here a Presbyterian preacher made some disturbance at the close of it. I thought his aim was to cloud the doctrine

\* Should any one not acquainted with Friends' discipline read these Memoirs, it is not improper to observe, that, when a minister, approved amongst them, believes it his or her duty to visit a distant part of the nation, &c. a certificate is given of the unity of Friends of the monthly meeting whereof such minister is a member, that Friends where they travel may be assured that they do not move in so weighty a service without the concurrence of their Friends at home: also that the laying on of hands mentioned in the preceding page, is only to be understood as a figurative expression.

which had been preached, and so prevent the people from being shaken thereby from their old sentiments; but he was blamed by them, and I hope missed his end. I had not much public service at Brecknock, yet was glad I was there, for indeed it was a humbling time to me. For although, in proportion to my gift and experience, the Almighty had eminently favoured me in this journey; yet, on beholding the service and conduct of some other of his ministers, and comparing mine with them, I was led to look upon myself but as a mean instrument, and greatly to esteem these my elders in the Truth. O! how secretly does the Lord work, to the purifying of the hearts of such of his servants who desire to be divested of every high thought, and humbly to cast down their crowns at his feet. This was the ardent prayer of my soul, from the sense of the miserable loss some had sustained, in being puffed up with self-conceit and the esteem of the people; which I have seen to be a very fallacious line to measure one's self by: for sometimes that which is highly applauded by them, is reproved by that Spirit which searcheth all things.

From Brecknock I returned to Bristol yearly meeting, from whence I thought of returning home; but, to my great disappointment, a concern rested upon me to proceed to the yearly meeting at London, in company with Rachel Wilson, who came with me from Brecknock, and was without any companion in the ministry. This brought a great exercise upon my mind, under the consideration of the concern it would bring upon my relations; who I knew were desirous that I might steadily move in the counsel of God; and perhaps might fear my running too fast, which I also dreaded; but finding I could not otherwise be easy, I advised with some friends, and particularly with my ancient and honourable friend, Benjamin Kidd, who encouraged me therein.

The Bristol yearly meeting ended satisfactorily, many valuable ministers attended it, and the testimony of Truth was measurably exalted. It had pleased the Lord in the several times I had been in this city, to favour me with considerable liberty in the exercise of my gift, whereby a door was opened to me in the minds of Friends there; which favour I hope I received with due thankfulness.

Being clear of Bristol I proceeded to London, attending several meetings in the way, appointed by Rachel Wilson; at one of which we met with our valuable friend Daniel Stanton from America, with whom we went in company to London; where we were affectionately received by many Friends, and I had good ground to believe my coming to that city, was in the will and wisdom of the Almighty, though greatly in a cross to my own.

After the yearly meeting, I returned directly home, through mercy in peace, and was there gladly received by my dear mother, &c.

Upon a review of this journey, I found abundant cause to adore the wisdom, love, and care, of the heavenly Shepherd; which were eminently manifested in his conducting, dealing with, and preserving me, a poor weak inexperienced child. The many dangers I had escaped, the many deep exercises I had been supported under, with the multitude of favours conferred on so unworthy an object, struck me with admiration, and raised this acknowledgment, that He "had not dealt with me according to my desert, but according to the multitude of his mercies."

My return from this journey was in the fourth month, old style, 1750. I staid about home until the fall of the year, when I found my mind drawn to Bath, principally on the account of such as resorted thither to drink the waters; to which city I went, and spent a few weeks therein, and at Bristol, &c. I hope profitably. I passed the winter of this year chiefly at and about home, amongst my relations.

In the spring of the year 1751, I attended the yearly meeting for Wales, held at Newport in Shropshire, which was large and divinely favoured. My dear friend Samuel Fothergill attended it, to whom I imparted a concern, which I had for some time been under, of visiting Ireland; in which he encouraged me, and advised that I should endeavour to get to Dublin half-year's meeting. I had afterwards cause to believe his advice was right; for although I did not arrive timely to attend it, yet, had I not come in time to consult Mary Peisley before she left the city, I might not have been favoured with her company. Accordingly I very soon set forward, my brother accompanying me to Liverpool, and seeing me on board a vessel bound for Dublin, in which he left me to the protection of Providence. We sailed down the harbour, but the wind proving contrary, lay that night at anchor, and the next day returned to Liverpool; where I was content to wait, until He who sent me forth was pleased to afford the means of my release from my native land; which was in a few days, when I was favoured with a good passage, for which my spirit was thankful. I took up my lodgings at Dublin at John Barclay's, by whom, though personally unknown, I was kindly received.

Soon after I landed I heard that my dear friend Mary Peisley was in town. I told her that as I was without a companion, I should be glad if she could find freedom to go with me a part of the journey; to which she said little then, but before she left the city, informed me that



she had for some time felt drawings to visit the western and northern provinces, and was free to join me in these parts; with which I thankfully concurred. It is worthy of remark, that the evening before I landed, she being under the influence of heavenly goodness, and in that state resigned to go this journey, it appeared to her that a companion would be sent her from England. Thus does the Lord mercifully provide all things necessary for such as trust in him, and are willing to follow whithersoever he leads them.

Mary Peisley returned home from Dublin, in order to prepare for the journey. I staid a few days, and then left it with an intention to visit two meetings in the county of Wicklow, and return back to the city. Several Friends accompanied me in a coach, which I mention as being singularly providential, for the day we left town I was taken ill; but as a meeting was appointed at Wicklow, we went forward, and reached the place that night. Next day I was much worse, yet attended the meeting and had some little service therein, though under a heavy load of sickness; which continuing, I returned the next day to Dublin, where I was laid up for about two weeks. In all this time my mind was remarkably resigned to this dispensation of Providence; feeling sweet peace in giving up to come the journey, even if it were the Lord's will I should lay down my natural life in that city; having a comfortable hope that it would have been in peace; but as he saw meet in wisdom and mercy, to raise me from this state of weakness, my earnest desire was, that my longer continuance in mutability might be to the honour of his ever worthy name.

Letter from her mother received about this time.

Dudley, 8th of Fourth month, 1751.

MY DEAR AND TENDER CHILD,—Thine, with the agreeable account of thy arrival at Dublin, thy brother hath wrote thee we received. Thy other dated the 28th ult. which brings the news of thy illness, also came safe; which thou mayest suppose was a great trouble to me to hear; but although at present it is a hard trial to have thee ill so far separate from us, yet I esteem it a favour that thy lot is cast among such careful and good friends, which I desire to be thankful for. It is no small satisfaction to me that thou hast been so easy in thyself, and I would have thee labour against every thing which the enemy in the time of weakness may present, and I doubt not but the same peace will be continued to thee.

Do not think, my dear child, of my affliction on thy account; for as thou wast satisfied

it was thy duty to go, and I thought it my duty to give thee up; I trust thou wilt be restored to me, and to thy health, and answer the service the Almighty hath sent thee upon to the honour of his great name: then whenever we meet again it will be so much to our comfort and thy satisfaction, that with hearts filled with gratitude, we shall, I hope, for we shall have cause, return thanks to Him who is alone worthy.

Although thou knowest that I am very short in expressing myself, yet, my dear child, when I find my mind rightly exercised, my prayers are night and day for thy preservation, as I believe thine are for me. I desire, when thou gettest well enough to go on thy journey, thou wilt consider thy weak constitution, and not overdo thyself.

My very dear love is to the friends with whom thou lodgest, not forgetting their care of thee. I shall now conclude with my dear and tender love, thy afflicted, but not without hope, affectionate mother,

ANN PAXTON.

In the time of my indisposition, I lodged at Robert Clibborn's, whose wife was exceedingly tender of me. John Barclay and two more in his family were ill, which rendered it improper for me to return to his house. I staid some little time in Dublin to recover my strength, and my friend John Barclay's indisposition proving mortal, I attended the meeting held on account of his funeral; which was very large, and attended with a good degree of solemnity. After this I left the city, accompanied by a solid young woman, named Elizabeth Carleton, not in the ministry, who was with me about three weeks; in which time I passed through the meetings of Friends in the counties of Carlow and Wexford, to Waterford; where I was met by my dear friend Mary Peisley, who was my companion through most of the remainder of this journey. I had cause thankfully to acknowledge the mercy of Providence in affording me one so steady and experienced, from whose conduct I might gather instruction. We travelled together in great unity and affection, which rendered the trials we met with in the journey the more easy. These were considerable, resulting in part from the nature of our services; which were mostly pointed to the states of persons or meetings, and exposed us to censure from spirits unsubjected to the power of Truth; but our good Master supported us through all, and nearly united our spirits to the living conscientious professors of it, in that nation. It was sometimes my lot in this journey to appoint meetings in places where there were none of our Society, in which I had the

unity of my companion and friend; and they mostly ended to satisfaction, the Almighty proportioning wisdom and strength to the occasions. The 27th of the seventh month I returned to Dublin, in hope that I might in a few days take my passage for my native land; but two women Friends from England, who had been visiting Ireland, being expected in town soon, and to return home, I was free to wait a little for their company; but therein was disappointed, for one of the Friends got a fall from her horse in Dublin street, by which she was disabled from pursuing her intention of going home. So I put to sea, but the wind proving contrary, we were forced back, after having been beating against it almost four days. This sunk my spirits considerably, but on my return, service opened for me, and the wind being still contrary, I took a little turn in the country to satisfaction, and attended the province meeting for Leinster, where I was met by my dear friend Mary Peisley; with whom I went to her father's house, and stayed about a week, and we went in company to the half-year's meeting at Dublin; in which solemnity I was favoured to minister in the authority of Truth; and after taking an affectionate leave of my near friends, and especially of my companion, who was still more near to me in the union of the divine Spirit, I sailed for England the 12th of the ninth month, 1751,\* arrived at Parkgate the 14th, and reached home the 16th, to the mutual rejoicing of myself and relations.

After my return my spirit rested some time in a quiet settlement, and great enjoyment in the Truth; which was an abundant compensation for all my labour and sufferings attending the journey.

*Copy of a Letter to that truly great minister, my ancient friend, Abigail Watson of Ireland.*

Dudley, 18th of Eleventh month, 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—It was not because I had not a due esteem for thy letter, that I did not answer it from Dublin; for indeed I read it with pleasure, and am thankful thou countest me in any degree worthy of thy friendship; but being pretty much hurried, could hardly get a quiet hour to write. I now make use of the first convenient opportunity to inform thee, that, through divine favour, I have safely reached my outward habitation, and was gladly received by my dear mother, &c. whom I found

in as good a state of health as I expected. My mind, for the most part since I came home, has been quiet and easy, resting under the enjoyment of peace in discharging my duty to your nation; which service, as thou hintest, was not undertaken in my own will, nor performed in my own strength; but He who sent me forth, vouchsafed to accompany me: and though he many times saw meet that I should be deeply tried, he was with me in the deeps, as well as in the heights, preserving in danger and distress. Unseen he helped me, because he knew my soul looked to him for assistance, desiring to be guided by his unerring counsel. I write not this boastingly, for my spirit is humbled, under a sense of his goodness and unmerited love. What am I, that the Majesty of heaven should thus condescend to visit me? A poor, weak, unprofitable servant, unto whom belongs fear and confusion of face. Ah! my dear friend, what are the best of us all, without the divine presence or assistance? It is that is our strength, our crown, and rejoicing; by that are we made beautiful; and, divested of that, become as nothing. O! may I ever live in a just sense of the necessity of seeking after it. O! my God, sooner cut the thread of my life, than suffer me to fall from tasting thy goodness: let me not bring dishonour on thy great name, which I now reverence and adore. These, my dear friend, are the secret desires of my soul, in joy and in affliction; which in freedom and tenderness of spirit, I at this time communicate. Whenever thou or thy husband findest freedom to write me a few lines, I hope, if health permit, you will not forbear. My lot is cast in a barren land, and I want all the help that can be afforded me: I am persuaded I need not request you to remember me, since I have good reason to believe our spirits are united in gospel-fellowship; in which I at this time both salute and bid you farewell, and am thy affectionate friend,

CATHARINE PAYTON.

Before I left Ireland; I found my mind drawn to visit the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders in the province of Ulster by an Epistle; and soon after my return home, I was also concerned to write a few lines to a people at Cardiff in Wales, who had in part relinquished their former professions of religion, and sat together in silence, but were in an unsettled state.

*To the few who have been convinced of the rectitude of waiting upon the Lord in silence, and accustomed to meet for that good end, in Cardiff.*

FRIENDS,—In the love of my heavenly Father, joined with a sense of duty, am I engaged thus to salute you; desiring your steadfastness

\* It seems worthy of noting, that although I did not make my passage when I first went to sea, my attempting it might have been of use to the captain, who was a religious-minded man, with whom I had conversation. He suffered no profane language aboard his vessel. He said he had difficulty to prevent it, but he made it a rule; and that the sailors might obey his orders, sometimes asked their advice, and when they concurred with him in judgment, they quietly submitted to orders.



in the unchangeable Truth: that being grounded in right faith, you may not be carried away with every wind of doctrine, but in stability of mind, may be able to distinguish betwixt what proceeds pure from the Fountain of wisdom, and what is mixed with human policy, and the traditions of men; which tend to alienate the mind from the simplicity of gospel worship, and fix it in outward performances, amusing it with bodily exercises which profit but little. By this means, many times, that tender spiritual sensation, with which the soul, in the infancy of religion, is blessed, in measure is lost, and the understanding clouded; the mind being either plunged in a labyrinth of thought, or exalted above that diffident childlike state, in which the humble followers of the Lamb delight to abide: because therein they are capable of knowing his voice from that of a stranger; and receive strength to follow him through the several dispensations of probation he is pleased to allot them.

Many times since I saw your faces have I looked towards you, and I wish I could say I have beheld all keeping their habitations in the Lord. But, alas! instead of that, has there not been a swerving aside, and building again that which you had taken some good steps towards abolishing; which, whosoever does, makes himself a transgressor? May I not query, Why halt ye between two opinions? I believe this to be one cause of your weakness, and I fear, if persisted in, will prove your destruction. I believe it was the merciful design of the Almighty to redeem you from a dependency on mortals, and to bring you to wait for the immediate teachings of his Spirit, and to confide in his power, from a lively sense of its sufficiency: and had you simply followed Him, his Almighty arm had been exalted to the bringing down of your enemies, and the enlarging of your understandings; so that you would not only have seen that there was light, but the miraculous cure of blindness had been perfected, and in the light you would have discerned objects clearly. Here you would have grown in Christian experience, and having received the holy unction, you would have found as you abode under it, that you needed not that any man should teach you, for that this anointing was sufficient to instruct in all things. And here you would have been able to distinguish betwixt words accompanied with, and those without, the power of God, by the different effects each had in the soul: the one tending to quicken unto God, and the other to bring death over the spiritual life. According to the nature of things, a ministry out of the life of the gospel can only beget its likeness: it may fill the head with notions, but can never replenish the soul with grace.

But, as it is the business of the enemy to delude the judgment with false appearances, he will endeavour, by puffing up the mind with vain conceits, to make a likeness of the effects of the Truth.

The head being stored with knowledge, and Christianity in part understood in theory, by working upon the imagination, the poor deluded creature may boast of visions and enjoyments, and, soaring on the wings of deception, may abound in rapturous expressions; but though he may talk of God and Christ from morning till evening, it is but warming himself at a fire of his own kindling, being destitute of the efficacy of grace.

Truth has a natural tendency to humble all the faculties of the soul, to make it "rejoice with trembling," and to clothe it with meekness, resignation, and contrition; in which state it seeks to repose itself on the breast of the beloved; or in silent adoration to bend before his throne, and in tenderness pour forth itself in mental prayer, or praises; but to address him verbally with awful reverence and diffidence, knowing it is presumption so to do but from the movings of his Spirit. If it be long deprived of his presence, it seeks him sorrowing; but as it advances in experience, is cautious of disclosing its condition (as in the night) to the various reputed watchmen; lest by unveiling to the unregenerated the secret conflicts it endures, they, either through uncharitableness or unskilfulness, wound instead of heal; or direct it to other objects, instead of informing it where to find him whom it seeks.

These observations occurring to my mind, I hope you will receive them in gospel love, in which I think they are communicated. I now conclude, with desiring that if any instability has appeared in your conduct, you may for the future keep more close to the divine Guide; that you may be clothed with wisdom and strength, and witness salvation and peace to attend you. I am your real friend,\*

CATHARINE PAYTON.

Dudley, 16th Third month, called March, 1752.

This winter I found my mind drawn in the love of Truth to visit the meetings of Friends in London, and experienced true peace in the discharge of that duty. My service was acceptable to Friends, and I returned home in thankfulness of heart to the Lord, unto whom is due the praise of all his works. I lodged with my former schoolmistress, Rachel Trafford, who now rejoiced in receiving me as a minister of Christ.

\* I note upon this epistle, that, although for a time there appeared a degree of conviction of the Truth amongst these people, that were so scattered, that scarcely one of them steadily and uniformly abode upon its foundation to the end.

Thus far have I written as things have been revived in my remembrance, having made few or no minutes, whilst on my journeys, of my labours and exercises; but in my next journey, which was into Scotland, my mind seemed directed to make some remarks as I went along; which, as they are expressive of the nature of my service, and the manner wherein divine Wisdom led me in the various changes of seasons, I insert almost entire.

### CHAPTER III.

*Goes into Scotland in the work of the gospel—*

*Visits the meetings of Friends there and some meetings in England—prospect of paying a religious visit in America—letter to Mary Peisley and her reply.*

ON the 3rd of the fourth month, 1752, new stile, we went to Colebrookdale, and had a meeting there the same evening, in which we had good satisfaction: the testimony of Truth flowed to the youth, some of whom were carried away with the vanities of this world, and the tender seed of life in them was oppressed.

The 4th, we went to Shrewsbury, and that evening, accompanied by some Friends of the town, visited two Friends who were imprisoned for tithes: in which visit we were favoured with the flowing of the refreshing streams of divine love, wherein the spirits of some of us were united and comforted.

The 5th, being the first of the week, we attended two meetings in that town. In the morning, the testimony of Truth was in a good degree set over the minds of the people of other societies as well as of our own; although there is in this place a dark spirit; but the Lord was graciously pleased to bear our spirit above it.

In the afternoon, many people of other societies came in; but it consisted with infinite Wisdom to disappoint their expectations; and as I abode in silence, I had peace. I thought the cause of this trial might be an example to one of that place, who was forward to minister, but without divine authority.

In the evening we again visited the prisoners; and the 6th, went towards Warrington, and so proceeded the 8th and 9th to the quarterly meeting at Lancaster; wherein I thought the expectation of the people was considerably towards me, who was a stranger in the country; under which I suffered, but patiently bore my testimony in silence; being deeply affected with a sense of the prevalency of that spirit which would exalt the creature. I was refreshed under the ministry of that deep and experienced servant of Jesus Christ, John Churchman of America, whom, with his companion John Pemberton, we met at this place.

The 11th, we went to Kendal, where the quarterly meeting for Westmoreland was held;

wherein John Churchman had good service, but I was still pretty much silent; in which dispensation I felt the refining power of the Almighty near, and was sensible of its service, in emptying my soul of old things, and preparing it for the fresh reception of the openings of Truth.

The 13th, in company with John Churchman, and many other Friends, we set forward for the yearly meeting for the four northern counties, which was held this year at Carlisle. In our way thither myself and companion staid a meeting at Penrith, which was previously appointed by Kendal Friends, and was attended by many people of other societies; and I believe would have been of good service, had it not been for some, with whom discerning Friends had not unity, intruding into the service of the ministry.

At Carlisle, my spirit was set at liberty, and I laboured weightily, and was much favoured in the enlargement of Truth. There seemed a great struggle between the two powers of light and darkness, and what greatly added to the exercise of sensible Friends was, that the power of darkness discovered itself in the appearance of ministry, through some deluded spirits; but, through divine favour, Truth had the ascendancy.

We staid at Carlisle over the next first-day, in which time we visited several families of Friends to satisfaction. The meetings on first-day were attended by many of the town's people, and we were favoured with an evidence of being in our proper place and service, which was renewed cause of thankfulness.

From the 20th to the 23rd, we visited several meetings in Cumberland, wherein the expectation of the people was great; but my satisfaction and rejoicing stood in abiding with the seed of God, which being oppressed in the souls of some professors of Truth, the testimony of it did not rise in such authority, as at some other times.

The 24th, we went a long day's journey to Kelso in Scotland, at which place my spirit was sorely distressed on account of Truth's being almost forsaken by its professors, who were but few in that town. We got some comfort in visiting a sick Friend, whose son and husband we thought in a hopeful way.

The 27th, we went to Ormston, and in the way thither, my mind was drawn to the eastward; but when we came to our quarters, I could see but little likelihood of getting any assistance in visiting the people that way.

The 28th, we had a meeting at Ormston, which was exceedingly crowded, but satisfactory. Being still thoughtful about the people to the eastward, John Christy, at whose house we lodged, told me that if I would stay till the 30th, he would accompany me to any place I should choose; which I was free to do, and we went to North Berwick, where I knew not



that any meeting of Friends had been held before. We had a dark spirit in some to encounter, before we could get a place to meet in, but at last we got a large granary. My spirit was inexpressibly loaded before meeting, but in patience bent towards the centre of its strength, in which state I went to the meeting. There came many people, and I admired at the solidity of their behaviour. The Lord was with us, and exalted the testimony of his Truth, and we left the town in great satisfaction, and I hope true thankfulness.

We returned that night to Ormston, and the next day, the 1st of the fifth month, went to Edinburgh, where we lodged at William Miller's. We attended the meetings in that city on the next first-day. That in the morning was pretty large, there being very few who profess with us in that city, and although cloudy in the beginning, yet the Almighty was pleased to favour in the conclusion, in exalting the testimony of his Truth. In the afternoon the house was exceedingly crowded, and the people very unsettled; but after a long time of exercise, life rose measurably, wherein the spring of gospel ministry was opened.

The 5th, we went to Linlithgow, where was no meeting of Friends. We got a small meeting in an inn with the town's people, which was low, though not quite dead; and returned at night to Edinburgh, having travelled about twenty-eight Scotch miles that day. In the morning before I set out, I found myself very poorly, and in the journey I got worse, and the next day still worse; yet I attended a meeting which was appointed for the professors of Truth only, whose states were mostly distressing, a libertine spirit having carried away the youth, and an easy indifferent one prevailed amongst those further advanced in years; both which were spoken to.

My illness still increased, and, proving a fever, reduced me to a state of great weakness, and I experienced much poverty of spirit; but my frequent petition to the Almighty was for patience, and he was pleased to favour me with quietness and resignation.

The 25th, we went from Edinburgh towards the north. I was still very weak, but gradually gathered strength, and was encouraged to press forward; which I did as far as there were any meetings of Friends, and returned to England by way of Perth and Glasgow. The number of Friends in Scotland is small, and the life of Truth low in some of them; but among the few, there are some who stand as monuments of the divine power, in this barren and almost desolate land; wherein, however, there is an open door in many places, to preach the gospel to those not professing with us.

From Glasgow we went to Carlisle without

holding any meetings. The first night we lodged at Stirling, where my spirit was exercised respecting the holding of a meeting; but having only one young man with us, not the most steady as a Friend, and it appearing to be a high professing place, I suffered cowardice to prevail, which occasioned future distress: there was time enough for an evening meeting after we came to our inn; and I think the landlord would have granted us his large dining-room. In the morning we proceeded forward, a long day's journey, and dangerous roads; lodged at a very poor lonely Scotch inn upon a chaff bed; our bed-room a ground floor, and no fastening to the door; and there being men in the house drinking, we were not quite easy with our situation, but through divine favour, we went to sleep, and were preserved from harm. We rode through much heavy rain from Glasgow to this place, which had swelled the river Erisk so much, that it was not thought safe to attempt to pass it the night we came there; but next morning we crossed it in two branches: it had a dreadful appearance, the water looked very muddy, the stream wide, deep, and rapid; but we had careful guides, and through favour of Providence got safely over the 17th of the sixth month, and came to Carlisle the same day. And here I may note to the honour of Scotland, that in all the time I was in it, I do not recollect hearing an oath or a curse uttered, (except the word faith might be accounted an oath, which was spoken by a soldier.) Alas! for England! the streets of whose towns echo with most profane language, to the shame and condemnation of its magistrates, as well as its wicked inhabitants. At Carlisle I parted from my companion, who was concerned to visit some of the northern counties, and I, to attend the quarterly meeting at York; where I came the 22nd, taking meetings in my way, at Penrith, Raby, and Haby. The last being a monthly meeting, was pretty large, and I believe many souls were refreshed therein: the testimony of Truth rose in considerable strength and clearness; and the meeting concluded in a sense of heavenly sweetness, which was again renewed in the women's meeting. My spirit was humbly bowed in thankfulness, that my lot was cast there that day.

At York I met with my dear friend Ann Fothergill from London, and many other friends whom I dearly loved, who were glad to see me returned to my native land, the more so from a report having prevailed in England, that I was dead.\* My mind was turned to consi-

\* I think it worthy noting, that Samuel Fothergill, being at London yearly-meeting, when this report was current, on a Friend's bringing him a supposed confirmation of the truth of it, paused awhile, and bid her tell the person who informed her, from him, She is not dead; which was soon confirmed by an account from Scotland.

der the wonderful loving-kindness of Providence manifested in this journey; and, considering my weak state of health through a great part of it, I thought it miraculous that I should so soon accomplish it; such a fatigue seeming no way proportioned to my strength. But with God all things are possible; therefore have his servants cause to trust in his holy arm of power.

The quarterly meeting at York was mercifully attended with the presence of the Master of our solemn assemblies; the testimony of Truth was exalted, and the spirits of his people united in gospel fellowship.

The 25th, I went to Malton, accompanied by my dear friend Sarah Taylor of Manchester. We had a meeting there that evening, and the 26th went to Scarborough, and that evening visited a young man, who I thought was near his end; but we had little to say to him, his condition being lamentably stupid. I thought intemperance was the cause of his indisposition, and found afterwards I was not mistaken. O! the deplorable effects of this degrading vice on the body, soul, and temporal substance, of numbers who unhappily indulge in it; whose faculties are debased below those of the brute animals; and so stupified as not to be roused to the most important work of their souls salvation. It lays men open to every temptation, and reduces many from opulent circumstances to extreme poverty. It is destructive of every delicate social enjoyment; it often emaciates the body, deprives the soul of its highest good, the divine Presence, whilst in time; and if continued to the end of it, finally excludes it from Christ's pure kingdom of everlasting bliss. Alas! that men should indulge in it to their shame. Solomon saith truly, \* "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise;" again, "† Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine, that go to seek mixt wine. Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright. At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder."

The 27th, being first-day, we attended the meetings. In the morning, we were much favoured with the evidence of Truth in our service: several were there not of our Society who behaved well, and I believe went away satisfied. My concern was to show them the difference betwixt true and false faith, and the tendency of each; with some other truths, which immediately opened in my understanding. In the afternoon, the meeting was large, but the Lord

saw meet to disappoint the expectations of the people, and manifest both to them and us, that without him we can do nothing in his service; for neither of us had a word to say to them; but I was concerned in supplication, and was abundantly rewarded, in submitting quietly to this dispensation of divine Wisdom. In the evening, we visited two Friends who could not attend meetings, by reason of age or indisposition; and next morning, another Friend in a very low state of mind, with whom we had a good opportunity, and left him better than we found him; and I afterwards heard that from that time he was restored. That afternoon we departed in peace from Scarborough, and returned to Malton, so to York, Leeds, Rawden, Bradford, and Halifax; in all which places I met with a share of exercises, and, I thought, was mostly very low in the ministry; but had the consolation to believe that what I stammered out, was suited to the states of the people; which is a proof of true ministry.

The 7th of the seventh month, we came to Manchester, where I left Sarah Taylor; the 10th, I went to Warrington, and had a meeting there that evening, wherein I was silent as to testimony.

The 11th, I went to Liverpool; in my way stopped to take some refreshment at Prescott, and found my mind exercised for the people of that town, wherein there was no meeting of Friends; but went on for Liverpool, and next day was at two meetings there, and visited a Friend in distress, in all which I had good satisfaction. In the evening, finding a concern for Prescott still to remain, I proposed to Friends, having a meeting there the next morning, in my way to Warrington; which, though some difficulty was started, was accomplished, and a blessed opportunity it was; the Lord's power being largely revealed, and the people behaving solidly, although I suppose, a meeting of Friends had not been held in the town for very many years.

In the evening, I had a meeting in Warrington. The 14th, I went to Morley, my dear friend Samuel Fothergill and several other Friends accompanying me, and divers others meeting us from Manchester: and the Lord, in his wonderful mercy, was pleased to open the fresh spring of his love, and favour us with a sweet opportunity togethred therein: in a thankful sense whereof we parted from each other; and I came by way of Stafford and Atherston, home the 20th, where I was gladly received by my dear and worthy mother, &c. After some little time of settlement, my mind was directed to take a view of my late journey, in the course whereof I discovered the wonderful loving-kindness of God largely manifested; but was for a time much distressed on account of not

\* Prov. xx. 1. † Ibid. xxiii. 29, 30, 31, and 32.  
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having had a meeting at Stirling, as before hinted : under which distress my soul ardently desired that for the future I might be careful to discharge my duty ; for I found it a heavy burden not to be clear from the blood of the people.

In a few weeks after my return from this journey I went to our quarterly meeting at Shipston ; which was eminently favoured with the presence of the Most High.

In the fall of the year I was obliged to accompany my sister to Bath, for the benefit of her health ; in which city I was the most affectingly dipped into a state of poverty, that ever I had known myself to be, which, being joined to great weakness of body, was hard to bear, yet I believe not without its peculiar service.

I visited Bristol meeting twice in this journey, where I was made to taste of the poverty and weakness which appear in many there, through unfaithfulness. It was indeed a time of mourning to the servants of the Lord, while those who were the cause of it required of them a song ; but they were constrained for the most part to bear their burdens in solemn silence.

At Bath I suffered much under a libertine spirit, which was very apparent both amongst those who professed Truth, and others in that place. I had several testimonies of close reproof to bear to Friends, and some pretty open service with strangers in town, and upon the whole had cause of thankfulness administered ; the Lord rewarding my faithfulness and sufferings with peace in the end ; and I returned home in a much better state of health than I left it ; the use of the waters having been of service to me, though of little to my sister. But now another trial of faith came upon me, which was the near approach of a visit to Friends in America, which had appeared in prospect for about a year ; with an apprehension that I must go with my dear friend Mary Peisley, who I believed was preparing for that service : yet I never gave her any hint of accompanying her, being desirous that if it must be my lot, it might be evidently pointed by the finger of Providence.

On my return home I received a letter from her, wherein she desired to be informed, whether I knew of any woman Friend going to America from England, and hinted her concern for that quarter of the world. This stuck closely to my mind, yet I kept it to myself for several weeks, and then communicated it to my dear mother, who heard it with a becoming resignation, telling me it was not entirely unexpected to her.

And although it was exceedingly hard, to the natural part in her, thus to part with me in her declining years ; especially as she so tenderly loved me as a child, as well as in the Truth ;

she freely gave me up to the divine requiring, earnestly desiring that the Lord might be my director and preserver.

Upon this I wrote to my dear friend Mary Peisley. Some extracts of my letter to her, with her answer, follow.

#### CATHARINE PAYTON TO MARY PEISLEY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—It is not because I forgot thy affectionate request of hearing from me soon, that I have so long postponed a reply to thy last acceptable favour ; but when it came here I was from home, as I hope thou art already advised by a few lines I wrote from Bath, and the sequel of this will discover my reason for not writing thee immediately on my return.

With pleasure I observed that thy health was better than heretofore, and hope the blessing is still continued, so that by the assistance of heavenly goodness, thou hast been and still mayest be capable to perform the duty required, with a degree of ease and cheerfulness, to which a good share of health greatly contributes ; although it must be confessed with humble gratitude, that the Lord is to his servants strength in weakness of body as well as mind.

What we have seen of the exaltation of his arm of power in this respect, may encourage us to perseverance, and a steady dependency thereon ; and silence the voice of nature, which sometimes insinuates that we are not able to perform what is required ; for we have good cause to believe nothing is impossible with Him who has called us ; but, through his power communicated, we may perfectly perform his will. And suppose our race to be attended with weakness, pain, anxious concern, travail of soul, and inconvenience to the body ; can it ever equal the incomparable sufferings of the Captain of our salvation ? Oh ! how does the consideration of the tribulated path he invariably trod, stifle the pleadings for ease and pleasure ? For, shall we who dare to aspire to no higher title than servants, expect to be better accommodated than was our Lord ? Shall we supinely settle in the outward possessions afforded us, when he laboriously trod the wine-press alone, and that for our sakes ? He was destitute of a place of residence, and had not where to lay his head, though Lord of all ; and although he could limit the power of Satan, yea, totally bind him, yet suffered the contradiction of sinners against himself, as well as a series of deep temptations. Let us be united to the sufferings infinite Wisdom allots, remembering the blessing dropped on such as endure afflictions.

I know to whom I am writing, and believe

that thou art much farther advanced than myself in this glorious resignation to the divine will; but thus much I may say, that, as I have seen, in a degree, into this happy state of constant devotion, I ardently desire to be made a partaker therein.

I rejoice to find that unity and sympathy of spirit, which so remarkably attended us when present, subsist now absent; and thought my wish in my last was answered in the sense thou hadst of my state. Oh! may we both be preserved near to the Fountain of life, and then we must be near each other in the fellowship of the gospel, which distance of space cannot hinder, nor time efface; but it will centre with our spirits in that unchangeable state of felicity we humbly hope for.

I now come to answer thy last request, which will show the cause of my silence, viz. Whether I knew of any woman Friend who was going from England to America. I told thee I had a hint of —'s inclination, the same I had of —, but know not that either is more than supposition, for I do not hear that either are preparing to set forward, and have heard of no one else.

But my dear friend, I am almost at a loss to find terms to express the laborious thought which has possessed my soul; for it seems to me; that Providence designs I should accompany thee; unto which, if way may be made for me, and an unquestionable evidence given that it is right, I am at last resigned; although it be but to be a servant of servants; but He only knows who discovers the inward struggle between flesh and spirit, with what reluctance I shall, if it must be so, part from my dear relations, especially my dear and honoured mother, to whom I have communicated the painful thought. She heard it with becoming resignation, being determined to give me up to the divine requiring; only desires to be convinced it is such, which I hope is but an allowable request. I have waited to have the thing a little settled on her mind, and she yesterday gave me leave to inform thee of it.

And now my dear friend, I entreat thee to weigh it well, and as disinterestedly as possible, and give me thy thoughts thereupon with all the freedom which our friendship and the nature of the case require, not concealing one doubt; for I am exceedingly afraid of being deceived, and would willingly be convinced, if this appearance is but for the proving of my submission. But however it may be, I find peace in standing resigned, and trust my good Master will rightly conduct me.

Notwithstanding what I have before said, if any companion offers with whom thou hast freedom to join, pursue thy journey, and leave

me to Providence, who, I believe will take care of me.

*Some extracts of Mary Peisley's letter to Catharine Phillips, in answer to the foregoing.*

MY DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,—  
This goes with the salutation of my best love, and may inform thee, that I received thy two very acceptable favours of the tenth and twelfth month. The last came first to hand, for I did not get that from Bath till last week; yet was it very acceptable to me, and a stronger confirmation of what thou mentions in the latter part of thy last being right, if my concern is so. For the baptism thou there describes as into a cloud of darkness, bears a just resemblance to what my spirit passed through, before I had a distinct discerning of the near approach of the journey which is now before me: and agrees with the experience of that great instrument John Churchman, as he wrote to me before he had any knowledge of my concern, but what he received by sympathy; which was some strength to me, and what I greatly desired. Thy last came to hand about two weeks after its date, which I should have answered sooner, but that I waited for his answer, being willing to comply with thy request\* in consulting him, which I had not done before: and notwithstanding his writing as he did; his reply was, "That he had thoughts of my being under such an exercise, and therefore my letter was not surprising to him; but that he had little to say to it, well knowing that it is safe for us all to attend to that divine instruction which can alone make truly knowing in our least acceptable services at home, as well as the most weighty we may be called to abroad;" but what he did say was very edifying, and although the concurrence of such as he is what we must naturally desire; yet to our own Master we must stand or fall.

I find it a great trial to my poor father to part with me, but the thoughts of thy going with me has made it much easier to him; and for my part I may acknowledge it as a favour, neither looked for, nor expected; it being like forbidden me to take any thought about a companion, as well indeed it might, when my kind, good Master was providing so agreeably for me. To my kind and good Master I owe first and chief my hearty thanks, for all the benefits received from secondary causes.

But thou mayest remember, my dear, though I wrote to thee to know if any Friend from your nation was likely to go, it was not by way

\* That part of my letter to Mary Peisley I omitted to transcribe in the before-written abstract.



of querying for a companion; but it springs in my heart to say, Thou art the woman, and I really believe the thing is of the Lord; and as we abide in his counsel, I firmly hope that he will bless us together, and make his work to prosper in our hands, if our eye be but single to his glory, seeking, hoping, nor desiring, any thing but the advancement thereof: and I can assure thee my dear friend, notwithstanding the love I have for thee in the Truth, and the affection which I bear to thy person, with the likeness of souls I had discovered; yet, did I feel any obstruction or doubt in my mind of the thing's being right, I dare not conceal it from thee, nor take one step knowingly, out of the light and counsel of Truth, in so important an affair. It is just with me to say, "Tempt not the Lord thy God," in seeking more strong and convincing manifestations than he may see meet to give thee: but be willing to go in faith, leaning on thy staff; for I must tell thee, I think I have brought sufferings on myself for so doing; for, since the time that it was clearly manifested unto me as a duty, till within these few weeks, I have been peaceably resigned; in which state was favoured with great tranquillity of soul, which made me look on the difficulties and dangers of the journey, with such eyes, that I began to fear that I had a will to go, and set my face against it, till I had a further manifestation of its being right. And here nature began to please itself with many pleasing prospects in my stay; and the enemy was at hand to suggest that the former manifestation was but to try my love and obedience; and here I lost faith, and without it could no more think of going than of removing mountains. Thus did the enemy work as in a mystery, till my spirit was brought into such darkness and distress, as is better felt than expressed. I am now again, by the mercy of God, and by that faith which is his gift, fully resigned without any further manifestation; than in looking that way wherein I see a little light, peace and comfort to my poor soul; and in turning any other, fear, pain, and darkness, meet me.

Thus, my friend, have I given thee a short but true account of the dealings of the Lord with my soul; which has been the cause of my silence till this day, for the forepart of this letter was written more than three weeks ago, but could not find strength to finish it till now; yet in all that trying season had no doubt of thy concern being right. Ah! what states and dispensations must we pass through, who are fitting to speak of the Lord's wonders which are seen in the deeps!

If it be my lot to go, the way which now seems pointed to me is, to spend some time in Dublin; to go from thence with Friends to the

yearly meeting at London; and, when clear of that city, to take shipping from thence: this I hope will be acceptable to thee, but if thou hast any call to Ireland before thou goes, let not this prevent thee.

After the receipt of this letter I continued to make preparation for the journey, my way being open both in the minds of my relations and friends; though it was a trial to both to part with me.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Embarks for America.—Voyage to Charleston, South Carolina.—Letter to her brother Henry.—Travels through the Southern, Middle, and Eastern States.—Sails for Dublin.—Returns home.*

ON the 4th of the sixth month, 1753, I took an affecting and affectionate farewell of my dear mother and relations, leaving her and them to the protection of Providence; and went, accompanied with my sister Ann, to Worcester. I was at a monthly meeting there the next day, which was laborious and exercising, some Friends being sunk into a state of indolence, and though sometimes favoured with a feeling sense of divine good, not quickened thereby to action in the affairs of the Church: thus the visitation of heaven is rendered fruitless, while the things of this world are pursued with industry and ardency. Against this spirit, I, with some others, had to testify in close doctrine and advice; and, although the meeting was dull and painful in the beginning, it ended in a sweet living stream of supplication and praise: in which the living present, committed each other into the hands of the Almighty for preservation.

In the women's meeting, I endeavoured for a regulation, that our Christian discipline might be revived, for which a concern had rested upon my mind for some years: and some women Friends of this city being under a like exercise, it afforded a comfortable hope, that the Lord would qualify instruments for this service. In the evening, the visitation of infinite Goodness was renewed to us, and to a few Friends who came to visit us at my dear friend Ashby's, in the sense of which we parted. The 6th we went to Evesham, where we were met by my brother James, and several Friends from Ireland, who were going to the yearly meeting at London. We stayed over the monthly meeting there the next day, and so proceeded on our journey, Ann Ashby going forward with us, and reached London the 9th, where I met with my dear friend and companion, Mary Peisley.

The yearly meeting was large, and attended by many weighty Friends; who were divinely assisted to labour for the promotion of Truth, and the ordering of the affairs of the Church.

My brother and sister left me in London; and, my companion Mary Peisley having a concern to attend the meetings at Colchester, Woodbridge, and Norwich, I spent a little time at Chelmsford, at the house of John Griffith, the state of my health and spirits being such as seemed to call for rest and quiet, and returned to London in about two weeks. Being still poorly in health, I went to the country-house of my worthy friend John Hayward, accompanied by Ann Fothergill; where I was indisposed, and confined to my bed and the house, for about a week. Recovering a little strength, I returned to London; where the disorder returned, and continued for nine or ten days; and being succeeded by the jaundice, it brought me very low; but through the kindness of Providence, I was preserved patient and resigned under this dispensation. In this time my companion returned to London, but did not find her way open to leave England; so that my trials were increased with the prospect of being longer detained, and at a distance from my dear relations. But infinite Wisdom knows best how to plan out the way for his people, the secret workings of whose Providence I thought I clearly discovered, in this succession of probations being permitted to attend me where they did. Had it been at home it would have been much more afflictive, both to my relations and myself; as it would have rendered their parting with me in such a weak state of health the more painful, and my leaving home the more difficult: nay, I have questioned, if I had not left it as I did, whether, considering the discouragement, I should have gone the journey. Nor was my indisposition without a singular service; for my health had languished under the oppression of the remains of the fever which I had at Edinburgh; which by this disorder were, in a good measure, carried off; and my body the better prepared to sustain the fatigues and trials of the ensuing journey, arising from the difference of climate, &c. So that in this painful allotment, I had renewed cause to bless and praise the name of my God, and to acknowledge, that whatever he does is best.

Almost as soon as I recovered strength to get abroad, the cloud dispersed; and we found our spirits at liberty to take our passage on board the *Alexander*, Captain Curling, bound from London to Charleston, in South Carolina; which sailed in about a week after we agreed to go in her. The last first-day we were in London, we were favoured to take a comfortable farewell of many of our friends, in

the feeling sense of divine goodness; wherein also, we were enabled to resign and commit each other into the hands of the Almighty for preservation.

We left London the 21st of the eighth month, 1753; and, as our vessel was to stop at Portsmouth to take in some of her passengers, our friends thought it best for us to go thither by land: which we did, and several of them freely accompanied us.

We came to Portsmouth the 24th, and went on board our vessel the 25th, where we took leave of our friends with affection.

Being settled in our vessel, a sweet composure came over my spirit; which strengthened my faith that I was moving by divine direction.

The next day the wind turned against us, and we came to an anchor in Yarmouth Road, Isle of Wight. Being first-day, we were a little thoughtful about having a meeting with the passengers; but one of our company being a clergyman, and the ship's crew busy in settling the vessel, we concluded it would not be very easily obtained, and were content in sitting together in our own apartment; during which time the parson got some of the people together in the great cabin, and read prayers to them.

I had purposely left our room door open, in order that, if any duty presented, I might have an opportunity of performing it; and after they had done, I found a concern to call upon the Lord in humble supplication, to which I gave up; but a part of the company went on deck, being I supposed exemplified by their teacher; however I was favoured with a pretty satisfactory opportunity, and the strengthening evidence of peace in the conclusion.

The 27th, we set sail, and passed the Needles the 28th. The 29th, the wind came against us, and blowing hard we anchored in the evening in Portland Bay, where we lay till the 3rd of the ninth month; when we set sail, and got clear of the land the 5th; from which time we were mostly favoured with gentle favourable winds, till we came near the coast of South Carolina.

The 18th of the tenth month, we got into soundings; but the wind blowing very hard, and the sea running high, our captain durst not attempt to go over Charleston bar, so stood off, in hopes the wind might fall; but instead of that it turned against us, and continued to blow very hard till the 22nd: all which time we lay with our helm lashed, driving with the wind. The 22nd, the sea and wind fell very much, the weather, which in this time had been very foul, cleared up, and the wind became favourable, we got within sight of land; but it being to the southward of our designed port, the cap-



tain tacked about to the northward, hoping thereby to gain so much in the night as to be able to run in with the tide in the morning; but we were again beaten back to sea by a contrary stormy wind.

Thus were we tossed to and fro, almost within sight of our harbour; but through prevailing grace our minds were wonderfully preserved above either fear or complaint, enjoying a calm within, in the midst of a storm without; being happily resigned to suffer in this way, if it were the Lord's will so to appoint: which blessed disposition, attended us through the voyage, and helped to alleviate our bodily hardships, which would otherwise have appeared considerable.

We were sea-sick, though not so extremely as we expected; and we suffered much from the excessive heat of the weather, steering within one degree, as far south as the tropic of Cancer; in which latitude I believe we continued nearly three weeks, being becalmed; and, neither I nor my companion being very strong, nature had a considerable struggle, to surmount the expense of spirits we sustained.

But we had cause to be thankful that we escaped a violent fever, which frequently seizes those who pass through this climate, and have been used to one much colder.

During the storm, the seams of our vessel, being opened on the side where we lay, let in the wet, and our apartment was in a manner flooded. My bed was so wet that I could not lie in it, so I threw myself down for several nights upon some blankets in a birth in the great cabin, and slept better than I could have expected; but the spray of the sea drove upon it even there, and my linen was so damp, that I esteemed it a singular mercy I was not exceedingly ill.

Indeed we were both of us brought very low, but recruited again as the weather cleared up; which it did the 24th, and we set sail in the evening. The 25th got our pilot on board, who intended that night to run as near the bar as prudent, and wait for another tide to carry us into port. But here we apprehended ourselves to be in imminent danger; for, the man who sounded mistaking the length of the line which he let go, the vessel ran too far before they dropped anchor; so that we lay all night in very shallow water, so near, if not upon the breakers, that had the wind sprung up fresh, it seemed questionable our having room to turn the vessel from them, when the anchors were weighed: but the Lord preserved us, and we landed at Charleston the 26th in the morning, under a grateful sense of his merciful Providence having attended us through the voyage. We were upwards of nine weeks on ship-board.

We had several meetings while on ship-board with the sailors and passengers, who were of different countries. There was a South Carolina woman and her negro maid, a man and his wife, the one a German and the other a Swiss; a Scotch schoolmaster, our captain and his brother of French extraction, if not born in France.

Our first meeting was with the sailors and steerage passengers, on the afternoon of the first-day wherein we lay at anchor in Portland Bay. The priest, in the morning, read prayers to the cabin passengers, but took no care for the others on board. The captain offered us the cabin to meet in, but we rather chose to go to them in the steerage; from which the priest would have dissuaded us, by telling us, they would be likely to insult us; but, on our sending a message to the sailors that we intended them a visit, they returned for answer, that though they had not had college education, they should be glad to hear the word of God, and would readily admit us. The meeting was attended with a good degree of solemnity, and afforded satisfaction to ourselves. My companion was favoured in testimony suited to the states of the people, and I was graciously admitted to supplicate the Lord for them.

Our other meetings were held in the cabin, which we had the use of for that purpose on the afternoons of the first-days, as the parson had, in the mornings. They were generally attended by most of the passengers and some of the sailors; but there being but little entrance for the word, made it hard labouring among them. We were, however, favoured with peace, in endeavouring to promote their good; and blessed with the incomes of divine life in our own souls, not only on those occasions, but at many other times: so that it was a season to be had in lasting remembrance, with thanksgiving to the Lord, whose good presence accompanied us when on the mighty ocean, and rendered our separation from our dear relations and friends easy.

The parson, observing that in our ministry, we spoke extempore, told me that he could preach extempore, and we should hear him if we pleased the next Sunday. Accordingly when the day came, we were all seated in the great cabin, and he preached without notes. His subject was the transfiguration of Christ, which he found a wonder,—expatiated upon it as a wonder,—and left it a wonder; without entering into the spirituality of the text: indeed I doubt he did not understand it.

From this time he read prayers and preached on first-day mornings, when the weather permitted, and some times we sat in the cabin with them; and although the inconsistency of their prayers and professions with their own states,

as well as of the manner of their offering them, with the nature of the solemn duty of calling upon the Lord, joined to the priest's laboured, dry discourses, could not but painfully affect us; yet in the time of their worship, the Almighty by his power broke in upon our spirits, and bowed them in contrition before himself: so that, in the enjoyment of his goodness, we had a silent testimony to bear to that living worship which he inspires, and accepts.

And although both by word and conduct we differed from the priest, we heard that when he came on shore he spoke well of us, acknowledging that we had been instruments of good to him; and particularly that my companion had convinced him of the evil of gaming; which he appeared to like whilst on the voyage, but which we also heard he afterwards preached zealously against, as well as other vanities. Indeed he became much changed, and whilst in Carolina appeared conscientiously concerned for the people's welfare. Some time after we left America he returned to England, and I think I heard that the people did not like his close doctrine.

*To my brother Henry Payton, written on board the Alexander, 6th of the Tenth month, 1753, at sea, Lat. 25° North.*

DEAR BROTHER,—Heretofore when absent, I have been easy in remembering thee with sincere desires for thy welfare; but now a desire of writing to thee taking place, I am unwilling to stifle it, were it only for this reason, that I would do all that is justly in my power, to strengthen that affection which ought to subsist betwixt persons so nearly allied in nature. But alas! when I consider the difference of our affections, pursuits, and sentiments, in right and wrong, I am fearful to set pen to paper, lest I should not be read with candour and understanding; yet am again encouraged to this conclusion, that thou wilt at least receive it as the effect of my regard for thee. Regard, did I say? I will alter the term to affection; which I have felt gently to spring in my soul towards thee; not only as to a creature formed by the same Almighty hand as myself, and for the same noble end, viz. to glorify him who gave us being, and who has loaded us with a multitude of his favours, which loudly call for a grateful return; but, as to a brother who has strayed from the path of peace and safety, and is seeking satisfaction in the grasp of empty bubbles; which have assumed the form, in his sight, of something substantial. But thy own experience, if impartially traced, will tell thee, they have broken when touched, and dispersed in air; leaving nothing real behind them, but keen remorse, and the painful remembrance

that they are lost, with all the time, pains and anxiety, bestowed in the pursuit of them. Yet in this idle solicitude, (O! affecting but too just charge!) has a great part of thy life been spent; ardently traversing the destructive mazes of delusive pleasure, and industriously avoiding the One only Good, in the possession of which thy soul might have found substantial happiness: a happiness which would have afforded true contentment, in which is conveyed that fulness of joy, which only can satisfy the immortal part, being itself immortal in its nature.

Thou wilt perhaps say that these are my sentiments. But suffer me to ask thee, why they are not thine? Why do we differ in opinion and practice, but because the desire and pursuit of sensual gratifications have blinded thy judgment, and biassed thy actions? I will venture to assert that it was the kingdom or possessions of this world, its friendships, vanities, and sensual pleasures, spread in the view of thy mind, that drew it from its early love and allegiance to Him who is truly worthy of love and obedience. Nature joined with the well adapted temptation (being fond of present enjoyment, though it be forbidden fruit), and renounced submission to the pure law of grace written in the heart; which, had it been observed, would have rectified her impure and irregular appetites, and have placed thee in the true state of manhood; as lord of, not a slave to, the creation; and governor of thyself, in happy subjection to the Divine will: a will which invariably points out the everlasting felicity of mankind. But, rebel to her own interest, nature, blinded by false affection, and fraught with pride, like our first parents, does not like a superior that shall controul her perverseness, and prescribe laws for her direction; but rather chooses to take the reins of government into her own hand, and plan out a way for herself.

Here reason, blind fallen reason, enthroned by the power of Satan, usurps the sovereign seat, as sitting in the temple of God, being honoured as God; power, wisdom, and discretion to direct, being ascribed unto it. This false king (who, had he occupied his proper place, had made a good subject), joins in strict league with the passions, and prescribes rules directed by these his allies. "Shall man (says he) be confined within the narrow rules of virtue and religion? No, I proclaim him liberty. Let him indulge himself in what is desirable to him; let him gratify the sight of his eye, and the pride of his heart, in endeavouring to make himself agreeable to and admired by mankind; with whom let him join in full society, and free communion, entertaining and being entertained. Why may he not partake of the pleasures of sense, seeing he has appetites for them; and



satisfy his curiosity in knowing evil as well as good?"

These are the genuine suggestions of the reasoning faculty guided by the passions (though I confess that I believe the subtle deceiver of mankind, sometimes teaches this reason to speak in a language more concealed than I have here set down); but I think it will be no hard matter to prove, that this boasted liberty is real bondage, and that this acquisition of knowledge is no more than a sense of guilt, resulting from the loss of that innocence which gave man boldness to appear before the face of Almighty justice and purity, void of distracting fear.

Let us examine the extent of virtue and religion, and mark every passion implanted by Providence in the nature of man; and we shall find that in them alone it is possible these should be rightly gratified, and that whenever man breaks from their bounds, he flies from the mark of his happiness.

I have looked upon love to be the governing passion in the soul, which, as it moves, draws the rest in its train, and being strongly fixed on a worthy or unworthy object, is the cause of our joy or misery. This being granted, it is next to be considered what object is worthy of our entire affection: in which search let it be remembered, that this principle of love, or desire of enjoyment, is so seated in the soul, as never to be struck from it; and it will presently be allowed, that the object that is worthy of its spending its force upon, or being united to without limitation, must not be dependent on time, for that death deprives it of; but durable as its own existence, and so perfect as fully to satisfy an everlasting desire of possession. This can be nothing else but the Eternal Excellency, from whom this spark of affection was struck; and if divine order were not inverted, it would as naturally bend towards its original as a stone to the centre, where only it can find a happy settlement. In this love of God, stands virtue; it is this inspires it. If we truly love God, who is infinite in purity and wisdom, we shall naturally hate their contraries, impurity and folly, and shall hate ourselves because of them; because whatever defiles the soul, destroys its likeness to the divine Being, and renders it unacceptable in his sight. Hence, as it is the nature of a true affection to endeavour after the love of the beloved object, proceeds an ardent desire of purification, and a filial fear of offending God; a fear the most rationally founded, viz. in a deep sense of gratitude, considering him as the Author of all the good we possess, or can rightly hope for, i. e. everlasting felicity; joined to the knowledge of his power and justice, in punishing transgressions, which self-preservation

would teach us to shun: therefore, whatever would amuse the senses, so as to draw the affection from this Fountain of goodness, is dreaded and renounced as forbidden fruit.

In religion, the soul is enlarged, and set at liberty to exercise its most noble faculty, in actions, or on an object, worthy the dignity of its nature; when on the contrary, without it, it is in bondage, and debased in the pursuit of what scarcely deserves the name of pleasure, being of no real worth or lasting duration. Religion teaches us that we do not live for ourselves only; but that in order to obtain the great end of our being, we must seek the good of mankind and endeavour to be serviceable in society; yet mix in familiar converse with caution, lest instead of rectifying the errors of others, we transplant them into our own conduct. It instructs us to beware of vain glory, or of seeking the applause of men; clothing the mind with humility, under a sense that we have no good thing but what we have received from the bounteous hand of our Creator; and raising a desire that all his gifts may be devoted to his service. In short, religion places man in the sphere the wise Author of nature designed for him; directing his affections to ascend towards the Creator, and to descend towards the creation. If the ascent be but sufficient, the descent will be just. The creatures will be loved as the work and gifts of the Creator; yet possessed with due caution from this consideration, that they are allotted us but for an uncertain season; and that it is therefore our interest to be able to surrender them when called for, with as little pain or anxiety as is consistent with our state. On the reverse, the immoderate descent of the affections ties us down to the earth and earthly possessions, shackles us in sensual gratifications, effectually prevents the soul's ascending towards God, and destroys its deputed sovereignty over the creation, to which it is in bondage: so true is that assertion of the apostle, that while some boasted of their liberty, or promised it to others, themselves were the servants of corruption. I have sometimes considered how the excuse of these boasted liberties bespeaks their slavery. We cannot help such and such conduct, say they, or had not power to resist such temptations. If this were true, it were acknowledging that they had lost that valuable blessing, the freedom of the will; and are utterly destitute of power to withstand evil; and of consequence are the devil's captives. Such indeed they are, though not necessarily, but voluntarily; for wisdom and power, through the grace of God, is given to man, to discover and resist the temptations of his enemy; and if he will renounce both, his blindness and subjection to the power of delusion is procured by

himself, as is its miserable consequence, viz. an everlasting separation from the Fountain of all good.

Thou wilt easily perceive, that the intent of the foregoing hints is to influence thy mind in favour of a more strict course of virtue, than thou hast formerly pursued. I will add my earnest wish that it may be answered. What shall I say to persuade thee to turn, and coolly and impartially look into thyself? Shall I plead thy advance in years? Thou art now I conclude rather in the decline of life,\* hastening towards the gate of the garden. Oh! listen to the dictates of virtue, ere she withdraw her kind invitations and profitable instructions.— Shall I beseech thee by the mercies of God (a prevailing argument with a truly generous and grateful mind, and which may with great justice be particularly advanced to thyself), to return to Him from whom thou hast deeply revolted, and seek reconciliation by unfeigned repentance, if thou can find room so to do; which I have a lively hope thou mayest, though thou hast so long, and distantly, strayed from the fold of Christ.

I shall plead no excuse for the freedom with which I have here treated thee, further than to say, that I think a true freedom in communicating our sentiments, with a design for each other's eternal well-being, is a part of that charity which should clothe the spirits of the followers of Jesus Christ.

The copiousness of my subject may apologize for my prolixity. Upon a review of what I have written it will readily be observed, that the hints given are but like heads of chapters, which, if fully expatiated upon, might fill a volume instead of a letter; and, that the everlasting Minister of the sanctuary may enlarge them in the view of thy understanding, to lasting benefit, is the sincere and ardent desire of thy affectionate sister,

CATHARINE PAYTON.

We lodged in Charleston at John Sinclair's, who was educated amongst Friends, but had married one not of our Society. Both he and his wife received us kindly, and treated us while with them with great hospitality and generosity.

\* An allusion to a dream which the party had, wherein, amongst other remarkable circumstances, he was met in a beautiful garden by two women, representing (according to the interpretation which opened in his mind when he awoke) Virtue and Vanity, who each solicited his company for a walk; and though he strongly inclined to the latter, the former insisted on his accompanying her, not only for a walk but for life; which rather than comply with, he endeavoured to escape out of the garden (which he called the world); but coming to the gate found it locked, and the key in her possession. So being forced to a compliance, he accompanied her, and became gradually charmed with her conversation, by which he was won to a love of religion, and in the end much delighted with the prospect of such a companion for life.

The meeting of Friends here was very small; and most of those who attended it were rather stumbling-blocks, than way-marks, to other professors of religion; yet we found a few to whom we were measurably united, and who, I believe were thankful for our visit. During our stay in this place, we were treated with great civility and kindness, by the inhabitants who did not profess with us; but we saw it necessary to be strictly guarded in our conversation with them; lest their very respectful behaviour should betray us into a familiarity injurious to ourselves. Many of them are ready to hear the testimony of Truth, but there is a certain lightness of disposition which greatly obstructs its progress amongst them; and if not carefully watched against, will infect the minds of persons who converse with them.

Many of them attended our meetings, and mostly behaved soberly in them; but what with ignorance of the spirituality of religion, a high professing spirit in some, and libertinism both in principle and practice in others, it was very hard to labour amongst them: however, the Almighty was pleased so to favour us, that we were not without hope, that the testimony given us to bear affected some minds, and in the general, commanded their assent.

We had two select meetings for Friends, and paid a religious visit to most of their families; in which service we were owned by the power of Truth, though in some places we were very closely exercised; insomuch, that one man absented himself from meeting, not liking any longer to sit under our doctrine; but we found we had rather cause to rejoice than to be uneasy, in being instrumental of separating him from the Society, if so it should prove, his conduct being a scandal to his profession, though he pretended to join it by conviction.

We took a little turn to the south of Charleston, and had meetings at James's Island, John's Island, and Stones. The first was the most satisfactory.

At Stones, we had a close exercising time in the family of a young man, whose father had formerly made profession of Truth; but he was quite gone from Friends, and I fear was tinctured with libertine principles; but he entertained us freely, and did not seem to take offence at what we had to deliver. I heard he died soon after. We had also a satisfactory opportunity with a family not professing with us, in Charleston, but whose ancestors by the father's side were Friends.

It seemed as though the Almighty had sent us peculiarly to seek the lost sheep of the house of Israel: that his merciful visitation may be accepted by them, is the sincere desire of my soul.



I was engaged to return to James's Island, but, my companion having no concern to accompany me, I went alone, and had a much larger meeting than when there before: and I hope it was well that I went back, as, through divine favour, many gospel truths were opened to the people, in a degree of life and authority.

My friend John Witter of the Island, sent with me over the Sound a negro man, who was to attend me to my lodgings. He was well-dressed, and looked well-fed. I entered a little into conversation with him respecting his situation as a slave. He appeared easy in it, and said that he had a good master, but that many negroes were treated no better than dogs. Indeed we could not but lament over those poor people, as we passed through the colonies. Divers of our Friends were then in possession of some negroes, either by inheritance or purchase; and the negroes who had them for masters rejoiced in their lot. But about this time a concern arose amongst Friends, to abolish slave-keeping in our Society; which concern has since prevailed in the American Colonies; and many Friends have given up large possessions in negroes, but employed many of them as hired servants after they had given them their liberty.

We left Charleston the 26th of the eleventh month, accompanied by James Verree, a young man, a Friend, residing there; and went towards a small settlement of Friends on the Wateree River, which is on the north side of the Province. They were lately come over from Ireland.

In our way we had meetings in the families of Isaac Perinoes, and John Lloyd where we lodged, who were neither of them of our Society, but they readily gave us an opportunity with them, and Truth favoured us.

Several difficulties attended us in this journey. We had appointed a Friend to meet us with horses, about a hundred and twenty miles from Charleston; and being set to a time, we durst not stay to discharge our minds of that duty of love, which seemed to point towards the people as we went along. Secondly, we had poor accommodation, especially as to lodging; some of the houses being so open to the air, that I could attribute our preservation from great indisposition, to nothing short of the immediate interposition of Providence; but as the people behaved very civilly towards us, and we enjoyed some liberty of spirit among them, it was rendered the more easy. When we came to the place where we had appointed to be met, we found neither the Friend nor the horses; and those which we brought from Charleston, being borrowed, and the Friend who came with us being earnest to return, we

discharged him from any further care of us, sent the horses back with him, and concluded to stay at the house of the before-mentioned John Lloyd; who was a substantial planter, and very freely gave us an invitation thereto, till our friends from the Wateree could meet us with horses; to whom we had an opportunity of sending an account of the strait we were in, by a neighbour of theirs, whom we met at the house of this planter, and who was then going home.

However, kind Providence soon opened a way for our release. A poor Friend who lived between this place and the Wateree, and was going to Charleston with goods for the market, stopped at John Lloyd's; and seeing the circumstances we were in, left his load in John Lloyd's warehouse, and returned back with us to his own house; where we got a very poor lodging, but received it thankfully, as the best he could provide us with; and the next day he accompanied us to the Wateree, through a wilderness country, wherein it was dangerous for women to travel, by reason of the swamps and deep creeks, which are difficult and very frightful to pass; but we were mercifully preserved from hurt.

We crossed one creek upon the trunk of a tree laid from bank to bank, and the water was so deep, that if the trunk had broken, we had probably been drowned. When we got on the other side we saw it was decayed; and when our friends came over with our saddles upon their backs, we observed it bend with their weight. Our horses were driven through a part of the creek where the water was shallower, yet perhaps there it was out of their depths. Providentially, before we crossed this creek, we were met by our friend Robert Millhouse: had it not been so, I know not how the poor Friend would have got us over.

Robert Millhouse had brought horses for us, and gladly took us to his house with him. My companion's former acquaintance with him in Ireland, rendered their meeting very agreeable. We found his not meeting us according to appointment, was occasioned by our letters not reaching him timely; which had we known, our spirits might have been more at liberty to have attended the before mentioned pointings of love towards the people; but inasmuch as we had not wilfully omitted our duty, divine mercy was extended, and our minds soon became easy on that account.

We came to the Wateree River the 1st of the twelfth month, and staid there till the 12th; in which time we attended Friends' meetings as they came in course, both on the first, and other days of the week, and paid a religious visit to every family of Friends in the settlement; in which service we were evidently

owned by our Master; or at least my companion was so, who had most of the service in this place. The state of the Friends settled here was mostly low, as to religious experience; but some of the youth were under a divine visitation, which afforded us some comfort. Some people not professing with us attended our meetings, and behaved soberly; but in general, the people in this part of the country were lamentably ignorant and wicked: indeed, they had very few opportunities of religious instruction, no place of worship being near; perhaps not nearer than twenty miles. Seldom, if ever, any clergyman came amongst them oftener than once a year, to sprinkle their children. Alas! what will these pretended and hireling shepherds have to answer for? of whom it may well be said, "They feed themselves but not the flock." Indeed, none can feed the flock, who have not themselves been fed by the heavenly Shepherd.

Part of the time we spent here, was to me a season of deep inward trials; the enemy being suffered so to beset me, that my soul was distressed both night and day; and though sometimes a ray of hope of deliverance and preservation would break in upon it, and I was favoured with a taste of divine love; yet when that was withdrawn, I was left as weak and unable to resist him as before; so that my spirit was in inexpressible bitterness.

I had very little share in the ministerial service; sometimes perhaps a few simple expressions. But before we left the Wateree, the load was in part removed, and my spirit brought into a greater calm, in which I desired to wait the Lord's time, to be put forth to service. He had clothed me, and he had a right to strip me at his pleasure; and I could say with Job, "The Lord gave, and taketh away, blessed be his name." The incomes of his love and peace in my heart, were more to me than to be honoured before the people. And here I cannot but again observe the various baptisms which the ministers of Christ have to pass through, in order to their being renewedly fitted to minister to the different states of the people. What deep poverty and distress, doubts, fears, and temptations. I was sometimes however in mercy admitted to taste of the cup of heavenly consolation. All is consistent with the wisdom of God, and tends to bend the mind more effectually towards Him, and to mortify the flesh with its corrupt affections; so that the spiritual life is often strengthened by these afflicting dispensations.

We bought horses at the Wateree, and accompanied by Robert Millhouse and Samuel Kelly, set forwards towards the River Pedee, where we had heard there was a settlement of Friends. We travelled through a wilderness

country for several days, carrying provisions for ourselves and horses. In the day we took our repast in the woods, and at night got lodging at some planter's; who, though not of our Society, readily gave us admittance into their houses, and freely entertained us according to their manner of living: and although it was very different from what we had been accustomed to, and the lodging in some places very cold and poor, we were content and thankful to the Almighty for it, as well as for his providential care, variously manifested in preserving us from the dangers which attended us, in passing swamps, deep creeks, &c. And although we lived low, our spirits were preserved pretty cheerful, and our health, tolerable.

One particular instance of divine protection, I think worthy of commemoration. The 14th in the evening we came to a swamp, which appeared very dangerous to cross; but a friendly man on the other side directed us where to turn our horses over, and came himself and assisted us over some trees which lay across it. Having got over, we asked him how far it was to the place where we intended to lodge, and whether the way was easy to find. He told us it was twelve miles, and that the latter part of the way was intricate; and, after walking by our side a little time, he offered to conduct us, which offer we readily accepted. If he had not accompanied us, I know not but that we must have been all night in the woods; for the way being so difficult to find, and night coming upon us, we should probably have missed it; and the weather being frosty, and we unprovided either with materials to strike fire, or blankets to cover us, we should have suffered much, if we had escaped with our lives.

Our kind guide brought us to the house of James Gillespy, upon Pedee River; who was a substantial planter, and a hospitable man, I think by profession a Presbyterian. His heart seemed opened towards us. Of him we inquired after the settlement of Friends, which we had heard of, but could get no intelligence of it; yet were our minds mercifully preserved pretty easy and quiet, although we knew not which way we should steer our course from this place, being all of us strangers in the country. In a short time, I found freedom to propose to my companion, our having a meeting in the neighbourhood; with which she concurring, we asked our kind host, before we went to bed, whether he thought we might have a religious opportunity with some of his neighbours. He made but little reply then, but in the morning told Robert Millhouse, that if we would stay till first-day, we should be welcome both to what entertainment he could give us and our horses, and also to have a meeting in his house;



and he would send his servant to acquaint his neighbours. To this we assented, and spent the next day peaceably there. On the first-day we had a meeting, which was not large, and by reason of the ignorance of the people in divine truths, was exercising to our minds. A young man, who came from the settlement of Friends which we were in quest of, being in the neighbourhood on business, and hearing of the meeting, staid to attend it. After it was over, he informed Robert Millhouse, that several families of Friends were settled about twenty miles up the river, to whom he was going the next day, and should be glad of our company. To this we readily assented, and being thus providentially instructed in our way, we next morning took leave of our kind friend James Gillespy, who had generously entertained us while at his house. We called at the house where we had appointed to meet our expected guide; but it being a very wet morning, he concluded we should not move, and was gone; however, we had got such intelligence from him of the way, that with a little more which we obtained as we went along, we found the Friend's house to which we intended to go. He was a poor man lately convinced, but he gladly received us, and freely gave us such entertainment as his circumstances would afford; which though very mean, was made easy and pleasant to us, being sweetened by the gentle flowings of divine peace in our hearts.

We found here a few newly convinced Friends, and some others under conviction; with whom we had two meetings to good satisfaction, many things suitable to their states being opened, both by way of doctrine and encouragement; and we were glad that we were thus directed to find them in this desolate spot; which was very distant from any Friends; but they were under the divine regard. They had not settled a meeting; but as our guides from the Wateree were returning home, they found them busy in building a meeting-house; and we afterwards heard that a meeting was settled amongst them.

The 20th, we left Pedee River, accompanied by John and Charles Moreman, and the two Friends who came with us from the Wateree, and set our faces towards a settlement of Friends on the Waters of Haw River. The morning was wet when we set out and I was very poorly; but in a little time the weather cleared up, and I grew better. We rode that day about forty miles through the woods, without seeing any house; and at night took up our lodging in the woods, by the side of a branch or swamp, which afforded plenty of canes for our horses. Our Friends made us a little shed of the branches of pine-trees, on a

rising sandy ground, which abounded with lofty pines. We made a large fire, and it being a calm, fair, moon-light night, we spent it cheerfully, though we slept but little. Our saddles were our pillows; and we had in company a man, who came from Pedee and was going a part of our next day's journey, whose wife had sent a blanket; which, with one our Friends had brought, being thrown at our backs upon our shed sheltered us much; so that we still saw kind Providence cared for us. In the morning we pursued our journey, and went that day about forty-five miles; and at night took up our lodging again in the woods, but did not meet with so advantageous a spot as the night before, for the ground was wet, and the shelter bad, and poor wood for firing. The weather also being very cold, and my companion ill with a pain in her face, and myself but poorly, we spent the night very uncomfortably as to the body, but through divine favour were preserved quiet and resigned in spirit.

We set out next morning in hopes of reaching a settlement of Friends at New Garden that day; but the pain in my companion's face continuing, we thought it best to stop at William Rinald's at Polecat, who was under the profession of Truth; and the next day, being the first of the week, we had a meeting there with a few Friends, and some of the neighbours; which was exercising, yet ended in a sense of divine sweetness.

The 24th, we went to New Garden, and stayed amongst Friends in that settlement till the 28th. This was a new settlement of Friends, and we were the first from Europe that had visited them, or travelled in these parts in the service of Truth.

We had pretty close service among them, and laboured for the establishment of a meeting for ministers and elders in their monthly meetings; which we found was much wanting: and we had reason to hope that the proposition would be adopted; divers Friends being convinced of its usefulness, and seemed glad that it became our concern to recommend it. We found a sincere-hearted remnant in this meeting, unto whom the Lord united us; but there was also a dead, formal, professing spirit, under which the living were sorely oppressed; as well as under a flashy wordy ministry.

The 29th, we got to Cane Creek, another new settlement of Friends; with whom we had a meeting the 30th, wherein we were rather low in our spirits.

The 31st, we went about 30 miles to a very small meeting on the river Eno, which was very exercising; for though their number was small, their states were various, and some of them widely distant from that pure, humble,

living, sensible disposition which Truth produces. And as it was the will of the Almighty, measurably to baptise us into the states of the people, we could not but suffer in spirit with his pure seed; and it seemed as though a drawn sword was delivered to us in this the beginning of our journey, which we were to use against spiritual wickedness; and not to spare, though it were exalted in high places. Here we laboured for the establishment of a week-day meeting.

The 2nd of the first month, 1754, my companion returned to Cane Creek, in order to be at their week-day meeting; and I went about six miles up the river, being engaged to have a meeting amongst a people not professing with us. Many came to it, and behaved soberly, but most of them seemed very ignorant of spiritual things; and some were heavy laden with divers sins; but kind Providence so favoured me, that I left them pretty easy, and returned to my companion at Cane Creek, the 4th. The same day we had a meeting at Rocky River, which was satisfactory, and we returned to Cane Creek, and were at the first-day meeting there.

The 7th, we set out for Carver's Creek, a journey of about 160 miles, through an almost uninhabited country. We were accompanied by John Wright and J. Pigot, Friends. The accommodation we met with was very mean, but rendered easy, under a sense of our being in the way of our duty. At one place where we lodged, the room wherein we lay was exposed to the weather on almost every side, and it being a wet night, the rain beat in upon us in bed; but my mind was preserved in sweet peace, and under some sense of divine favour. The woman of the house was of a tender spirit, and appeared to be seeking after substantial good. I had considerable freedom to speak to her on religious subjects; which she took well, and I was thankful that our lots were cast under that roof.

Another night we lay in the woods, with tolerable comfort, though the weather was cold, and the ground damp. About two hours before we stopped, as I was attempting to cross a swamp on some loose pieces of wood, one of them rolled, and threw me backward into it. One of our friends was leading me, and the other, seeing me in danger of falling, stepped behind me into the swamp, and caught me, so that I was wet but on one side, except my feet: and, although I mounted my horse immediately after putting on a dry pair of stockings, rode in my wet clothes, and lay down in them, I was preserved from taking cold. In the night two of our horses\* strayed away from us, and

our guides were obliged to leave us and go in quest of them; so that we were several hours by ourselves in this wilderness, surrounded, for aught we knew, by bears, wolves, and panthers. Before we pitched our tent, I had been intimidated by an account which had been given me respecting the panthers infesting that quarter; one of which it was said had killed a person not very far distant from this spot; but when we were thus left, all fear was removed, and we spent the time of our friends' absence cheerfully. I went without the shelter of our shed, and renewed our fire with some wood our friends had gathered. The fire, under Providence, was probably our preservation from those ferocious animals.

It was a fine moon-light night, our friends tracked our horses' footsteps in the sand for about three miles in the way we had come, and found them feeding on some luxuriant canes. The sagacious animals probably observed them as they came to the spot where we pitched our tent, and having but poor feeding there, went back to fill their bellies. As we proceeded on our journey, some of our company discovered the track of a wild beast in the sand, which gave room to suspect that they had been near our tents in the night; but we were preserved both from their fury, and from being affrighted by their hideous howl. However, as we rode through the woods in the morning, we heard the barking of wolves at a small distance from us, but a rising ground prevented us from seeing them.

We breakfasted at a miserable inn, about eight or ten miles on our way; where we met a wicked company, who had spent the night there, and we concluded it providential that we did not press forward to lodge there; respecting which we were considering before we pitched our tent. It appeared much more comfortable to be under the open canopy of heaven, and the protection of Providence, though among the wild beasts, than among those of the human race, whose natures were so depraved as to render them more terrible and dangerous: the first only, or at least generally, assailing mankind of necessity, or by provocation; but the last from the incitements of their depraved passions.

We went forward to Dunn's Creek, and had a small meeting, with a few under the profession of Truth; and from thence to Carver's Creek the same night, being the 12th. The 13th, we had a meeting there, and the 14th, went to Wilmington, on Cape Fear River, where we had two meetings the 15th. There are none in this place who can properly be called members of our Society, but many

\* When travellers who lodge in the woods turn their horses to graze, they fasten a bell about each of their

necks, and if they miss the sound of any of them, they go to see whether they are not strayed far from the shed.



people came to the meetings, and behaved civilly; and the testimony of Truth ran pretty freely towards them in doctrine, reproof, and counsel; though I believe many of them were of very loose conversation. The 16th, we returned to Carver's Creek, so to Brompton, Dunn's Creek, and Cape Fear.

The 20th, we proceeded towards Perquimans River, being accompanied by our friends William Hall and B. Cooper. We calculated our journey to Perquimans at 273 miles; going across the country to visit several small meetings of Friends; amongst whom, and the people of other societies, we had some satisfactory service. No women ministers had visited part of this country before us, so that the people were probably excited by curiosity to attend some of the meetings we appointed. We found a few seeking people in these back settlements, who had very little, even of what they esteem, instrumental help, in this wilderness country; which appears too poor for priestcraft to thrive in; but I hoped the Lord would gather some of them to faith in his own immediate instruction. In this journey we met with considerable hardships, the people amongst whom we were being very poor, their houses cold, and provisions mean. One night we lodged in a void house on the river Neuse. A man who kept a store on the other side of the river, gave us the liberty of it, sent his negroes to make us a fire, and lent us a bed and coverings for it. We were content, although our provisions were so nearly spent that we had very little to refresh ourselves with, after a hard day's journey; and we could get neither bread for ourselves, nor corn for our horses, for our money; as the man who lent us the house and bed, would let us have none, though we sent to request it. Our friends William Hall and B. Cooper accompanied us more than 100 miles in this journey.

On the 6th of the second month, we reached Perquimans River, on which, and the River Pasquotank, the main body of Friends in the province of North Carolina was settled.

Our first meeting among them was at the Piney Woods meeting-house, which was pretty large considering the shortness of the time allowed to give notice of it; and the Lord was pleased to favour us with a good opportunity: the spirits of sensible Friends present were in a good degree settled, and I hope refreshed. We visited two other meetings in this quarter, in one of which neither of us had much public service. There is a number of valuable Friends in this country, who were under suffering from the prevalence of a spirit of carnal ease, and also from the ministry of some who will not be restrained by wholesome

counsel — wherewith a number are amused rather than profitably fed; and instead of being solidly settled in a silent exercise of spirit, they are in a continual expectation of words, and remain in sorrowful ignorance of the operation of Truth in themselves.

Here it seems necessary to go back a little, and give some account of an exercise which attended my mind, when about Carver's Creek. It was to part from my companion, and go the lower way through Bath Town, to the county of Perquimans; but the difficulty of getting guides suitable for us both, and an unwillingness to part from my companion, considering the desolate journey she would have to go, and not being quite well in her health, determined me to accompany her; nevertheless, I stood open to be turned back when I had a suitable evidence of its being required. Here, an exercise respecting those places being again revived, and being fearful of omitting my duty, I mentioned the going back to them to my companion, who, although she was not free to accompany me, was easy with my going, and rather disposed to encourage me. Her health seemed to require a little rest, which she purposed to take at the house of our friend Thomas Nicholson of Little River, who had not long since paid a religious visit to Friends in England. I then proposed it to Friends to set forward the 11th, and if Providence permitted, to return to their quarterly meeting in Pasquotank county; to which they only objected, that they feared the notice was so short, that they could not procure suitable companions for me. However, they resolved to mention it after the meeting on the 10th, and see if any Friend would offer to go with me, to which I agreed; but told one of the most sensible amongst them, that if the way did not pretty readily open, I durst not push much for it; which, considering the event, I was glad I had said.

After meeting, I was informed that two young men, and Rebecca Tombs, a valuable Friend, and an acceptable minister, were willing to accompany me. I did not find any objection in my mind to accepting her company, though I had not requested it; but an uncommon sense of sorrow seized my spirits; though I did not see that I ought to omit the journey, nor yet comprehend the cause of the exercise. Next morning I took leave of my companion Mary Peisley, in pretty much the same state of mind; and after crossing Perquimans River, we rode that day to Edenton. On the road my mind became quiet, yet was low. The names of the young men who accompanied us were Nathaniel Newby and John White.

The 12th we had a meeting at Edenton, which on account of the excessive coldness of the weather was not large, and it was much

disturbed by a wicked drunken man, while I was speaking; with whom, being a litigious lawyer, the town's people were afraid to meddle, lest he should have an action against them; so I was obliged to bear it, and the meeting concluded with less solemnity than I could have wished. I observed a serious looking woman in the meeting, and thought if she asked me to her house I should go; which she did, and in the evening I went, accompanied by my companion. We found both herself and her husband under a religious exercise; and several things were opened in me to speak to them, which were well received, and I left them in a good degree of peace; believing that the seasoning virtue of Truth had been felt in our conversation. There was no meeting of Friends in this town, and we lodged at an inn.

The 13th, in the morning we crossed a ferry eight miles over. The weather was extremely cold, which affected Rebecca Tombs much. The frost was so hard, that the water in the Sound we had crossed was frozen some distance from the shore on each side, but we got through it safely. We rode about twenty-five miles, lodged at a mean inn, and next morning early we set out for Bath Town. When we had rode about seven miles, I had a fall from my horse, occasioned by the horse's starting at a bird flying out of a tree. I fell over the saddle, on my right arm, and the ground being very hard from the frost, it was much hurt; but I esteemed it a great favour that the bone was not broken. When we came to the next inn, my companion procured some wormwood with vinegar, and bound it round my arm; and we proceeded to Bath Town, though my arm gave me much pain.

I had some thoughts of crossing the ferry here, which is four miles over, and so proceeding to Newbern; but having received this hurt, and the wind being contrary, I became inclined to have a meeting here the next day. Just as we alighted at the inn, a respectable looking man, who I afterwards found was an attorney, and lived about two miles out of town, came in; to whom I found freedom to impart our desire of having a meeting, and to consult him about a proper place to hold it in. He appeared well pleased with the proposition, and we concluded to hold it in the morning in the court-house, if the weather were warm enough to admit of the people's sitting there; if not, our landlord gave us the liberty of a room in his house. I had much pain from my arm this afternoon; but fomenting it as before, it became easier towards evening. Our meeting was attended next day by a pretty many people, most of whom behaved with sobriety; but the life of religion was scarcely so much as known by

many of them; yet the Lord was pleased to open many gospel truths to them; which were delivered under a feeling sense of their low ignorant state, and I trust had their service. After this meeting, as I was returning to my inn, my mind seemed drawn to return back to my companion Mary Peisley; and when I came to the inn, I found Rebecca Tombs, who had got thither before me, seized with an ague; which brought a heavy weight of exercise upon my spirit, and I soon became apprehensive of her being removed by death. The same evening also one of the young men who came with us, was taken ill in the same way, and I was myself very poorly with a cold, which affected my head and throat. Next day Rebecca Tombs's indisposition increased, and I became very thoughtful whether I had best endeavour to remove her homewards, or continue her at Bath Town. There appeared to me danger of my incurring censure from her relations, in acting either way. I therefore concluded it best to refer it to Providence, and see what turn it would take in her own mind. In the afternoon she discovered a desire to be removed, and I found most ease of mind in acting accordingly.

I met in this town, to my surprise, with a young woman who was daughter to a principal tradesman of the neighbourhood of Dudley. She had been my school-fellow. Her husband, whom she married in England, kept a store in this place. They seeing our afflicted situation, readily furnished us with a chaise for our return; so we prepared for going, and the attorney before-mentioned generously lent us a horse, and a negro-man to bring it back. He was at our inn in the evening. I went to him, and acknowledged his civility and kindness to us; and before we parted, we fell into a religious conversation, which I hoped might have its service. Several persons were present, one of them the sheriff of the county, who had some share in the discourse and offered his house to have a meeting in. The attorney spoke with great moderation, and made considerable concessions respecting the ceremonial part of religion, and seemed pleased with the information I gave him of the principles and discipline of Friends; which I was remarkably opened to give some account of, and we parted friendly.

After he got home, he sent me some wine to assist the friend in our journey (which necessity made an acceptable present, as we could buy none that was good in town), with a letter to request that, if I staid longer in the country than I expected, I would come to his house; which I took kindly, and suitably acknowledged his civility. I just add respecting Bath Town, that the man of the inn, though he behaved civilly to us, appeared to be of a dark ferocious dispo-



sition. One night a poor negro girl fell asleep at the top of the stairs, near our chamber door, and he seeing her there kicked her down them. The poor girl cried out, but I did not hear that she was wounded by the fall. Indeed darkness seemed to surround us in this house.

The 17th, being the first-day of the week, we set forward in the chaise, and got eighteen miles on our way and lodged at the same house of entertainment as we did when we came down; where we had very poor accommodation. My friend was greatly fatigued, she grew much worse that night, and next morning the young man that was unwell went to acquaint her husband with her indisposition; but the Almighty did not see fit to continue her in pain till her husband came to her. Her pain was indeed extreme, and soon effected the end for which it was designed; for the 20th, in the morning, she quietly expired. From near the first of her being taken ill, she had a sense that it would end in death, and was enabled to resign herself and her near connexions into the hands of Providence. She desired me to pen some memorandums of love and advice, to her husband, children, and relations; and then said, she had nothing to do but to die. She several times expressed her satisfaction in having a clear conscience, and I was convinced of her spirit's centering in everlasting blessedness. About twenty-four hours before she departed, I was concerned to supplicate the Almighty on her behalf, that he might be pleased to mitigate her pain, and grant her spirit an easy passage out of its afflicted tabernacle—for which she expressed thankfulness; and in a short time her pain gradually abated, and her death was remarkably easy. Her disorder appeared to be pleuretic. We got her bled, and made use of such other means as our circumstances admitted; but she was averse to having a doctor, nor do I think that one would have been of any service to her.

Through this uncommon trial, my spirit was singularly preserved in patience and stability, though sometimes inexpressibly loaded. My health being but poorly, the fatigue I sustained bore hard upon me; but I was enabled to discharge my duty to my friend, and in the end witnessed the return of peace. My lodging was in the same room with her. I lay down in my clothes upon a bench by the fire-side, whereon the landlady laid something to render it the more easy. The young man who continued with us behaved with remarkable composure, patience, and affection to the Friend, who was his aunt, and I had reason to hope that the journey would be of lasting service to him.

The day she departed we got a coffin made, and put the corpse into it. Whilst it was mak-

ing, my neighbour Turton (brother to the young woman who kindly furnished us with the chaise at Bath Town) came in, and was surprised to meet me here. As we had sent back the chaise, and he was going to his sister's, he took charge of it. In the evening, I got a religious opportunity with the family at the inn; and the next morning set off with the corpse of my deceased Friend. We had procured the wheels of a cart to carry it on, and a man to drive it.

We got well to the Sound, over which we were to cross to Edenton; but before we got into the boat we met the husband of our deceased Friend, who bore the shock full as well as I expected; and it must have been great, to meet in so unexpected a manner the corpse of an endeared, affectionate wife. The same evening we crossed the ferry, and proceeded to the house of a planter, who had brought home the corpse of his\* mother about two hour before we came into it.

The 22nd, we crossed Perquimans River, and got the corpse home; but the affecting sorrowful scene of meeting the poor motherless children, of which there were seven, and other near relations and friends of the deceased, is difficult to describe; nor shall I attempt it, as the ideas it must raise in a sensible mind, will sufficiently represent it.

That night I went to my companion Mary Peisley, and through mercy found her well at Thomas Nicholson's; and next day we went to the quarterly meeting of Friends for the province of North Carolina, held at Old Neck in Pasquotank county. The meeting was large but exercising, weakness being sensibly felt. I was favoured with a good opportunity amongst Friends, wherewith I had reason to believe the sensible part of them had unity, and were thankful for it.

The 25th, we attended the meeting for ministers and elders, and a large public meeting, which though very exercising in the beginning, ended well; for which favour we had renewed cause to bless the Almighty, who baptizes his ministers into the states of the people, and enables them to minister thereto.

The 25th, we attended the funeral of Rebecca Tombs; and the meeting was large and crowned with solemnity. After the meeting, a young man who kept the ferry at Perquimans River, desired to speak with me. When I

\* In this country the changes of the weather are so sudden, and so extreme from hot to cold, that when a hard frost lasts for a pretty many days, the people frequently drop off suddenly, with pleuretic disorders. I thought their manner of living might in many instances contribute to their sudden death. They eat pork, or other flesh, at almost every meal, not excepting breakfast, and such as can get it (too generally) drink neat rum. Frequently, they rather choose to drink water alone, and take their drams, than mix them together.

came over the ferry with the corpse of Rebecca Tombs, he was with us in the boat, and while we were upon the water, my mind was affected on his behalf, so much, that when we landed I took him aside and spoke closely to him. What I said had such an effect, that he told me, he could do no less than acknowledge the truth of it; and withal, that his mind was so awakened thereby, that he could take no rest since. I said what then arose in my heart to encourage him to endure the chastising hand of the Lord, until his judgments had wrought their proper effect; and left him with thankfulness, that I had been made instrumental to awaken a poor prodigal to a sense of his outgoings: for such I afterwards heard he was, though the son of a Friend in good esteem.

Although I had been almost miraculously supported through the before recited trials, and had been enabled to minister to many people as I passed along in my journey to Bath Town, and my return; yet considering all the circumstances attending it, much cause for painful rumination was administered. I might naturally query whether it were right for me to turn back, as the ends I had in view, viz. the visiting a few Friends in a desolate situation, as well as having meetings at Edenton and Bath Town, were in part frustrated; and the afflicted case of the deceased friend's numerous family, who, perhaps might have been spared a little longer with them, had she not gone with me, bore so hard upon my mind, that like Jonah, I wished to die; but I quickly saw, that in so doing I erred greatly; for in that impatient state of mind I was not fit to enter into the saints' rest. After some time my mind settled in a good degree of quiet, and it appeared that perhaps the design of infinite Wisdom, in engaging me to move, as before mentioned, might, in a good degree, be answered. And as to Rebecca Tombs, she appeared to be in so weak a state when she left home, that had she staid there, her surviving that pinching season of the weather might well be doubted.

The 26th we left the province of North Carolina, and came into Virginia, and the Lord was pleased to cause his peace so to rest upon our spirits, that we were renewedly convinced we were moving in his counsel. We had travelled upwards of a thousand miles in North Carolina, and been preserved through various jeopardies and trials, to the praise of his adorable name.

The 27th we had our first meeting in Virginia, wherein the testimony of Truth was borne in a close manner by both of us, against a dull inactive spirit, and appeared to have some present effect.

The 28th we went to Nancemond River, and visited several meetings on it, and adjacent to

it; wherein we were still exercised to speak closely to the members of them; which I believe tended to the relief of the sensible part of Friends. In one of these meetings, having been closely engaged in testimony, I cautioned Friends to beware of judging me for the liberty which I took amongst them, in laying open the state of the Society, although some of other societies were present; remarking, that it was more likely to convince considerate people of the Truth, than to hear them salved over in their sins. I concluded with some short remarks and hints of advice to such as were not under our name, which I supposed had its effect on a pretty high professor of the church of England, who accidentally came into the meeting; for the next day he followed us seven miles to a meeting, wherein I was told he was much broken into tears; and the day following he came about twelve miles to another meeting; I therefore hoped that the Truth had been at work in his heart. I record this passage as an incitement to a faithful discharge of duty in the line the All-wise Director of true ministers points out. He can make effectual a few simple expressions to the gathering of those who are without; or even sanctify to them the doctrine which may be lost on the unfaithful professors of his Truth.

The 17th of the third month, we had a meeting at Surry Black Water, which was large; Friends from the neighbouring meetings, and many persons of other societies, collecting at it. After the meeting, a pretty high professor of the church of England (his name Peter Worrel), but who for some years had been dissatisfied therewith, and had been seeking the way of Truth, sought an opportunity of conversation with us. He had followed us to several meetings, and being serious in his inquiries, and free in expressing his sentiments, he told my companion, who had had most of the service in the meetings he had attended, that he could not discover much difference between the ground of the doctrine he had heard from her, and the fundamental principles of the church of England. I saw his state, that he heard with his bodily ears, and judged by his natural understanding, of which he had a good share, and had read much. I therefore told him, that if he would attain the knowledge of the Truth, he must not only understand the words which were spoken, but the power whereby they were given forth; for that, according to the Apostle's testimony, "The kingdom of God stands not in words, but in power," which, with something else I said, adapted to his case, was carried home beyond my expectation. He followed us to another meeting, and then sought an opportunity with me alone; when he told me, that what I had dropped in conversation, and that



day in my ministry, had so affected him, that he was now convinced that a divine power accompanied true gospel ministry, and that he thought he should join with us in society; but that he was under some discouragement on account of the degeneracy of many of our members. I said what then arose in my heart, by way of inciting him to faithfulness; and he parted from us in much love; indeed he was remarkably changed from the time we first saw him; his very countenance bespoke him to have been with Jesus. He was silent, solid, and weighty in spirit, though before talkative and full of head-knowledge in religion. I afterwards heard well of him, and I think he settled amongst Friends.

I could not but remark on this occasion, how secretly, and almost unknown to ourselves, the Almighty sometimes makes use of us in effecting his gracious purposes: for in the meetings this man had attended, previously to our conversation with him, I was much shut up as to ministry; and my companion was favoured in the exercise of her gift; in one of them remarkably so; and yet it appeared that I was made the principal instrument of good to this poor seeking soul.

We then visited several meetings upon Appomattox River; and the Lord was with us, blessed be his name; thence to the South-west Mountains, where we were led in a very low track, myself especially. Thence we proceeded through many meetings to James River, and so to the quarterly meeting at Waynoak Swamp. By the time I came to James River, I was sunk exceedingly low in mind; but as I abode in the patience, the Lord, in his time; was pleased to raise me again to his own honour. From James River, we went through many meetings in Caroline County, up Shenandoah River, and by Opeekan Creek to Fairfax, which was the last meeting we had in Virginia.

In this Colony we had much suffering of spirit, for, although in many instances we were favoured with a good degree of strength and wisdom, to speak to the states of the people; yet we could not but sympathise with the seed of life, which in many of their souls was oppressed by a dark carnal spirit; wherein the discipline is too much conducted, or rather in some places so perverted, that this designed wall of defence is rather a stumbling-block to sober inquirers. There are a number of truly valuable Friends among them; but in some particulars, who, had they kept to the simplicity of Truth, might have been serviceable in the ministry; sound and flight are grievously mixed therein, which will never convince the judgment, or settle the mind in the stability of Truth, although they may please the ear, and affect

the passions. After leaving the province, we sent them an epistle, which was principally penned by my companion.

I think a providential preservation which we experienced in this province worthy recording, but, not having retained it in the memorandums I have preserved, I cannot ascertain the name of the river at which it happened. After a long day's journey, wherein we had dined in the woods on a scanty meal, we came in the evening to the ford of a broad, rapid river, which, from the appearance of the waves, we might suppose had a stony bottom. Neither of our guides were acquainted with the ford, and we were afraid to attempt to cross it until it was tried by one of them: so the youngest of them, about 19, went rather beyond the middle of the stream; and not finding it very deep, called to us to follow, which we with the other guide did, when each of them took charge of one of us.

My companion followed him who went first, and they kept a pretty straight course across the river; but my horse, and that of the other friend, bended down the stream, which I concluded was occasioned by its force and rapidity. When we got over, we learned that the bed of the river, which was of large pebbles, was so uneven as to render it dangerous. To ford it safely, the horses should have gone a little way down the stream, and turned up again to the landing place; for by going straight across, the edge of a pit in the bottom must be gone over, which was accounted thirty feet deep, so that my companion was in considerable danger. Surely much caution is necessary for travellers in crossing unknown waters.

The 25th of the fourth month we had a meeting at Manocassy in Maryland, wherein Truth measurably favoured; from which we proceeded to West River, taking the meetings in our way. We came to West River the 29th, and could not get a release from thence till the 8th of the fifth month. The professors of Truth in this settlement are principally of the offspring of faithful ancestors; but divers of them have taken their flight on the wings of vanity and earthly riches, and slighted the truly valuable eternal inheritance; and I fear, some even despise that precious faith which was once delivered to the saints. We had six meetings with them, in four of which I was silent; and my companion had not much liberty of spirit until the last meeting; wherein the testimony of Truth was raised in its own dominion. The yearly meeting for this part of Maryland was held during our stay; which, as usual, was attended by people of other societies, and I heard there was a great desire to hear me speak in this place; but the Lord was

pleased very much to disappoint their expectation.

The 8th we went to Gerard Hopkins's, upon South River: in the way I had a dangerous fall from my horse, whereby my left arm was much hurt, but, through divine favour, no bone was broken or dislocated.

The 9th, we proceeded on our journey, although my arm was so weak and painful that I was obliged to carry it in a sling. We passed through several meetings in Baltimore county, to Duck Creek and Bush River, and in many places my companion had good service; but great were my trials of spirit about this time, under which the divine arm secretly sustained me. Oh! what need there is to stand still in these stripping, dipping seasons, and wait low to discern the way whereby we may escape the temptations of the subtle enemy. As I was favoured to abide here, a little light and strength were afforded; whereby I was encouraged to trust in that arm of Almighty sufficiency which had hitherto preserved me; and was resigned to travel forward, although I might be led in a low despid track.

The 18th, we came to Susquehanna River, and the 19th, to East Nottingham in Pennsylvania, to the house of my dear and worthy friend John Churchman, who was not yet returned from a visit to Friends in England; but his wife and son gladly received us. The 22nd we reached Philadelphia, and took up our lodging with our worthy ancient friend Rachel Pemberton.

Here my dear companion met with a trial very affecting to nature, an account of the death of her father; which however she was the better prepared to receive, from a remarkable sense having for some time rested upon her mind that it was so; and she was assisted to bear it with Christian resignation and fortitude, being favoured with the cheering hope that he went well.

We staid in Philadelphia till the 29th, attending the meetings of Friends as they came in course, wherein I had some service, and was favoured with peace in the discharge of my duty, though led in a low track, very contrary to the expectations of the people, which were to be disappointed. My companion was silent during our stay in this city.

The 29th we left Philadelphia, and set our faces towards the eastern colonies. We appointed but one meeting between Philadelphia and New York; where we had two large public meetings, which were attended by many people of other societies, who behaved well; and the testimony of Truth was borne to them by us both. In the evening my companion had an inclination to have a select opportunity with

Friends in that city; which, I believe, was memorable to some present, for she was much favoured amongst them.

On the 3rd of the sixth month, we crossed the river to Long Island; and the 5th, had a small meeting with a few who professed the Truth at Setoket, and so proceeded to the east end of the island, intending to go from thence to the yearly meeting in Rhode Island. We were accompanied by two Friends from Philadelphia, John Aimil and Thomas Lightfoot, and one from Setoket. Here we were detained near two days by contrary winds, and lodged at the house of a friendly man, a Presbyterian, but more generous in his way of thinking than are many of that profession in this Island. I had a concern to have a meeting with the neighbours, and a young man kindly offered his house; which we accepted, and a pretty many people came, and behaved well while I was speaking; but very soon after I had done, most of them went away, although the meeting was not yet concluded. The Almighty was pleased to cause many gospel truths to be opened to them, and although it seemed to take too little effect, I had peace in the discharge of my duty.

On the 8th, we set sail in a sloop, but the wind not favouring, we dropt anchor that night, and next day, being the first of the week, went on shore at a place about two miles distant from whence we embarked. Here we were received by another Presbyterian, and that day were favoured with a comfortable religious opportunity together. The wind continued contrary to the 12th, in which interval we had a meeting with some of the neighbours; which although exercising by reason of the hardness of their hearts, was favoured by Divine condescension; many gospel truths being testified to therein, which I hope had admittance in some minds.

The 12th, early in the morning we sailed, accompanied by the before-mentioned Friends, and landed on Rhode Island in the afternoon.

The 13th, we attended a large meeting at Portsmouth. The 14th, the yearly meeting began, which was held at Newport, and continued till the 17th. It was attended by a large number of Friends and others; and the Lord was pleased to manifest his ancient love and power amongst us, whereby our spirits were set at liberty in the exercise of our gifts. I had particularly, at divers times, to oppose that dark principle of unconditional election and reprobation, and had cause to hope the testimony against it had weight with some of its professors. We were exercised for the restoration of the discipline, which had been much neglected in this quarter; and our endeavours for its establishment were measureably crowned with success; so that, upon the whole, at this year-



ly meeting abundant cause was administered for thankfulness to the bounteous Author of all good. We visited the prison; we also visited several Friends who were confined through indisposition; in which charitable service we had peace and comfort.

The 19th, we went to Tiverton, and so, through several meetings in that quarter, to the monthly meeting at Poniganset, wherein we were exceeding closely exercised; the testimony principally directed to Friends.

After we left Newport, my mind was much distressed, and drawn back to that place, but my companion not encouraging me, and I being fearful, did not return, which I had afterwards reason to believe I ought to have done; for after our leaving it, a young man whom we had visited in his illness died. He was of considerable account in the world, and just upon the point of marriage with an agreeable young woman of the same meeting. Had I moved in faith, I might have got to his funeral.

It is worthy remarking, that while I was under the exercise for returning back, two Friends came to visit us, and my companion being engaged above stairs, I was with them alone a short time. We sat a few minutes in silence, when one of them said, "Go down to the camp and see," without any comment upon the expression. I had doubtless been ruminating, why my mind should be drawn back; and had I attended to this intimation, and set off immediately, I might, with close riding, have reached the before-mentioned funeral, and have returned in season to the monthly meeting at Poniganset; whereto, as Friends of the particular meetings resorted, all the service required of me might have been answered.

The 25th, we went on board a sloop, and sailed for the Island of Nantucket. We intended, by Divine permission, to attend the yearly meeting there, but the wind proving contrary, we did not get there till the 30th, when the meeting was in part over. We went on shore for a few hours on Elizabeth Island, where we saw no inhabitant; but it being a fine sun-shine day, and the ground rising from the sea, we laid ourselves down upon the turf, and got a little sheep; for the sloop was so crowded, being small, that we could get very little on board. At Nantucket we met our friends Daniel Stanton, Israel Pemberton, &c. from Philadelphia, who had all been with us at the yearly meeting at Rhode Island. We were mutually refreshed together, and the Lord favoured us in his service, both in the work of the ministry and in discipline; to the satisfaction and relief of the sensible body of Friends, and I hope to the edification of some others.

The inhabitants of this Island were favoured with wonderful visitations from on high, at the

time when our valuable friend John Richardson and others visited America; by whose labours as ministers, a large meeting was gathered to the praise of the Lord's name; which wrought powerfully to the turning the people from "darkness to light:" and many worthy professors of Truth then belonged to it, men and women zealous for the honour of it, who walked in that true light wherein they had believed. But most of these being removed to their eternal mansions, and their offspring not generally walking by the same rule, our Society was in a state of weakness, although the meeting was yet large, and there remained a living remnant in it. Some of the youth, especially of our own sex, appeared hopeful; but having been left much to themselves, and the work of the discipline having been neglected, they were unprepared for it, and ignorant of its weight and necessity; so that the meeting seemed in a dwindling condition, as to the life of Truth. We laboured for an amendment in these respects; and in order thereto, recommended their bringing the young people of orderly conversations to their meetings for business, which had been too much neglected; with which Friends concurred, and also with the proposition for their holding two meetings for worship on the first-day; whereby the time, which was too frequently squandered away unprofitably, by at least many of the younger sort, might be better employed. Some of the members of the meeting living distant from it, had probably prevented their holding two meetings heretofore on the first-day; but that was no excuse for those who dwelt in the town.

We left the Island in peace, in the afternoon of the 1st of the seventh month, in company with our aforesaid Friends from Philadelphia, and landed at Woods Hole the same evening; whence Daniel Stanton and Israel Pemberton returned homewards, but the other Friend not being quite easy to leave us, concluded, with our permission, to accompany us a little further. He was one of those who came with us from Philadelphia as guide, and had accompanied us to Rhode Island, and while with us, had been remarkably under the baptizing power of Truth; which raised a tender regard in our minds towards him, and we were not easy to refuse his company, although he was in a single station. Our friends also of Philadelphia, who left us here, concurred in his stay, and that the more freely, as some assistance might be wanted in some places we were about to pass through.

Here I suggest some caution necessary to be observed by young women in a single state, who travel in the service of the ministry, towards those of the other sex, who are also unmarried.

First, to guard their own minds, lest they

admit of any pleasing imagination, and stamp it with the awful name of revelation; and so slide into a familiarity and freedom of conversation and behaviour, which might tend to engage the affections of young men. Secondly, to endeavour to retain a feeling sense of the state of the spirits of those with whom they are intimate, and strictly to observe their conduct and behaviour towards them: so will they be the better able to judge of their motives for accompanying them, or of any other act of kindness; and may wisely check any forward thought which looks beyond friendship; which may easily be done by prudent remarks in conversation. Thirdly, to beware of hurting any of these tender plants by an austere conduct. When we are singularly made instruments of good, in the hand of Providence, to any soul, there is a natural aptitude to lean a little to the instrument, and to prefer it above others, which for a time may be allowable. The Lord, leading the mind by gradual steps from the love of other objects to the entire love of himself, the one only pure, eternal Excellency, may permit it for a season to lean to an instrument; in which case a prudent reserve is necessary, as well as a tender regard to the growth of the party thus visited. I confess, it is sometimes a nice point, to be ready to be of service to such, and preserve the unity of the Spirit, free from mixture of natural affection; a distinction which I fear has been overlooked by some to their great hurt, but which Truth, if adhered to, will make; and will also direct to steer safely betwixt these dangerous extremes.

From Woods Hole we went to Falmouth, and so to the quarterly meeting at Sandwich, which began the 5th of the seventh month. It was small and exercising, but we were favoured with Divine assistance, through which the testimony of Truth was set over the heads of the gainsayers.

From hence we went to Yarmouth, where we had a good meeting with a few Friends, and a pretty many of the neighbours, and returned back to Sandwich.

The 10th, we had a meeting at Pembroke, which was attended by many people of other societies, who were much displeased because we were silent. In the evening we had a meeting with a few Friends; the principal service whereof was to strengthen their hands in the discipline.

The 11th, we went to Boston, and had a meeting there with Friends and some others the same evening, which ended comfortably.

The 12th, our friend of Philadelphia left us to return home, and we pursued our journey towards the quarterly meeting, to be held at Hampton the 13th and 14th, and with hard travelling we reached it in due time. But such

a scene of confusion and distraction I never was in before; occasioned by a company of Ranters, who had gone out from Friends in a spirit of separation; but who, in reality, were never properly of us, having been injudiciously taken into membership, before Friends knew on what foundation they were; and being high-minded, heady, and exceedingly wild in their imaginations, which they accounted revelations, would not submit to the sense of Friends in the discipline, and were therefore disowned. These frequently made it their practice to disturb the meetings of Friends, with their wild disorderly appearances; and many of them came to this quarterly meeting, against whom we had to testify, being in the course of the meetings exceedingly burdened with their spirits and public appearances, under pretence of preaching; but we were obliged to suffer under their spirits, until our concluding meeting, whereto many of them came. After a time of silence therein, my companion stood up, and one of their company began haranguing the people in the grave-yard, and others were disturbing Friends in the meeting house; wherein I think a form broke down, whereby the disturbance became so great, that she sat down in discouragement, and the meeting continued in disorder. In a short time I stood up with a view to inform the people present, who did not profess with us, who were numerous, of the reason of our conduct towards these Ranters. I had said but little before I was sensible of the spring of Divine life being opened; from whence I was enabled to minister, though I had no view of what was given me to speak before I stood up; but I was immediately and mercifully clothed with such a degree of authority, that it might indeed be said, the Truth was over all, and the meeting ended in awful solemnity: for which my soul was humbly thankful to the Lord, who gave us victory over these deluded spirits.

The 16th, we went to Dover, and had two meetings with Friends in that quarter, in both of which I was shut up. We attended the funeral of a Friend whose relations were Presbyterians, and had a seasonable opportunity among the people, wherein the testimony of Truth was exalted.

The 20th, we had a meeting with Friends at Thomas Henson's; and thence went to Berwick and Winter Harbour, whence we crossed part of Casco Bay in a canoe, to visit a few Friends on some islands therein. Several Friends from Dover, &c. accompanied us in this journey; wherein had human fears prevailed, we might have apprehended ourselves in danger from the Indians, who sometimes annoy the inhabitants, killing some, and carrying others captives to Canada; but our spirits



were mercifully preserved above fear, and comforted with the hope of Truth's prosperity among the few Friends in that quarter; several of whom were under its humbling visitation, and therefore were near to our spirits; from whom we parted in gospel love, and returned to Dover the 30th.

The 1st of the eighth month, we went to New Town, had a meeting at Nathan Hoeg's, wherein much instructive doctrine flowed to several states, particularly to that of the before mentioned Ranters; and we found that there were present two young women who sometimes went among them, with whom, after meeting, we had some discourse. They behaved civilly to us, and told us they had heard many lies of us; and one of them was considerably tendered in spirit, but the other was high in imagination.

From hence we proceeded to Amesbury and Newbury, where a concern rested upon my dear companion to go back, and pay a visit in the love of the gospel to these Ranters, for whom she had for some time been exercised, and particularly for their leader James Bean; a man of great cunning and a strong will, who had heretofore been suffered to minister amongst Friends. She laid this concern before Friends, wherewith they concurring, we went on the 5th to Brentwood, the place where they held their meeting. Many Friends accompanied us, who I believe were earnestly desirous that we might be rightly conducted among these dark, crafty spirits; who readily gave us an opportunity with them at their own meeting-house. In the forepart of the meeting several of them spoke something; but at length my companion got liberty, and was favoured with the openings and power of Truth, directly pointed to the confused deluded state wherein they were. I was also exercised in the like manner, and we had good tidings for some of them, viz. that there was a way open for them to return, if they would suffer their wills and works to be tried, judged, and condemned; which I believe a few of them received well; for there appeared to be some simple-hearted deluded souls among them; who, being taken with the more than ordinary show of righteousness, and high pretensions to enjoyments, visions, and revelations; and not having their spiritual faculties sufficiently strong to discern betwixt the reality and the image of Truth; had been inadvertently caught by them. We had reason to hope that our labours and sufferings among these ranting spirits had its service; for after we left them, we heard from that time they had been less troublesome to Friends in their meetings.

The 7th, we had meetings at Lynn and Salem. The first was large, and greatly mixed

with people of other societies, wherein the Lord was pleased to favour me in the exercise of my gift: the last was of Friends select, and the service principally fell upon my companion, whose concern chiefly pointed to Friends.

The 8th, we went to Boston, and attended the monthly meeting there the same day, to which came many people of other societies, but we were wholly silent. We staid over the first-day meetings, which were attended by abundance of people not professing with us; but neither of us had much to impart to them, which was matter of wonder, both to them and to some who professed with us; there being now a willingness in the people of this city, to hear the testimony of Truth. We were engaged to pay a religious visit to most of the families of Friends there, wherein we were favoured with the satisfactory evidence of being in the way of our duty; and from which we hoped some good would ensue, for it seemed to have considerable effect upon some, especially to the youth.

The 14th, we went to Mendon, and after having visited a few little meetings to the north-west, we passed through several, to Rhode Island. We were painfully exercised in this quarter, being engaged for the establishing of a right discipline; and in the discouragement of a ministry in words, which was not accompanied with the power of Truth; wherewith some of the people were amused, but not profitably fed, and the truly sensible were distressed. In divers places we were mostly or wholly silent, in large mixed meetings, perhaps for examples to these forward spirits. It raised the displeasure of some against us; but we were mercifully preserved patient and resigned, and I hope ready to do good for evil.

The 27th, we came to Newport on Rhode Island, and were affectionately received by our friends Thomas and Mary Richardson and their children, with whom we lodged both now and when there before.

The 28th, we were at their week-day meeting, which was pretty much mixed with people of other societies; but our concern at this time being principally to Friends, their coming rendered it difficult for us to discharge our duties. We therefore requested a meeting of Friends select, which we obtained, and I believe it ended to the general satisfaction of the sensible minds present; the Lord's power being exalted therein, under the tendering effects whereof some of the youth were bowed.

From Newport we went through several meetings on the Island of Poniganset to Greenwich, wherein I had but little share in the ministry; but my companion had good service in this quarter. Here we parted from many Friends who had been made near to us in the

Truth; and on the 8th of the ninth month, set our faces towards New York government; but my companion, not finding her spirit released from Greenwich, we returned back the next morning, and had a meeting with Friends there the same day; and the 10th, had one at Machanticut. We had some painful labour in both these meetings, the cause of which I forbear to mention, but in the end had to point out one of the parties that had occasioned it.

The 11th, we proceeded on our journey through Connecticut Province, to Oblong in New York government, about one hundred and fifty miles, having no meetings by the way but at New Millford, where there are a few under the profession of Truth.

From thence we went to Salisbury and Nine Partners; where my companion was confined by indisposition, and I was obliged to attend the meetings in this quarter alone; wherein I was favoured with a degree of divine help.

The 23rd, we returned to Oblong, and were at the meetings there on the first-day, which were large, and I hope serviceable.

From hence we had thoughts of passing through the other meetings of Friends on the main land in this quarter, and so of proceeding to Long Island; but soon after we left Oblong, a cloud came over our spirits; and being divested of a capacity for service, we concluded to go directly to Long Island, and there to rest until the cause or end of this dispensation should be manifested to us; which proved to be a separation from each other. I had long seen it would be so, and some of our friends before we left Europe expected, and rather pressed it; fearing that our service would be less to the church by our keeping together, than if we separated. We had now travelled together as companions in the most difficult parts of the country—had shared so many trials, sufferings and dangers, and had been favoured with great unity of spirit therein, that it appeared hard for us to part; but when we were convinced of the propriety of it, we submitted, in hope that it might tend to the benefit of that glorious cause, for which we left our native land. After patiently waiting some days, my companion's way opened to Philadelphia; but I not being quite clear that the time for my leaving this quarter was fully come, concluded to stay behind her; which she, as well as myself, being most easy with, we imparted our exercise to Friends at their monthly meeting, and had their approbation in our separation.

The 3rd of the tenth month, we took an affectionate leave of each other at the house of our friend John Bowne, of Flushing; and she, accompanied by some men Friends, proceeded towards Philadelphia. My view was to turn

back to the few meetings we had not visited on the main land, and John Bowne's wife being willing to accompany me, we, with two men Friends, left her house the same afternoon. We had a pretty broad ferry to cross, and the tide not serving until evening, it was near night when we got over. We did not go in the same boat with the horses, but one of the men Friends staid with them, and we could not expect them over for a considerable time. The ferry house seemed a poor place to lodge at, and it appeared proper we should that night get to the house of a Friend, who was a member of the meeting I wished to attend next day, that notice might be given of it; and if we staid for our horses the family might probably be gone to bed. We therefore inquired for horses to proceed forward, but could procure only one, upon which I determined to go with a man to ride before me, who was to bring the horse back. My friends who were with me knew the people of the ferry, so I set out without fear, although I had no pillion. We had but about two or three miles to ride, and it was a fine, clear, moonlight night, and most of the way on an even sand. I soon found the horse was a stumbler—indeed the poor beast had no shoes on, a common case on Long Island, and other even, sandy parts of the country—and when we had gone perhaps half way, down he came, and threw us both; but we were thrown far enough from the horse to receive no hurt from him. The horse rolled upon his back, and when he arose I found the saddle had no girth to it, and I knew before that it had no crupper, so it was unlikely that its rider should have any command of him when he fell. We had a kind of a wash-way to pass before we got to the Friend's house, so I could not well walk it; therefore I mounted again at some high rails, and we reached the house before the family was in bed; and my friends came safe the same night. I visited the meetings on the Main, which I had a view of, and returned to Flushing the 5th.

I wished to visit the meetings on Long Island, that I might be excused from returning back thereto; but not having ease of mind in the prospect, I concluded to follow my companion to Philadelphia; in which I believe I was right, as it tended to convince Friends in general that our separation was not occasioned by any difference between us, or other improper cause or motive: so I proceeded accordingly, accompanied by one man Friend.

On the 7th, we stopped to refresh ourselves at New York, and my affectionate friend Margaret Bowne, at whose house we had lodged before, concluded to take me in her chaise to Philadelphia: a seasonable relief from riding on horseback. We crossed the Sound that af-



ternoon, and reached Philadelphia the 10th, a journey of about one hundred miles from New York. My companion had gone a little round, in her way from Long Island to visit a general meeting, and came to Philadelphia the same day; and after having conversed with each other, we were mutually satisfied with meeting, although we could not see that we should unite again in the service through the provinces of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys.

At Philadelphia she received the following letter, viz :

Dndley, 27th of Fifth month, 1754.

My near and dear Child,

As I believe that a line from my hand will be very acceptable to thee, I send this, by which thou mayest have the agreeable account, that through divine goodness I am as well, both in body and mind, considering what I have gone through since I saw thee, as I could have expected, and beyond what I fear I have deserved. And, dear child, I am ready to say in my heart at times, "Lord, what am I, that thou art thus favouring me with thy goodness? O! that I and mine may ever dwell in nothingness of self, that thou alone mayest have the praise, who art for ever worthy, saith my soul!"

And, my dear child, although I count the time, and want thy company at home, and in our poor little meeting, I dare not desire it before thou findest thyself clear of thy service, which I desire thou mayest truly observe. The reading of thine, notwithstanding it brought an account of the hardship thou hast gone through, although it affected me greatly, I was not cast down; but on the contrary rather comforted, that thou hast been so truly given up and supported in spirit, to answer the requirings of the Almighty; who, if thou continues faithful to the end, will be thy exceeding great reward. Then thou wilt receive that peace which the world can neither give nor take away, and a crown of righteousness.

Dear child, I believe in the reading of this thou wilt find me near to thee, as thou art to me, in that love, distance of place cannot separate; in which love I dearly salute thee, and when my spirit is bowed before the Almighty, I believe I shall have thee in remembrance, and now remain

Thy near and dear mother,

ANN PAYTON.

We staid in Philadelphia more than a week, and our friends were unanimous that it was best for us to separate. My way opened to go to the yearly meeting to be held at Shrewsbury. In the way thereto, I fell in with several weekday meetings, and with one appointed by Joshua

Dixon, a Friend on a religious visit from England. I had also some service in the families of Friends, for which I had my reward. The meeting at Shrewsbury began the 28th, and was attended by divers valuable ministers; and indeed I thought there was need of weight to counteract the light frothy spirit which appeared in the people, both in some of those who made profession of Truth, as well as many of other societies; whose motive in attending that meeting being more to please the natural mind, by getting into the company and conversation of each other, than for the honour of Truth, they added no weight to it. However, the Lord was pleased so to favour, that the testimony of Truth was several times set over them in good authority. I was particularly engaged for the welfare of my fellow members in society, and desired an opportunity with the heads of families; which was procured, and I had good satisfaction in it.

The 30th, I left Shrewsbury, and the 1st of the eleventh month returned to Philadelphia, a journey of near ninety miles. I met my companion here well, and also my dear friends John Churchman, who was returned from his visit to Friends in England, and Samuel Fothergill, who was entering upon one to Friends in America. We were mutually refreshed in beholding the faces one of another, our union in the Truth being strong, which was now renewed in the fresh springing up of its life. We all attended the quarterly meeting at Philadelphia, which was large, and eminently crowned with the divine presence; wherein my companion and self rejoiced, though we had but little share in the public service.

As we found it right to part for the gospel's sake, on the 8th we took leave of each other in a degree of cheerfulness, and in the unity of the Spirit; committing each other to the divine protection, under a feeling sense of his humbling goodness. My views pointed to West Jersey, so I crossed the river Delaware at Philadelphia, being accompanied by Sarah Barney, a religious young woman of the island of Nantucket, who had come to Philadelphia to spend some time among Friends there, and found freedom to go with me for a while, as I did to accept of her company. She was not in the ministry.

I passed through a train of meetings to the quarterly meeting at Salem, and my concern principally bending to the members of our own Society in that quarter, I was pleased that the meetings were not mixed with others; and was sometimes favoured with a degree of enlargement in the heavenly gift, though at others poor and low.

The quarterly meeting at Salem began the 16th and ended the 19th, wherein I had close

hard exercise in spirit, as well as in ministerial service, in which I was not much enlarged.

The 20th, I had a meeting at Greenwich, where there is a promising prospect among the youth, on several of whom the solidity of Truth is deeply impressed. My spirit was closely united to them, but could minister but little. It appeared to me, that the Almighty would more perfect his work in them, by the immediate operation of his own Spirit, than by the help of instruments.

The 21st, we rode between fifty and sixty miles to Cape May, visited the few Friends there, and so proceeded to Great Egg Harbour, visited the several meetings there, and the 28th went to Little Egg Harbour. We went a considerable way between these two harbours in a canoe just wide enough for one person to sit in: there was ice in the bottom of it, which being broken, some straw was laid for me to sit on.

Hence we proceeded through Upper Springfield to New York. In our way we lodged at Amboy, at the house of a widow, who was under the profession of Truth. Here we met with a young woman, to whose person and character I was an entire stranger, on whose account I became concerned, suspecting that all was not right with her: and in the morning after breakfast, I spoke to her in a very close manner, and gave her such advice as in the openings of Truth arose in my heart. I thought I could partly have pointed out her crime, had not delicacy and fear kept me back. She wept much, and hastily retired in great confusion and agitation of mind; and I afterwards heard that she had come here to be sheltered from public notice; but the Lord followed her, and I had reason to hope that the extendings of his grace were towards her, although she had been so great an offender. After some more close and very particular service with the woman of the house, I left it in peace and thankfulness to the Almighty, who had enabled me to discharge this hard piece of service; for so indeed it was, to speak thus to individuals and strangers: but in the day of his power his people are made willing to execute his commands.

I went to Rahway and Ryewoods meetings, and got to New York the 5th of the twelfth month; and after a meeting there went on Long Island, where I visited all the settled meetings of Friends, save one, which I had been at before. My concern at this time principally bended towards the members of our own Society; and sometimes when meetings were much mixed with others, I had nothing to say to them; which gave offence, not only to them, but to some carnal professors of Truth; but I endeavoured to rest satisfied in

the divine will, well knowing Infinite Wisdom knew best what to administer for their good. At Flushing the people not professing with us, had a great curiosity to hear me preach. Many of them had been with me at two meetings when I was before on the island, at both of which I was silent, and now came again, and were a third time disappointed, I believe in wisdom; for they being still dissatisfied, a number of young people came in the evening to my lodgings, I suppose with an intent to know whether I had any private meeting in the family, with whom I sat down in retirement; and others of the neighbourhood hearing of it, by means of some of the family whom they had desired to give them intelligence if there were such an opportunity, came in, and I had a remarkable testimony amongst them, directed to their states; the force of which some of them could not evade, as the opportunity was so select. I found afterwards that divers of them were Deists, against whose principles I had to strike with much strength and clearness. Friends present were comforted in the feeling of divine goodness; for the power of Truth was exalted—blessed for ever be the name of the Lord; who in his own time, will honour such as honour him by manifesting that they are nothing, nor can do anything, but through his divine assistance.

The 18th of the twelfth month we left Long Island, in a thankful sense of the providential care of our heavenly Father, in preserving and sustaining us through the many dangers and difficulties attendant on this journey in the winter season; when the roads in many places were bad, and we had many broad, wild ferries to cross, which are sometimes rendered very dangerous through the frost and strong gales of wind; but the weather was always favourable when we crossed them.

The 19th, I attended a monthly meeting at Woodbridge, which was small and exercising, wherein I had little service, except to strengthen the hands of Friends in the discipline, the line whereof should have been further stretched over some transgressors. We rested a day or two at Rahway, at the house of our kind friends Joseph and Sarah Shotwell, and the 22nd, went to Plainfield, and thence, through several small meetings, to a number of meetings about Burlington, which were mostly large, and some of them satisfactory, being attended by the power of Truth; but the doctrine was mostly close, for which there was sorrowfully a cause. The 13th of the first month, 1755, we crossed the river Delaware, and were at a meeting at Bristol, in Bucks county, Pennsylvania; which was not large, but attended with a degree of the divine presence. The 15th, we were at the Falls meeting, in which



I was silent, and which was a comfortable season to me. The 16th, I parted from my companion Sarah Barney, who having received a hurt upon her arm by a fall from her horse, was prevented from accompanying me further. She was a tender-affectionate companion, and very exemplary in her conversation; which together with that sincere love to Truth which dwelt in her, united her to my spirit.

Grace Fisher, a Friend in the ministry from Philadelphia, accompanied me through the rest of the meetings in Bucks county, which were five. In some seasons of silence the people appeared to be too generally in a dull, sluggish state. In some of these meetings the Almighty was pleased to open the spring of the ministry, which I believe flowed in a manner not quite agreeable to some, who wanted smooth things, although they were not their portion; and may I never minister so deceitfully, as to cry peace, when his holy Spirit is grieved. There is in this county a weighty, living number of Friends, unto whom my spirit was closely united in the covenant of life, but there are many dwellers at ease. Some of the youth appear promising, and the divine visitation was largely extended to many. Oh! that they may embrace and dwell under it, so as to become partakers of the glorious privileges of the gospel dispensation.

The 21st, I again crossed the river Delaware, accompanied by Grace Crosdale, a Friend of Bucks county, who had a gift in the ministry, and went to Bethlehem, and thence to visit a few families about twenty miles back in the woods; with some of whom we had a meeting which was attended by several of their neighbours; to whom I was drawn to minister freely in the love of the gospel, and believe it had its effect amongst them.

The 23rd, we again crossed the river Delaware, which was pretty full of ice, and our men Friends were a little doubtful that if they went over with us they could not return the next day, should the frost continue; as the ice might be united, though not strong enough to bear them; and I being unwilling they should be detained, concluded to go with two men—strangers to me, but one of them known to Friends in general—who were waiting for a passage over the river; they accompanied us to a Friend's house about five miles on the other side, where the next day we had a small meeting with a few Dutch people, and then proceeded to the upper part of Philadelphia county and Berks county, in which part the meetings are mostly small. I had some painful labour of spirit in this quarter, and also a comfortable prospect; for the Lord has amongst Friends here, a remnant of the ancient stock, who have, in a good degree, kept their habita-

tions in the Truth; and a few of the youth are brought under its humbling baptism; and I thought the extendings of his divine visitation were to the careless.

The 31st, we crossed the river Schuylkill in a canoe, and our horses were swum over. We attended a meeting at Nantmill in Chester county, the 1st of the second month; and passed through several meetings to the quarterly meeting for Chester county, held at Concord.

About this time I was under a very heavy exercise of spirit, being environed with darkness, and made to stand as in the state of such as despise religion, and call in question divine justice and mercy. Under this painful baptism I continued many days, whereby all the blessings of kind Providence were imbibed, and my life seemed a burthen; yet sometimes a glimpse of light would dart through the cloud, and I conceived a hope of deliverance thereby, and that this dispensation was allotted renewedly to fit me to minister to some in this state, as well as to sympathize with the afflicted and tempted. It appeared to me remarkable, that although I was thus exercised when out of meetings, both by day and by night, and perhaps for a considerable part of the time I was in them, yet was I not entirely disabled for service; the cloud would break as in an instant, and I had just light and strength afforded to see and discharge my duty; and after a while it would close up again as before. My soul hath abundant cause to bless the name of my God in this and such like painful seasons, which I desire to retain in lasting remembrance; for had it not been for the support of his powerful merciful hand, I had been as one who goes down into the pit; being as it were entered, in thought, into the dark avenues which lead to destruction; yet faintly—as I thought—adhering to that faith which was once delivered to the saints. These are the seasons of the “trial of our faith, which is more precious than that of gold which perisheth.”

The quarterly meeting at Concord began the 7th of the second month, where I met my dear companion Mary Peisley. Our meeting was attended with divine consolation, under a sense of the protection of Providence having been over us in our absence from each other; and our union in the Truth was renewed and strengthened. The quarterly meeting was large and divinely favoured, and the testimony of Truth therein exalted in strength and clearness.

The minds of some members of our Society, were at this time much unsettled through government affairs. A war with the French seemed likely to break out; and some were for deviating from our Christian testimony,

which is against defensive, as well as offensive war; consistently with that pure charity which "beareth all things, and seeketh not its own" by means, contrary to the tendency of the peaceable gospel dispensation. Against this spirit we had to testify, I hope to good purpose, for the power of Truth was over the meetings in an eminent degree, whereby the doctrine preached was enforced: glory be to the Lord for ever! He bringeth down and raiseth up, for the honour of his own name, and the establishment of his servants in righteousness and truth. The Scripture given me to comment upon in this meeting was Joel ii. 15, and some following, whereon I was opened to my own humbling admiration, and that of some of my friends. Here we met our friends John Churchman, Joshua Dixon, and many more, with whom our spirits were comforted in the divine presence.

The 12th, we came to Philadelphia, where we spent a few days, and were principally engaged in visiting some Friends' families, and the girls' school for Friends' children. We also visited the prison, wherein several were confined; one for debt, and three boys for theft, who, with a fourth, their accomplice, were much broken in spirit. This was to me one of the most affecting services I had ever been engaged in, from the consideration of their deplorable circumstances; for although their lives might be spared, a lasting stain might remain upon their reputation; but we were comforted in the hope of their being brought to repentance, as divine mercy was extended unto them. Oh! how careful ought young people to be of the company they keep; for if they are familiar with the children of darkness, they too often, by almost imperceptible degrees, contract their vicious inclinations, and are led into acts of wickedness, from which they would once, perhaps, have shrunk back with horror.

The 18th, we went in company to Frankford, where we had a good meeting, and parted in the comfortable sense of the divine presence; my companion going to some meetings in Bucks county, and myself to Abington, Horsham, and Plymouth, accompanied by Sarah Morris of Philadelphia, and Anna Logan.

The 22nd, I again met my companion at Burlington, where we attended the quarterly meeting for the upper part of West Jersey; which was a solemn season, and the spring of the ministry was opened to edification and comfort.

The 26th and 27th, we attended the quarterly meeting in Bucks county, Pennsylvania; which was large and satisfactory, divine help being extended to the encouragement of us, and of the faithful present. Here my companion

and I again separated in a sense of our heavenly Father's love; and myself with Sarah Morris proceeded to visit some meetings in Bucks and Philadelphia counties, and came to Philadelphia the 8th of the third month. I staid in and about the city till the 24th, visiting some of the families of Friends, as my strength which was but low, would permit; but I had solid peace in spending a few days in this service.

On the 24th, I went to Newtown in West Jersey, so to Evesham and Haddonfield to the quarterly meeting for that province; wherein I was low both in body and mind, and had not much public service.

The 28th, the half-year's meeting at Philadelphia began. Here I again met my dear companion Mary Peisley. The meeting was large and solemn; there was much silence in it, which was perhaps not less profitable to many, though less pleasing, than preaching.

The 3rd of the fourth month we again separated, and I went towards the eastern shore of Maryland, having for a companion Hannah Foster of West Jersey, also Joshua Fisher of Philadelphia, who went to assist us, it being a quarter wherein it might have been difficult always to procure guides. We were obliged to travel hard, and I having also hard service amongst a few unfaithful professors of Truth, who were scattered about in this quarter, and my health being poor, it was painful for me to pursue the journey; but divine goodness secretly sustained my soul, and assisted to discharge my duty according to knowledge; and in the end afforded a comfortable hope that my labour was not entirely fruitless. We attended a half-year's meeting at Chester in Maryland, and another at Duck creek; at the last we met John Churchman. We had laborious travail of spirit, the life of Truth being low in that quarter, but through infinite goodness, the testimony of it was raised in a good degree of authority. We had comfortable hope respecting some young people hereaway, and parted from the living amongst them under a sense of divine favour. We proceeded through several small meetings of Friends—wherein I had painful labour of spirit, yet I hope some solid service—to Lewistown. There is no meeting of Friends established here, but we had a large one in the court-house, wherein the power and testimony of Truth was raised in dominion to the praise of the great Name.

The 29th, we returned to Duck creek, myself in a very low state both of body and mind; but as I endeavoured to keep my mind to the Lord, he was pleased as in an instant to dispel the thick cloud of darkness which for some days had encompassed me; and so to lift up



the light of his countenance upon me, that I rejoiced exceedingly in the hope of his salvation.

The 4th of the fifth month my companion Hannah Foster left me at East Nottingham, and my valuable friend Margaret Churchman, wife of John Churchman, accompanied me to some meetings in Lancaster and York counties; and so to the yearly meeting held at West river, for the western shore of Maryland, at which I had been with my companion Mary Peisley, in 1754, but had then but little public service amongst the people. I met with some opposition in my endeavours for the revival of discipline, from apostate and libertine spirits; but the Lord supported me above it.

The yearly meeting was large, and divinely favoured. Several Friends came over the bay to it, and I was favoured to see a little fruit of my painful labour when on the other side, by the change which was apparently wrought in a young person, who was then of a light conversation. William Brown, from Philadelphia, attended this meeting, and had good service therein. Love seemed to spread amongst Friends at this time, and we left them in peace, and returned the 26th to East Nottingham; where I met Sarah Morris, from Philadelphia, who proposed to accompany me through Chester and Lancaster counties, &c. She was a truly exemplary woman, and sometimes highly favoured in the ministry.

We left Nottingham the 29th, and passed through the rest of the meetings in Lancaster county, wherein I had much close service. We visited Chester county pretty thoroughly, wherein is a very large body of professors of Truth, but many of them are deficient in regard to its sanctifying operation upon the spirit. Many noble pillars have been removed from amongst them, and some of the elders who then remained had unhappily lost their stations in the Truth, and yet nominally retained their offices in the church. These were stumbling blocks to the youth, who were too apt to look at the example of such, and to plead their inconsistent practices, as an excuse for their own taking liberties in other respects. Against these, and such like deceitful watchers and pretended labourers, who had not kept the vineyard of their own hearts, and yet dared to stretch forth their hands to the Lord's service, I had sharply to testify: and I sometimes was made an example of silence in the solemn assemblies. There was also in this county a solid living number of Friends, who were preachers of righteousness in their respective stations, both by example and precept; with whose unity the Lord was pleased to favour me, and who I trust will ever be near to my life, in that holy bond which neither time nor death can dissolve.

After visiting Chester county, I became much indisposed, and retired to the house of my kind friend John Morris, in Philadelphia county; where—as at several times before had been the case,—I was affectionately received, and the necessary endeavours were used for my recovery; which the Lord was pleased so to bless, that I was enabled in about two weeks to pursue my journey, though in considerable weakness of body. In this season of confinement and release from public labour, the good Physician so favoured, that although my body sustained considerable pain and weakness, my mind rather gathered strength, and was greatly encouraged in the hope of future preservation. My dear companion Mary Peisley, came to me from Philadelphia, who having visited almost all the meetings of Friends on the continent of America, entertained hope of our soon embarking for our native lands; but we had much more both to do and to suffer, before that hour came. We met in wonted affection, and therein again parted the 2nd of the seventh month; when I proceeded to visit some meetings in Philadelphia and Berks county, where there seemed a promising prospect amongst the youth, some of whom appeared to be advancing in rectitude of spirit and conduct, at which my soul rejoiced; it being part of the fruits of that labour of love, the Lord of the harvest had caused us to bestow upon them. I had considerable freedom in the exercise of my gift in this renewed visit to these places, and again met my companion the 16th, at Stenton, near Philadelphia; from which place we went in company to Philadelphia the 17th, and thence to the quarterly meeting at Concord, in Chester county; after which I proceeded to some other meetings in that county, and returned to my companion at Philadelphia, the 19th of the eighth month.

Here she received the following letter, viz:

Dudley, 9th of Second month, 1755.

DEAR CHILD,—Having this opportunity, I am willing to send thee a few lines, by which thou mayest know that through divine favour I am as well in health as I can expect; and at times witness a renewing of strength in the inward man; but, dear child, it is through a daily watch. I can find no safer way than a watchful state, that many times prepares the heart for prayer, and helps to pray aright. This is what I desire we may be found in, and then I believe the Almighty will hear our prayers for each other; as I am sensible he hath done mine, and answered them in his own time, for which my soul desires to dwell in true thankfulness to Him.

Dear child, I have little more to caution thee

of, than what I have done heretofore. Be careful to discharge thyself faithfully in the requirements of the Lord, and be sure take care of thy health, and then I am not without hope but we shall see each other again in his time.

My very dear love and thy sister's to friend Pemberton and sons. I am much obliged to them for their affectionate care towards thee, though have not wrote to acknowledge it. As thou knowest my deficiency in that respect, would have thee excuse it to them in the best manner thou canst. Our dear love is to Samuel Fothergill, John Churchman, William Brown, Jonah Thompson, and all inquiring friends that know us.

Now, dear child, with the salutation of endeared love to thee, I remain thy tender and affectionate mother,  
ANN PAYTON.

From this time we were mostly together while in the country, which was much longer than was agreeable to our natural inclinations, for we were detained the winter; being engaged in visiting the families of Friends in Philadelphia, in conjunction with the Friends who were under appointment for that service; in which important work we were frequently favoured by the wise Head of the church, who directs, that even "Jerusalem shall be searched with candles;" and for that purpose illuminates the spirits of his servants, and furnishes with doctrine suited to the states of those visited. We took divers turns in the country, to visit quarterly, monthly, and particular meetings, and had good service for the Lord therein; but in the meetings in Philadelphia were frequently bound in spirit, being made to preach silence by example; which I believe had its use, by instructing the people not to depend on instrumental ministry.

Towards the latter end of the winter, my dear companion became very much indisposed, and continued so for several months; in which time she was frequently prevented from attending meetings, and sometimes confined to her room. I gave her the strictest attendance I was capable of, insomuch that with other exercises attending, my health was greatly affected, and my spirits sunk to a degree of dejection I had never before known; nevertheless I was so favoured as to be alive, and to be at times strong, in my ministerial service, to the very conclusion of our stay in the country.

The following letter appears to have been written about this time.

Philadelphia, First month 10th, 1756.

DEAR COUSIN,—from a principle of affection, and an apprehension that thou mayst desire to hear from me, I am prompted to send thee a line, though otherwise much unfurnished for

writing, being rather low and empty; but, through mercy, pretty quiet, and not without hope of Divine preservation, which is a blessing to be acknowledged with humble thankfulness, and if favoured with the same through life, we ought to endeavour to be content, although no great degree of Divine enjoyment be afforded us; and honestly labour in the ability afforded in the way which is cast up by a kind Providence, trusting him for our reward, who is faithful, and will bear up the heads of his depending children in their deepest exercises, and in the end bless them with the fruition of glory. And what if our trials through life are great, our temptations abundant, and our labour and travel difficult and painful to nature? Will it not furnish us with a more joyful song of praise to him that hath supported, and assisted to do the work which he required of us, till he brought us to his everlasting kingdom? For my part, I see suffering, poverty, &c. to be so consistent with our present state, and so good for us, that my soul prays to be united to them as my proper portion; yet to have the eye of my mind directed to Him, whose hand is full of blessings, which he dispenses according to the necessities of his people. I am ready to say, let Him do what he pleases with me, if I am but in the Lord's hand it is enough. We cannot be unhappy, unless the perverseness of our own will, and the corruption of our nature make us so; these I have seen to be the ground of a great part of our afflictions through life; and that to bring us into order, and reduce us into the obedience of Christ, we need these bitter baptisms, which we sometimes pass through, previous to the knowledge of our duty. This, in my view, demonstrates our imperfection; the glorified spirits walk continually in the light of the Lord; and whilst inhabiting these tabernacles of clay, let us remember, we are taught to aspire after this state of perfection, to do the will of God on earth as it is done in heaven; a lesson, which if we had fully learned, there would not be so much reasoning and disputing with flesh and blood, when the knowledge of our duty was clearly made known to us, nor so much unwillingness to believe in the light.

In writing thus I feel a freedom of spirit, so that I am ready to query, is there not a cause? I have thought myself of late like one almost lost to my friends, yet I hope not so in reality. Our stay in this country has been prolonged, I suppose, beyond our friends' expectation, but I hope not beyond our Master's time. My companion joins in the salutation of dear love to thee.

I am thy affectionate cousin,

CATHARINE PAYTON.

And now, as it was our lots in the wise direction of Providence, to be in the province of



Pennsylvania, at a time when the minds of Friends were more than commonly exercised, on account of public or political affairs—by reason of the French making encroachments on some of the British colonies—and some of the Indian tribes having committed great outrages on their frontiers, and murdered many of the back inhabitants; the conduct of us who were concerned to labour for the support of our peaceable Christian testimony, was harshly censured by the unthinking multitude; and by such of our own Society as were one with them in spirit; who insinuated that we intruded into matters foreign to our proper business, and were in part the cause of the continuation of the calamities which attended the provinces, through our testifying against the spirit of war, and advising Friends to support our Christian testimony faithfully, I think it not improper briefly to give some account of the share I had in concerns of this nature.

On my coming to Philadelphia in the third month, 1755, I understood the assembly was about to sit; and the major part of its members being then under the profession of Truth, on considering how difficult it would be for such to maintain our Christian testimony, and to act consistently with what the people at large thought was for the good of the province, I was induced to propose a few weighty Friends having a religious opportunity with such members of the assembly, as made profession with us; wherein, perhaps, Truth might open counsel suitable to the occasion, and our sympathy with such as were concerned to maintain its testimony might be manifested.

This meeting with the concurrence of Friends, such an opportunity was obtained, and I had the privilege of being at it; and therein was concerned to testify against that spirit, which from human considerations was for war, and to strengthen the minds of Friends against leaning thereto. Divers times during those troubles, I was concerned publicly to assert the consistency of our peaceable principle with the gospel dispensation; and once, if not oftener, to point out the consequence of Friends deviating therefrom, which was remarkably fulfilled before I left the country. This was no more than consistent with my office as a minister, and my commission to that country, which was to preach Truth and righteousness, and strengthen the hands of my brethren, against their opposers. Both myself and companion were so clear of improperly intermeddling with the affairs of government, that we sometimes checked the torrent of conversation on that subject, either by silent or verbal reproof; and but seldom so much as read their newspapers.

During the time of the people's being in so

great confusion and distress, on account of the Indian war, my mind was much exercised; but for several months, I know not that I could at all, even secretly, petition the Almighty for their relief, with any evidence of such a petition arising from the spring of Divine life. But a little before a stop was put to their depredations, my spirit was almost continually clothed with intercession, that the Lord might be pleased to stay the sword; and in two public meetings I was concerned in like manner; and I did not hear that any mischief was done after that time, by any Indians who had occasioned that disturbance, and a cessation of arms ensued. I record this as an instance of Divine wisdom instructing his servants to ask what it is pleasing to him to grant; as well as restraining them from petitioning for what might be exceedingly desirable to themselves, before the proper time; and I believe that if ministers thus kept under the government of that spirit of wisdom, which giveth liberty in the appointed season acceptably to approach the throne of divine Grace, it would be more evident that they asked in the name and spirit of Jesus, by their prayer being answered.

I think it worth remarking, that the termination of this Indian war, was at last effected by the peaceable interposition of Friends. An Indian chief, with other Indians in friendship with Pennsylvania, being occasionally in Philadelphia, Friends obtained leave of the governor to have a conference with them; in order to endeavour, through their interference to bring about an accommodation with the Indians now at war with the British colonies. As we were admitted to attend this conference, I mention it. It evinces the veneration the Indians retained for the memory of William Penn, and for his pacific principles; and their great regard to Friends, whom they stiled his children. Several of their women sat in this conference, who, for fixed solidity, appeared to me like Roman matrons. They scarcely moved, much less spoke, during the time it was held; and there was a dignity in the behaviour and countenance of one of them, that I cannot forget. I was informed that they admit their most respected women into their counsels.

And here I remark, that we were in Philadelphia at the time when the first soldiers that had come there commissioned from the English government, arrived at that city; under the command of general Braddock. I said a cloud of darkness came with them. The Lord had settled this colony by peaceable means, he had 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, was strongly and affectionately engaged

to promote peace, and guard them against the event, which he feared would ensue, and which in time followed.

Our stay in this country was considerably longer than usual for Friends who visit it from Europe; which was much in the cross to our natural inclination, but quite in the unity of the sensible body of Friends; who saw that we were industriously engaged in the service to which Truth had called us: and whatever some loose spirits might suggest respecting our long absence from home, I have this testimony in my conscience, that since I have been engaged in the solemn service of the ministry, I have ever endeavoured to accomplish the duties assigned me, in as short time as I could; being desirous that I might not afford occasion of censure to such, as being unacquainted with the humbling weight of this service, may conclude that we travelled for pleasure, or to gratify a roving or curious disposition; as well as that I might spend the spare time afforded me in the exercise of my duty in my own family, and examining the state of my mind; which, after returning from journeys of this kind, as well as in going along, should be necessarily attended to: and may I never be a servant whom Divine wisdom has made a keeper of his vineyard, but who neglects the culture of his own heart.

My companion's service through the continent principally bended towards Friends, yet was she at times clearly and livingly opened to others; but my concern was mostly more general; although in the provinces of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, wherein our Christian principles were pretty much known, it was more particularly directed to my fellow members in Society; who had perhaps been the less laboured with by ministers visiting them, on account of meetings often being much mixed with other professors. As we spent so much time in Philadelphia before we left the continent, I had many times been much enlarged in the service appointed me, both to Friends and others; and my companion, whom as a minister I preferred to myself, had extraordinary service; but as is before hinted, her bodily weakness prevented her attending meetings, some of the latter part of the time we spent in it. I may say without boasting, that we were endeared to the weighty body of Friends in that city, as well as in the other parts of the continent, and they were so to us. And after having laboured among them more than two years and seven months, we took a solemn leave in the love of the gospel, of those present in a large quarterly meeting held at Philadelphia, and left the city on the 5th of the sixth month; 1756. We were accompanied by many Friends to Chester, and were there Divinely favoured to-

gether the next day, when we went on board a snow bound for Dublin, in company with our dear friend Samuel Fothergill, who was returning from his religious visit to Friends in America, and Abraham Farrington, who was going on one to Friends in Europe.

There were passengers in the same vessel with us, Samuel Emlen, a Friend of Philadelphia, and two other young men Friends, who were going to England by way of Ireland. We had a very quick but stormy passage; being on board only thirty-four days, and but twenty-six of them out of sight of land. The sailors accounted it a very fine passage, but we suffered very much in it, through the boisterous winds, and their consequences. The wind being right aft, the water frequently dashed over into our cabin, although our \*dead-lights were mostly kept up; and it ran much under my bed, so as to render my lodging very uncomfortable; and, being sea-sick and otherwise indisposed, I was at times sunk very low, yet the hand of the Lord was near to sustain and comfort me. Notwithstanding the stormy weather, we had several blessed meetings on the voyage, at some of which the master and sailors were present, unto whom Divine goodness was pleased to open suitable instruction. England was now at war with France, and by the account of some fishermen who came on board us in the Irish Channel, we narrowly escaped being taken prisoners, as two privateers were seen in the Channel, at the very time we should probably have met them, had we not for some hours been forced back by a strong contrary wind, the only one we had during the voyage, which appeared signally providential for us.

We lodged in Dublin at the house of our friend Samuel Judd, who was uncle to my companion, which was formerly the habitation of my very worthy aunt, Sarah Baker, whose services in the ministry, when resident in this city, had endeared her to Friends, and her name was precious to those of the present day.

The 10th of the seventh month, we landed at Dublin; and the 25th, after taking an affectionate leave of my dear companion and friends, Samuel Fothergill and I took shipping for England, and landed at Holyhead in Wales the 27th. Here we bought horses, and reached Chester the 29th, where my friend Samuel Fothergill left me, and whence, accompanied by a young man, a Friend, I got home the 31st. I was affectionately received by my dear mother, brother and sister, who united in thankful acknowledgments of the Lord's mercy, in restoring me to them and my native land. I travelled one hundred and fifty-five miles from

\* Boards put to defend the cabin-windows in storms.



Holyhead in four days; and had been absent from my mother's house three years, and upwards of one month.

I had noted having travelled upon the continent and islands, upwards of eight thousand seven hundred and fifty miles, my companion not so much. When I compare the fatigues, and the various inconveniences and hardships I sustained, with my natural constitution, I cannot but admire, that I did not entirely sink under them; and, on considering the dangers attending the journey, which were too numerous for me to particularize in the foregoing account of it, I must thankfully acknowledge that the preserving sustaining hand of my heavenly Father, was signally extended for my help and salvation. May the humbling sense of his mercies and tender care, by me unmerited, rest weightily and lastingly upon my spirit.

#### CHAPTER V.

*Attends the Circular Yearly meeting at Warwick—Visits the families of Friends in Herefordshire—religious services in England—attends the National Half-year's meeting in Dublin.*

THROUGH my late long and great bodily fatigues, my constitution was so shaken, that a season of rest appeared desirable, and I rather expected it some time before I returned home; but the Lord was pleased to order it otherwise, I hope to his own honour and my preservation: for before and quickly after my arrival in England, divers prospects of duty opened, which appeared likely to engage me for more than a year; and which I was favoured to accomplish in the following order.

In about two weeks after my return, I attended our quarterly meeting, where I was met by many of my dear friends, who rejoiced to see me, and we were measurably favoured together in the Divine presence. Quickly after this I went to the circular yearly meeting for the seven western counties, which was held this year at Warwick: it was large, and attended with holy solemnity. My dear friend Samuel Fothergill and myself had the principal share in the public service, wherein the Lord favoured us; to whom be the praise of all his works now and forever. This being the usual time of harvest, with a prospect of the plentiful crops of grain being much injured by the heavy rains, Samuel Fothergill in one of his testimonies noted it, as a threatened judgment from Him who openeth the flood-gates of heaven or stayeth them, to the effecting of his own righteous purposes. The rain continued long, so much grain was spoiled or damaged, as to occasion an extreme scarcity before the next harvest.

A few weeks after my return from this meeting, I went into Herefordshire, to visit my sister Young and her family. I there found my mind engaged to visit the meetings of Friends in that county, which I did, except one of them, and returned home by way of Worcester. Here it appeared right for me to get an opportunity with some of the most experienced Friends of that city; that we might together consider about setting forward the good work of visiting the families of Friends in this county: of which I had a view before I reached home from Ireland; and when I came there, I found that a general visit to Friends' families throughout the nation, had been recommended by the last yearly meeting at London. I therefore found freedom to offer myself to assist in that service, provided the same could be accomplished so as not to interfere with my other prospects of duty. I also recommended to the Friends present, the establishment of a meeting for ministers and elders in the quarterly meeting for this county. We were eminently favoured in this opportunity, and I left the city in peace, and with a hope of some conclusion being come to at our next quarterly meeting.

I staid at home a few weeks, being closely engaged in writing. The 22nd of the eleventh month, I went to Worcester to attend our quarterly meeting, under a weighty exercise of spirit, having an intention, if Friends should accede to the aforesaid proposition of visiting families, to stay and join them therein. Our quarterly meeting was attended, in a good degree, with the Divine presence, yet the service of it was hard and laborious. Friends were backward in regard to giving in their names to enter upon the visit to families, concluding themselves unfit for so weighty a work; however some were nominated, with whom I united, and concluded to stay, and see how Providence might favour the undertaking. I had some struggle betwixt affection to my natural parent, and the pursuit of the service before me; my dear and aged mother being likely to be left without either of her daughters; my sister Ann being with my sister Young, whose children had the small-pox; but I was enabled to pursue my duty, and to commit her to the care of gracious Providence; whose regard I found by account from herself, she signally experienced in my absence, and encouraged me to continue in the service. I began in great diffidence, and went through the families of Friends in the city; but the Lord was with me, and frequently clothed me with strength and wisdom suited to the occasion. I was considerably favoured whilst in the city in the exercise of my gift in the public meetings of Friends, took leave of them in much love, and left it in peace and thankfulness.

The 19th of the twelfth month, being accompanied by Mary Oldbury, a young woman of Worcester, who had an acceptable gift in the ministry, I went to Pershore, a town wherein no member of our Society resided; but Friends having a meeting-house there, held a meeting quarterly, which was this day. It was large, but mostly composed of people of other societies. I sat about an hour and an half silent, in which season my spirit was sweetly composed, and resigned to wait the Lord's time to be put forth in service; wherein I was afterwards much favoured, the testimony of Truth being exalted in its own authority. The people were very solid and attentive, and I left the town in peace, accompanied by the before-mentioned Friend Mary Oldbury, to visit the families of Friends in Evesham and Shipston, which we were favoured to accomplish to a good degree of satisfaction. We sat with Friends in a few of the meetings in Warwickshire, and so came to my own monthly meeting of Chadwick, having visited almost all the families of Friends in the several towns which constitute it, which were four. I returned home in peace and thankfulness for the gracious assistance vouchsafed by Divine goodness, through this laborious service, the 24th of the first month 1757.

I staid about home until the latter end of the third month, in which interval I was closely engaged in attending to services as they opened in that quarter, and preparing for those distant ones, which had been impressed upon my mind to be executed this summer; viz. the attending the yearly meeting for the four northern counties, and from that to the national meeting at Dublin; so to the yearly meeting at London, and the succeeding quarterly meetings in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; which are stiled yearly meetings, because at that quarter in the year, there are some additional meetings for worship held, which are generally large, both of Friends and others; and after these meetings to visit the few Friends remaining in Holland.

My dear friend Lucy Bradley, being engaged to visit Friends in Ireland, concluded to accompany me to Dublin. I met her at Stourbridge on the 23rd of the third month, and left her there for a few days with her relations, with an expectation that she would meet me the 27th. I took an affectionate leave of my dear mother and brother, and went, accompanied by my sister Ann to Wednesbury; a town at which a meeting was held quarterly, which happened to be on that day. Here I expected Lucy Bradley to meet me, and that we should from thence have pursued our journey together, but being prevented from coming, through indisposition, she informed me that she hoped to be able to meet me in a few days.

The meeting was large both of Friends and others, and divinely favoured; and after it I took leave of my sister and divers friends, and went that night to Rugely in Staffordshire, and as I had for some time had a view of visiting the families of Friends in that county, who are not numerous, I entered upon that service the 28th, and visited such as were in that place, with some satisfaction.

The 29th, I went to Stafford, at which place the quarterly meeting for the county was that day held, and I laid before Friends my concern for visiting the families, and had their concurrence therewith.

Here I met with my friend Samuel Emlen, who came passenger with me in the same ship from America to Ireland; in which nation he had travelled as companion to his aged countryman Abraham Farrington, and had himself appeared in the ministry in that nation, to the satisfaction of Friends. As he was in a weak, low state of mind, I was inclined to take him with me for a few days. Accordingly we left Stafford in company, and having visited several Friends' families in the country, went to Uttoxeter; where we proceeded in the same service. My companion Lucy Bradley came to me here, to our mutual comfort. We were favoured together with a blessed opportunity in the friend's family where we lodged; and after committing each other to the protection of Providence, we parted from Samuel Emlen and went to Leek; where we also visited the families of Friends, which we were favoured to finish the 8th of the fourth month, I hope to the mutual satisfaction of ourselves, and of the Friends of the county who accompanied us in that service.

During my engagement in this weighty work, I was surprised with the intelligence that my endeared friend and companion, Mary Peisley, was removed from mutability. She had been married but three days to Samuel Neale, a Friend of Ireland, and went off with a few hours indisposition; being doubtless removed from the prospect of a settlement on earth, to a glorious eternal inheritance; for which she appeared more visibly prepared than many others of the Lord's servants. We had been companions together in many probations, and our union in the Truth was strong, so that her death affected me deeply, the more so from being attended with so singular a circumstance; yet was my spirit thankful that she was taken at an hour when her crown shone brightly. She had been a great example to me in divers respects, and I begged to be assisted to follow her, as she had followed Christ.

The 9th we went to Warrington, where a renewed occasion of thankfulness to gracious Providence was administered, by the probabili-



ty 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.

From Warrington we went, through divers meetings in Lancashire, to the quarterly meeting at Lancaster, which was signally favoured with the manifestation of Divine regard through the ministry. I remember, before the public meeting, I was sunk so low, that I scarcely expected ever more to be set at liberty in the exercise of my gift as heretofore; yet could not see what I had done to occasion a loss therein; but in the meeting I was as remarkably raised. Thus are the poor instruments abased and honoured for their own preservation, and the good of the church; the one dispensation being as a ballast for the other.

The 26th, we went in company with several Friends towards Penrith, where the yearly meeting for the four northern counties was to be held. In our way we called upon that truly honourable mother in Israel, Grace Chambers, who was very ancient and had been long indisposed, with whom we were favoured with a refreshing opportunity. How encouraging it is to young travellers, to behold and consider such examples of perseverance! It baffles the efforts of the adversary, to persuade that it is impossible to hold out to the end; and raises this language in the soul, Lord, let my life and latter end be like theirs. At Penrith we met my beloved friend Abraham Farrington, another of these ancient worthies, and we mutually rejoiced to see each other.

The yearly meeting was large, both of Friends and people of other societies. My spirit was bowed before the Almighty, that I might be preserved acting in my proper place, in the course of my service therein, and that my conduct might be unblamable; and through mercy, I had humbling cause of thankfulness administered in the close thereof, to Him who had exalted his own name and testimony through so weak an instrument; unto whom be the praise now and forever, saith my soul! Although this meeting was attended by several able ministers of the male sex, it pleased the wise Master of the solemnity to employ them but little, and to lay the weight of the service upon the females; who, though the weaker vessels by nature, are at times rendered strong through his Divine power: and our brethren rejoiced that it was apparently so, through the course of these meetings.

The exercise of my mind while at Penrith, was added to by the prospect of my concern for visiting some parts of Holland; for although before I left home I was resigned thereto, and had imparted it to my relations, as well as to Friends of the monthly meeting, that they might consider respecting granting me a certificate; yet now on its near approach, my want of the language, the various notions in religion which I knew prevailed amongst that people, my sex, and for aught I knew, the being exposed to much hardship, revolved in my mind; and being opposed to my little strength, depressed my spirits, yet not so as to cause me to turn from the prospect, or prevent my wrestling with the Almighty for wisdom and strength, to know and do his will.

After the yearly meeting at Penrith, we went to Cockermouth, and there attended a large general meeting. My concern for Holland continuing, and not expecting to be at home in time to attend our monthly meeting, I wrote to my brother to procure a certificate for the accomplishment thereof.

The 3rd, we went on board a vessel bound from Whitehaven to Dublin, and arrived at that city the 5th, having been favoured with fine weather on our passage; but my spirit was much stripped of a sense of divine good, and as I drew near the city it became depressed; in which state I landed, and proceeded to my lodgings at Samuel Judd's. At my entering his house, the remembrance of dear Mary Peisley affectingly occurred. It was in this house that we separated in our return from America; and therein we had spent many precious hours, in sweet union of spirit. The national meeting began the 7th and continued till the 12th. It was a season of close engagement and hard labour, both in the meetings for worship and discipline; but I was favoured in it with the unity of the living members of the Society, and the helping hand of the Almighty; and in the close, was humbly bowed before him under a sense of his goodness, variously manifested in sustaining my weak body under such laborious exercises, and strengthening me spiritually to testify boldly against the sins of the people: which although it might expose me to their censure, yielded to my soul the peaceable fruits of righteousness.

After the conclusion of the national meeting, I requested a friend to go and take my passage, saying, I must get to our quarterly meeting; on which a friend present said, I spoke as if I had the wind at command. I replied, that if the Lord appointed my being there, he would dispose the wind to favour it, which happened accordingly.

The 14th, I parted from my dear companion Lucy Bradley in much affection, and quietly

went on board a vessel bound for Parkgate, accompanied by my friends Abraham Shackleton, Thomas Greer, and Joseph Inman, who were going to the yearly meeting at London. We landed at our designed port the 15th, and reached Stourbridge on the 17th, where the quarterly meeting for Worcestershire was to be held; and the meeting for ministers and elders began soon after we came there.

Here I was met by my dear mother and brother, to our mutual rejoicing; and my heart was deeply affected with love and gratitude, under the consideration of the many mercies extended to me; and strong desires were raised to be enabled so to persevere, as to be favoured with the continuance thereof.

We had a good meeting, and many Friends who attended it rejoiced to see me returned in safety, and after taking an affectionate leave of them, I went home.

#### CHAPTER VI.

*Goes to Holland on religious service—Visits the few Friends there—Letter to a young man—attends meetings in Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire—returns home—Letter to a person under religious exercises.*

I STAID a few days with my relations, and set forward, with my dear brother and the before-mentioned Friends from Ireland, for the yearly meeting at London. In our way there to we met our friends Samuel Fothergill and Abraham Farrington, to whom I imparted my view of visiting Friends in Holland, wherein they sympathized with me. At London I laid my concern before the meeting for ministers and elders; and it met the approbation of my friends, and a suitable companion was prepared for me by my good Master, namely Sophia Hume, of London.

It is worthy remarking, that when this journey was first presented to my mind, this Friend was pointed out as a companion therein; yet had I not freedom to write, or say any thing to her thereupon, until I had thus proposed it for the consideration of Friends; when I found that kind Providence had cared for me, as she had for some time found her mind engaged to hold herself in readiness to accompany some Friend on a journey, though she knew not whom nor whereto, but on my mentioning my concern, saw both. John Kendal, a Friend of Colchester, who could speak Dutch, was engaged in love to accompany us. Thus does the Lord mercifully provide all things necessary for such of his servants, as are freely given up to run on his errands, and move simply by his directions.

The yearly meeting at London was overshadowed with the wing of Divine love. I had

some satisfactory service therein; and on the 7th of the sixth month I went to Plaistow, to visit my dear and ancient friend John Hayward; and here I parted in much affection with my dear brother, and with Samuel and Ann Fothergill.

The 9th, I went to Chelmsford, where I staid until the 12th, being in want of a little rest. Here my companion Sophia Hume came to me, and we went together, with Abraham Farrington, to the before-mentioned quarterly meetings held at Colchester, Woodbridge, and Norwich; in all of which I was laboriously exercised, and the hand of my heavenly Father was with me; through which I was made strong in his cause, and I hope the meetings ended to the honour of his worthy name. Under a sense thereof, my spirit bowed in thankfulness to Him, who clothes with strength for the battle, and by his own right arm gets himself the victory: unto whose service may my soul be bound for ever!

We staid about three weeks in Norwich, in which city there is a large body of Friends, unto whom a powerful visitation of Divine love had latterly been extended; through the prevalence whereof divers natural members, or branches of our own Society, had in a good degree submitted to the simplicity of the cross; and others had been gathered to the immediate teachings of the Shepherd of Israel, from other religious societies. Several had appeared in public testimony, for whom in an especial manner our spirits were exercised, that they might honour God in their respective callings, by an exemplary conversation and a living ministry. I had much service amongst them in the openings of Divine wisdom and love, wherein some of the dangers which attended them were pointed out. I was also concerned, closely to reprove such as had sustained loss in the Truth, by letting out their minds after terrestrial enjoyments, and were seeking great things to themselves, whereby the Lord's work in them was marred.

From Norwich we went to Harwich, and on the 21st of the seventh month, 1757, accompanied by John Kendal, went on board the packet bound for Helvoetsluys, where we landed the next day. There we took a carriage and went to the Briel, a pretty large town; but I did not find that ever any of our Society resided therein, and the people seemed very ignorant respecting us: for as we walked the streets, offence was taken at our friend John Kendal, for not returning the customary salutation, of putting off the hat in the same manner.

My spirit was very low on my arrival in this country, on account of the difficulty I laboured under for want of knowing the language. Could either myself or my companion have



spoken Dutch, we might have explained to the man, who was an officer in the army, our reasons for not returning his civility, for such it appeared to be; and he was very much irritated at John Kendal's not noting it as such.

From the Briel we went in a boat to Rotterdam, which is a large city, wherein there was formerly a meeting of Friends, and where still remains a meeting-house, and there are a few who were educated among us; but they had so little regard to the testimony of Truth and the welfare of their souls, as entirely to neglect assembling to worship the Almighty; yet were not content to profess with any other people. We had no inclination to call upon any of these; but having information that the meeting-house was under the care of persons who were the descendants of Friends, we called at their house, and desired that the meeting-house might be got in readiness for us to have a meeting there at our return, which one of them promised it should be. He behaved civilly, but appeared very distant from the profession of his ancestors. These persons were great tradesmen, had become rich, and much in the grandeur of this world, and were now of the society of the Menists or Baptists.

The next day we went in the trackscuyts, by way of Delft and Leyden, in neither of which cities are any under our name, to Harlem, where lived the person who used to interpret for Friends from England: upon whom we called, but found him so enfeebled, as to be entirely unfit for that service. Here we were met by Sophia Vander Werf and her son John, from Amsterdam. She was a woman of a sweet natural disposition, came amongst Friends by conviction, and had received a gift in the ministry, in the exercise of which I believe she was acceptable to Friends. The young man had resided a considerable time in England; he spoke English well for a Dutchman, and I looked towards him for an interpreter; but although he appeared to have a sense of Truth, I feared his being deep enough in the experimental work of it for that service: so I said nothing to him, and proceeded to Amsterdam under some discouragement. In this city, a lodging was provided for us by Friends, at the house of Abraham Herman, which appeared the most suitable place for our reception of any belonging to them. He with his wife received us kindly, and treated us so whilst we staid with them. It was seventh-day evening when we came to Amsterdam, and before John Vander Werf left us, I asked him whether he was willing to assist us as an interpreter; but he modestly declined, pleading his unfitness for the service. John Kendal also refused, on account of his deficiency in the language to interpret in a public meeting, although he could speak

Dutch in the common course of conversation. Under these discouraging circumstances I went to bed, beseeching the Almighty to lay a concern upon some one to assist me. When I arose in the morning, my spirit was low, yet not doubtful of my being right in coming into this country. In this state I went to meeting, without any expectation of an interpreter being provided for me at that meeting; and therefore rather expected to be silent therein. The meeting was pretty large, but we were told, less than at some other times: for although there are but few professing the Truth in this city, it is customary for people of all religious societies, nations and qualities, who come there on account of business or pleasure, to go to our meetings, most of them doubtless from the motive of curiosity; but the solidity of the countenance and demeanour of some present, and the knowledge I afterwards had of them, convinced me that they were actuated by a better motive.

In the fore part of the meeting, my spirit was much exercised and broken under the consideration of having no interpreter; yet supported in hope of the provision of Providence: for it appeared to me inconsistent with Divine wisdom and mercy to bring me hither, and not to open the way for me to convey his will to the people. After some time a Dutch Friend bore a short testimony; and soon after he sat down, something arose in my mind, by way of information to the people respecting our motives for coming amongst them; and I was quickly favoured with strength to stand up, intending to say that I had something to communicate to them, which if any one present would interpret, I would impart; but I was not obliged to proceed thus far, for upon seeing me rise, John Vander Werf rose also, came and stood by me in the gallery, and interpreted what I said to the present relief of my spirit, and the satisfaction of such Friends present as understood both Dutch and English.

I found it so difficult to convey the doctrines of Truth in this way to the people, that it appeared almost impossible to get relief of mind, or liberty of expression, to that degree I had sometimes been favoured in my own tongue. I spoke a sentence, and stopped for the interpreter to speak it after me; and I was thankful that kind Providence had so far answered my belief of his providing for me; and was comforted in the hope that his blessing, which alone maketh fruitful, might be dropt upon my weak endeavours for the exaltation of his Truth. The meeting ended in solemn supplication, in which exercise I had no interpreter, John Vander Werf being unwilling to undertake that awful service. Some present might understand English well enough to comprehend what I said;

and others, I believe, were sensible of the Divine power which overshadowed the meeting.

The afternoon meeting was neither so large, nor yet so satisfactory, as that of the morning; which I thought might be occasioned by a fellow-minister withholding what Divine wisdom required to distribute; whereby my service to the people appeared to be impeded, and the life of truth being low, I said but little. I left the meeting under some discouragement, yet not without hope of being more at liberty before I left the city.

We staid in and about Amsterdam till the 5th of the eighth month, in all which time we had no meeting but in the city; nor did it appear likely we should have many elsewhere in the country, by reason of my interpreter being clerk to a merchant, whose business did not admit of his being much absent, save on first-days. In this time we had several pretty good opportunities with Friends and the people; yet I seemed as an ambassador in bonds, but laboured to be content in the present dispensation. We were visited by several religious people, with some of whom I felt a degree of union in the Truth; but saw their loss in running after notions, and not settling in the ground of true silence, wherein the mind becomes established in rectitude: and it appeared proper to set them an example therein; and to be cautious of running into religious discourse, to which they are much addicted, without feeling liberty for it in the Truth. We visited a religious Menist, and had some satisfactory service in his family. There are a number among that people who are near Christ's kingdom, though not fully redeemed from inefficacious ceremonies, and a dependence on instrumental ministry, or at least a fondness for it.

While at Amsterdam she wrote the following letter, viz:

*To a young man in Ireland, who had been long under religious impressions.*

Amsterdam; 1st of Eighth month, 1757.

**THINE** of the 5th ult. I received yesterday, and with a degree of satisfaction have observed 'its contents; although it seems to breathe the language of complaint, or at least fear of falling short of the mark thou hast had in view, and I hope art pressing after. Although this is a state painful to nature, it is sometimes a state of greater safety, and more directly pointing to perfection, than is that of ease, or even of the abounding of sensible consolations: whereby some have been induced to conclude themselves in a better and safer state than they really were, and so have grown less watchful and diffident of their own judgment; and spiritual pride and vain-glory have entered, wherein they have boasted above their measure of ex-

perience; and at last "turned the grace of God into wantonness," and their latter end has been far worse than their beginning. But in the seasons of the withdrawals of Divine goodness, the soul that is earnestly bent to obtain the kingdom of God, which stands "in righteousness" as well as "in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost," is set upon searching what is the cause of its being thus deserted; and so "digs deep" through the corruption of fallen nature, and "lays its foundation sure" in the experience of the purifying operation of the Spirit of Truth; and against such it is that "the gates of hell shall not prevail:" and that thou and I may be of this happy number, is the travail of my spirit.

It is most certain that our journey through life is as through a vale of tears, wherein various will be our conflicts, and numerous our trials, both inwardly and outwardly; but we have this encouraging promise left us, that "all shall work together for the good of such as truly love and fear God." And as our hopes and desires are fixed on an infinitely better country, the joys whereof are pure and eternally permanent, let us not repine at the means used to secure them to us; but with all possible cheerfulness take the cup which Divine Providence hands forth to us, as "the cup of his salvation;" and steadily endeavour for that mind, wherewith the blessed Jesus was clothed, which says continually, "Thy will be done;" even in the bitter baptism of crucifixion, which every true-born child of God must be partaker of; and under the bitter pangs of death to the fallen nature, will have to cry out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me." O! if this was the language of the Master, the immaculate Lamb of God, who knew no sin; no wonder that it is the language of the servant, who has been defiled therewith; and from which he must be washed, ere he can have part with the Son in his inheritance. I have looked upon it as an infinite mercy to be led deep enough in humiliation, to be stripped of all that has any appearance of what is good and excellent, and to have this the secret language of the soul to Him who sees in secret, "I am a worm, and no man;" and although the consolatory portion of such as these may be sometimes hid, or withheld for a season; yet they are sure, being in the hands of infinite Wisdom, Truth and Mercy; who, in the wise appointment of his providence, will give to his own what they stand in need of; and when the days of fasting and humiliation are accomplished, will assuredly "bless the provision of Zion, and satisfy her poor with bread."

I thought when I last left Dublin, if I were in debt to any one in it, it was to thyself. Perhaps thy letter may open a way for me to pay it; although I do not remember that any thing



of the above was upon my mind for thee; but a hint of advice seemed to bend toward thee, to beware with whom thou enterest into the covenant of friendship, lest in the end thou shouldest be wounded by their backslidings: and let me also add, beware of looking out at the misconduct of others, with a discouraging eye; for although "thousands may fall as by thy side, and tens of thousands as at thy right hand," yet if thou "make the Most High thy refuge," by a steady and faithful obedience to his will, he will preserve thee.

Through mercy I am favoured with a good degree of health and peace in my going forward, although the present concern wherein I am engaged is attended with some discouraging circumstances, yet I have faith that I am here in the appointment of heaven.

If Lucy Bradley and companion have not left Dublin before this comes to hand, please to present my dear love to them; and tell Lucy that I wrote her since I came to this city, wherein I hinted my expectation of seeing York in my return home.

My love in that which is unchangeable strongly attends thee, and the tried remnant of spiritual Israel in your city and nation, who, although they are few, are too numerous for me to particularise: shall therefore give thee a general commission to present my love to such as thou hast freedom; and conclude myself,

Thy well-wishing friend,

CATHARINE PAYTON.

The 5th of the eighth month, we went in the trackscuyts, as far as Horn, towards Twisk, our friend Sophia Vander Werf accompanying us. At Horn we called on two religious Menists; the one a preacher amongst them, who seemed more gathered into stillness than most of that persuasion, and his wife near the Truth; the other much inclined to discourse on religious matters, in whose family I found an engagement to leave a short testimony to the benefit of silence, which they appeared to receive well. As we passed through the towns, we scattered some books setting forth our principles. A Friend from Twisk met us here with a wagon, wherein we went home with him that evening.

At Twisk there is a small meeting of professors of Truth, but we found them much in the mixture, and some of them so exalted in notion, that it was hard fastening any solid doctrine upon them. We were at two meetings with them, and several of the Menists; both of which were exercising, that in the morning particularly so; but I was comforted with an evidence that my service, weak and imperfect as it appeared to me, was accepted of Him who employed me. The afternoon meeting was

more satisfactory, although laborious. The Menist preacher before mentioned, with his wife and son, were with us, in whose company we had a degree of satisfaction. The next morning we procured a select opportunity with most of the Friends belonging to the meeting, at the house of a valuable woman Friend, whose circumstances demanded our sympathy; she dwelling solitarily and having been many years confined through extreme weakness. She was such a pattern of resignation and cheerful innocence, as I had rarely seen. Her very countenance bespoke acquiescence with the allotment of Providence, and not one complaining word dropt from her. This meeting tended to the relief of our spirits, and we took leave of the said Friend and others in love, and returned to Amsterdam again, dispersing some books in our way; which was all we could do, as our interpreter could not stay with us to have meetings in the towns.

On our return to Amsterdam, we visited almost all who could be accounted members of our Society, in their families, and attended the meetings on first and week-days, as they came in course, until the 21st: in which time I had several good opportunities with the people of that city, and the strangers who attended the meetings, and left it in peace.

One visit we paid in Amsterdam was so remarkable in its consequence, that I note it, viz. A man who was convinced of Truth, had a turbulent spirited wife, who had violently opposed his going amongst Friends; and after one meeting which he attended with us, railed much; nevertheless, she sent us an invitation to sup with her, and it appeared best for us to accept it. She provided handsomely for us, but seemed to be in a wrangling spirit. She talked about dress being an indifferent matter; upon which I told her, that the adorning of Christian women, should be that of a "meek and quiet spirit, which in the sight of God was of great price." This struck and silenced her, and she afterwards behaved obligingly to us. After we had paid this visit, her husband told us, that some time before, as they were going to bed, she, being in a very bad temper, would not let him rest; and, although he was in bed before her, I think he arose again. She took up the bible, I suppose, to convince him of his errors, and opened it upon this very text; which then so affected her, that she condemned herself, kneeled down to pray for forgiveness, and promised that she would never more treat him so improperly; but she had not kept her promise, and the text being now revived in her remembrance, it again affected her. We were quite ignorant of the circumstance.

The 21st, we had a meeting at Harlem to good satisfaction. We lodged at Isaac Van

Westercappel's, who furnished us with a room to hold a meeting in, and gave notice of it to the people. He was descended from Friends by the mother's side, but he himself never made profession with us. He was exceedingly kind to us, and with his family, appeared to be seeking after the best things. In the evening we had the company of some seeking people, most of them of the offspring of Friends, with whom we had conversation upon religious subjects.

In our public meeting at this place, I was more at liberty in the exercise of my gift, than had been usual with me in Holland; at which I afterwards admired, being told that my interpreter was uncommonly defective in rendering what I said into Dutch. This circumstance sometimes revolved in my remembrance, accompanied with some kind of doubt respecting my being so much at liberty to speak, when what I delivered was not well interpreted to the people; but after some years, a Friend of Norwich told me, that there was at that meeting a sensible man, a Jew, who understood the English tongue well, who told him that he had attended the meeting, and that my interpreter did not do me justice; but continued he, 'It was no matter, as all she said was directed to me;' and my friend added, that it so affected him, that he believed he would freely interpret for me, should I ever want his assistance. This relation removed my before mentioned doubt, for the word preached found its way to one mind, for which in Divine wisdom it was appointed.

The 22nd, we parted with my interpreter John Vander Werf, for whom I was concerned, and sympathised with him, as he was left almost alone, in regard to Friends, and much exposed in the course of his business; and from the affability and sprightliness of his disposition, he appeared to be in much danger: but I conceived hope in the sense of the extendings of Divine goodness being singularly towards him. We also took leave of our kind host, Isaac Van Westercappel, and several of his family and friends in love and tenderness, and went to Rotterdam, whither his daughter Susanna Van Westercappel, a serious agreeable young woman, and our friend Sophia Vander Werf accompanied us. In our way, we distributed books to some people in the trackscuys, and the same evening had a meeting at Rotterdam with some people who understood English, of which there are many in that place.

The 23rd, our kind friends Sophia Vander Werf and Susanna Van Westercappel left us, and we went to the Briel, and thence, the 24th, to Helvoetsluys. In our way from Rotterdam to this place we met with several persons who were going to England, with whom we had much discourse concerning our religious prin-

ciples, I believe measurably to our mutual satisfaction. One of them was a Swede, a Lutheran by profession; he was favoured with a good understanding, and had a mind susceptible of religious impressions; although his conversation was not so uniformly exemplary as could have been desired.

On coming to Helvoetsluys, we found that the wind was against our sailing for England, and that the inn was full of company, many of whom were waiting for their passage to England: so the landlord put us in a house which was ready furnished, and we became a family to ourselves, being furnished with provisions from the inn. The wind continuing contrary until the first-day of the week, and there being in the place many people of divers nations and stations who could speak English—with the concurrence and assistance of our landlord and company, we got our dining room well seated; and on the first-day morning held a meeting in it, whereto the strangers pretty generally came. I was favoured to declare the Truth amongst them, to the relief of my own spirit, and I believe to the comfort and satisfaction of my companions; but the labour was hard, through the unpreparedness of the hearts of some to receive, and perhaps the want of a sufficient knowledge of the language, in others, to understand the doctrines delivered.

The 29th in the evening, the wind turned in our favour, and continued so, until about the middle of the next day; but our captain would not put to sea without a pretty steady wind, because of the French privateers: however, we went on board that day and set sail, and the wind being very boisterous our jib-sail was soon rent; and another packet boat going out with us, struck upon the Pales, broke a hole in her side, and as the passengers said, was in danger of being lost. The wind continuing to blow hard and contrary, we soon came to an anchor, and the next morning returned back to Helvoetsluys; and the following day, the 1st of the ninth month, we were favoured with a fair wind, and arrived at Harwich the 2nd, in peace and thankfulness to the Almighty. I had to admire his goodness, in thus preserving and supporting my body and mind by sea and land, and through all the exercises attendant on this journey, amongst a people of a strange language.

Even our detention at Helvoetsluys appeared to be in the ordering of Divine wisdom and mercy to the people there visited; and in our select company we had frequent opportunities of conversing upon edifying subjects; some of our companions seeming willing to gain information respecting Friends and their principles. Once the subject of self-defence was started, which they might probably think we could not



invalidate; but we were enabled to give a reason for dissenting from them in sentiment, and on its being queried what we would do if attacked, and must either be killed, or kill; I said, I could not say how I should act at such a juncture, wherein nature might be improperly raised; but that now being favoured with the hope of my immortal spirit's centering safely, and knowing that a person who sought my life, must be in an unfit state to enter Christ's holy kingdom, I should rather choose to die, than plunge that soul into everlasting misery; and should have greatly the advantage in being released from this state of trials. They heard with attention, and the Swede with tears in his eyes, replied, 'these are indeed sublime sentiments.'

We had been so long detained at Helvoetsluys, that our money grew short, but the captain said we should have what we wanted from him; however, we had enough to pay our passage, and bear our expenses, excepting the hire of our chaise to Colchester: which we reached almost penniless the 3rd, and were affectionately received by John Kendal's mother, and other Friends.

After a short stay at Colchester, I went with my companion Sophia Hume to Kelvedon, where we were favoured with a comfortable meeting with Friends, and parting in much love, she went for London. She had been to me a steady, affectionate, sympathising companion; and although in this journey, not much engaged in public ministry, she was very helpful in meetings, through a deep spiritual exercise; and being endowed with a good understanding, both naturally and spiritually, she was qualified to give an answer of "her faith and the hope that was in her:" and I was often thankful to the bounteous Author of all my mercies, for furnishing me with so suitable a companion.

From Kelvedon, I went without any companion, through several meetings, to Norwich, where I was favoured in the service appointed me, but staid there only a few days; proceeding thence, through some meetings in Lincolnshire, to the quarterly meeting at York; where I again met with Abraham Farrington, who with many more of my friends, rejoiced at my being returned to my native land in peace and safety.

From York, I passed through several meetings in that county, wherein the Lord was pleased to vary the dispensations of his wisdom, by dipping me into a state of great suffering; which I could not get above, but which I saw to be good, near the close of a journey wherein I had been so eminently favoured; as it tended to preserve me from clothing myself with the Lord's jewels, and humbled my spirit to the very dust. From Yorkshire I went to

Manchester and Warrington, where I regained a little liberty in the Truth, and so proceeded to some meetings in Cheshire; in one of which I thought I was raised higher, in the Divine life, in the exercise of my gift, than I had been throughout the journey. Thus does Divine wisdom abase and exalt at his pleasure, unto whom be glory, honour, and praise ascribed, now and forever.

The 15th of the tenth month, I got home to the mutual satisfaction of myself and relations; and, notwithstanding my great fatigue, in a rather better state of health than when I left it; and found my dear and aged mother well. Here I also met my dear friend Lucy Bradley, who was returning home from her visit to Friends in Ireland, and our rejoicing one in another was mutual.

The 17th, we went together to our monthly meeting, wherein I gave to Friends some account of my service and satisfaction in this journey; and my spirit was much humbled in a sense of the providential care and abundant loving-kindness of a merciful God, variously displayed to this period of my life.

This winter I spent much about home, and amongst my relations: not in idleness, for I was very closely engaged either in attending monthly or quarterly meetings, or other services.

*Extract of a letter to a young man, under religious exercises.*

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—Thine of yesterday I just now received; and am concerned to find by its contents, that indisposition prevents thy meeting us as proposed; but as through faith and patience every affliction may be sanctified, I cannot but hope the present may tend further to refine thy spirit and enlarge thy understanding in Divine truths; which are not always manifested in the hours of consolation, but must be painfully felt in the depths of experience.

That beautifully strong expression in sacred writ, that "The Lord makes the clouds his chariot," has of late often been revived in my remembrance; with this illustration, that when a cloud is over us, who have known and rejoiced in the light, it is good to stand still, and hearken for that "small still voice" proceeding from it, which alone can compose and settle the soul.

To be sure it is a necessary duty to search our hearts, and not in so doing to evade the judgment of Truth; but it is also well to guard against too hasty conclusions of the causes and ends of exercises; especially in an hour of weakness, wherein the old accuser is not wanting on his part, to suggest the most painful apprehensions, thereby to dispirit the mind that seeks to be freed from his insupportable yoke.

The new discovery thou makest of the delusiveness of thy thoughts, affords me much satisfaction, as it gives good ground to hope, that the Lord designs to lead thee to a state of perfection, which few, very few, have seen into; viz. an entire abdication of self, even in its most pleasing and seemingly lawful appearances. That of an ideal satisfaction in something seemingly good, yet short of the Divine perfection, is an exercise which attends many, and has prevailed against some, at least to the diminution of that lustre which would have shone around them. It is a favour so quickly to see into it, and having seen, I hope thou wilt endeavour to avoid it, and the Lord will help thee.

There is no happiness here equal to perfect redemption from the world, its spirit, and ourselves. To have no hopes, no desires, but in the will of God, is fully giving ourselves into his holy hand, and to be swallowed up of him, though of this, for want of Divine sensation, we may sometimes be ignorant. Here methinks I almost hear thee say, 'This is the state I long for, but it is distant, very distant, from me.' But is it not as of yesterday thou sawest into it, and wouldst thou be perfect at once, and enjoy a victory without a fight? This my friend is the summit of the mount of perfection, which thou hast lately begun to ascend, and in thy journey I sincerely wish thee good speed; and from the quietude which I at present feel about thee, I cannot but hope thou art in the best of hands: may a sense thereof be communicated in the most needful time.

CATHARINE PAYTON.

#### CHAPTER VII.

*Attends the Yearly meetings in Wales, at Bristol, and London—embarks for Ireland—detained by contrary winds—returns home—Epistle to Friends in Ireland—Visits meetings in Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire—Visits the meetings of Friends in Ireland—returns home and visits Derbyshire, Yorkshire and Lancashire—Yearly meeting in London—Colchester—Woodbridge and Norwich—goes into Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, &c.—Epistle to a Quarterly meeting—death of her sister—religious services in London, &c.—attends the Yearly meetings in Wales and Lancashire,—illness and death of her brother Henry.*

THE 6th of the fourth month, 1758, I left home, to attend the yearly meetings of Wales, Bristol, and London; in all which, especially the two first, I was Divinely favoured; and returned home, in peace and thankfulness, in the fifth month.

Towards the fall of the year, I attended our circular yearly meeting held at Kidderminster,

which was large and very satisfactory. After this meeting, being inclined to visit some provincial meetings, &c. in Ireland, I went with my dear friend Samuel Fothergill to Warrington, and thence proceeded to Liverpool, in order to take shipping for Dublin; but finding no vessel there ready to sail, I sent to inquire whether any one was going from Parkgate; and the messenger returning, said there was one, but that she would sail the next tide, and that it was then too late to reach her. I was pretty earnest to try, but some friends, who I thought were acquainted with the time of the tide's turning, dissuaded me from attempting it. So I gave it up reluctantly, fearing I should lose the opportunity of getting my passage in time for the meetings; and I afterwards heard that the tide did not turn till an hour after the time they said it would; so had I gone, I might probably have reached the vessel in time.

I waited at Liverpool more than a week, most of that time in almost constant expectation of sailing, a vessel being soon ready to sail, but the wind was contrary. At length I went on board, and we set sail with a fair wind, but it quickly turned against us, and we lay all night at anchor in a small harbour called Hoylake. The wind blew hard, and I esteemed it a singular favour that our captain was persuaded to lay at anchor; for we might have been in imminent danger of perishing among the sand-banks, had he stood out to sea; which I had some reason to believe he would have done, had I not been on board; for I being set to a day in getting to Dublin, in order to attend the province-meetings, had requested him, if there were not a probability of our making our passage in time, to set me on shore somewhere in Great Britain; which he promised to do if he could. The vessel being small and very full of passengers, who in the night crowded into the cabin, it was so extremely close, that I was much afflicted both in body and mind: under which I sought for Divine direction respecting proceeding forward in the vessel, should the wind prove favourable in the morning.

I thought I felt my mind turned to the shore, and released from the weight of the journey, at least for the present; therefore when it was light, I desired the captain to endeavour to put me on shore, and he accordingly hung out a flag for a boat to come and take me; but none came, and as the wind had again shifted in their favour, and it appeared hazardous to send the ship's boat with me, lest she should not return time enough for her sailing, I feared I must stay with them; but unexpectedly the captain offered the boat and men, provided I would be left on the beach with my saddle and clothes, and let the men return to the vessel immediately; to which I agreed, and left the



vessel, under the probability of her making her passage. A poor woman of Ireland who had no mind to proceed in her, went on shore with me, who, with her little girl, carried my saddle, &c. about half a mile, to a public house, where I breakfasted, and got a man and horses to take me to Liverpool. I proceeded pensively, lest I should have missed my way in leaving the vessel; yet I could commit my case to the Lord, who knew I had acted in simplicity. In our way we saw the vessel under sail, just turning out of the harbour on her course. When we reached Liverpool I was much fatigued, and low both in body and mind, having slept little in the night; but after some rest I attended the funeral of a child the same evening, and in the meeting the Lord so favoured, that my fears about leaving the vessel in a great degree vanished. After meeting I found that the wind was turned against her, and continued to blow very hard all that night; and the next morning the vessel came back to Liverpool. I staid there the next day, and then returned to Warrington, and was at the meetings at Penketh and Warrington the next day, and so proceeded home, taking in my way thither a meeting at Nantwich. Although I had been thus disappointed, I had reason to hope that my leaving home was not without some fruit to others as well as to myself; so that my soul had cause to bless the sacred name of Him, who sanctifies every trial to his children.

The day I staid at Liverpool, I penned the rough draught of an Epistle to Friends in Ireland, and after my return home transcribed and sent it. The Epistle is as follows, viz.

#### TO FRIENDS IN IRELAND.

DEAR FRIENDS,—As I am prevented by contrary winds from paying a visit this fall, to some of your Province meetings, &c. (for which end I proceeded as far as Liverpool); in the strength of that unfeigned love of the brethren which drew me from my home, am I endeavouring to salute you by a few lines: in hope the Divine wisdom and mercy may direct my pen, to the present relief of my own spirit, and your help.

And first, dear friends, permit me to inform you, that the lamentable state of our church, is almost continually before me. This in your's as well as other countries, has suffered greatly by the baneful prevalence of the spirit of this world; insomuch, that too few have their hands clean and strong for the Lord's service; or can see to extract the motes from the eyes of their brethren, because of the beams which are in their own. May not some of the instructors, and seemingly zealous in our Society, be justly taxed with hypocrisy; seeing while they cry against the reigning sins of others, they are in-

attentive to their own? unto whom I would direct the advice of Christ, viz. Pluck first the beams out of your own eyes, and then shall ye see clearly to take the motes out of those of your brethren.

It is a sorrowful truth, that even the garments of some of the priesthood are spotted with the world and the flesh; and they are therefore rendered unfit to minister before the Lord in that sacred office. For whatever may have been their former experience of the sanctifying operation of his Spirit; or however clear may have been their call into his service; yet if, like Judas, they have betrayed their Master for the pieces of silver, or, like Demas, may in spirit have forsaken his family for the love of the world in some of its alluring shapes, theirs justly is the judgment passed upon Judas; who being fallen from his station in the holy body of Christ, was to lose his bishoprick or part in the apostleship: such being rendered unfit to give testimony to the life, sufferings, death and resurrection of the holy Jesus, who did not retain it in their own experience.

Observe, brethren, the word *retain*. It is not enough that we have once known the Lord, but we must retain him in our knowledge; by the renewed baptisms of his holy Spirit: and of some who did not choose to do so, it is recorded that "God gave them up to a reprobate mind, to work those things which are not convenient." And I believe there are in our day, who, having deviated from the simplicity of Truth for sinister ends, have gone wider and wider therefrom; until their hearts are become so darkened that they call evil good, and good evil; put darkness for light, and light for darkness; and in their pursuits after worldly interests, are obviously worshipping and serving the creature more than the Creator: and yet these very persons would keep those seats, and discharge those offices in the church, which were assigned them, when in the days of childhood, they were willing to follow the Lamb whithersoever he led them.

O! for these blind guides, is my soul pained; and that not only on their own account, but that of others, who apprehending the law to proceed from their mouths, (though they have in reality no right to take the word of the Lord thereinto) and observing their conduct, may be influenced by their example, and follow them as they follow the world. It is needful, my beloved, to warn you, as our Lord did the people respecting the Scribes and Pharisees, who, notwithstanding they sat in Moses' seat, and administered the law, were not to be regarded as examples; lest, being led by the blind, ye perish with them in the ditch of error and perdition?

When I sat down to write you, I had no

view of beginning with these disagreeable remarks, but simply gave myself up to the direction of that Wisdom which best dictates what to say, and when to say it: and although some may object to their being inserted in an Epistle which points to a general exhortation, I am convinced by undoubted experience, and the example of some of the most eminently serviceable in the Lord's hand, that Divine wisdom sometimes commands to reprove those that offend, let them be of what class they may, before all, that others may learn to fear. In the authority of Truth I dare assert that the time is come in our church, when it is necessary that judgment should begin as at the house of God, in the very highest classes of the Society; and till that is laid to the line, and some therein are either reformed thereby or removed from those dignified stations, there is little probability of the Lord's work being carried on to his own honour, in the general, and the comfort of the faithful. Oh! saith my soul, that all who are concerned, or concern themselves therein, would study to be quiet and mind their own business, which is to take heed to themselves; for although the Holy Ghost may have once made some of them overseers of the flock, they cannot properly take heed thereto, unless this is the case; for being themselves loaded with a secret consciousness of guilt, for worshipping of idols, some obviously, and some having them concealed under a precise, formal, outside appearance and deportment, as in the skirts of their garments, they dare not, nay they cannot, search out the hidden things of Esau among the people, nor administer judgment in righteousness, where it is obviously due.

Let me therefore, in the spirit of gospel meekness and charity, which breathes for your salvation and enlargement in all the gifts and fruits of the Holy Ghost, exhort you who are of the foremost ranks, whether ministers, elders, overseers, or heads of families, that you would solemnly look into yourselves; and with an impartiality which ever accompanies those who are really concerned for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ in themselves, ask yourselves, individually, In what am I lacking? O! my friends, was this the case with us all, and did we patiently wait for the answer of Truth, we should individually be humbled into a sense of our shortness of that perfection whereunto we have been called, and wherein many of us have believed; and some would be so struck with the view of their idolatrous revolting from the simple worship of the true and living God, that they would go mourning many days in the bitterness of their souls; and all would be animated to press after the mark for the prize of their high calling in Christ, which is redemption from the world, the flesh, and the devil.

The nearer we approach to this blessed and happy experience, the more our hands will be strengthened in the Lord's work, and the more we shall be enabled both by precept and example to build one another up in the most holy faith, and in those things which edify; and our confidence in God who is the Perfecter of his saints will increase, that, as he hath mercifully begun a good work in us, he will finish it to the praise of his own name.

It is impossible that self-examination by the light of Truth should hurt any of us, and it may help all. I therefore once more earnestly recommend it, as a means of our fulfilling this precept, "Purge out the old leaven," and of enabling us to keep the feast "not with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and Truth." I shall conclude my exhortation to you of these classes, with saying, Be faithful, and then will you be comforted and of one mind, and the God of peace will preside amongst you. Amen.

Now to you who, not being in any of the before-mentioned stations, may therefore think yourselves more at liberty to gratify the desire of the carnal mind, is my concern directed; with secret breathings to the Father of mercies, that he may enable me so to point the word to your hearts, that being made sensible of your own danger, you may flee for your lives, from those bewitching vanities, and false pleasures which have held your souls in bondage to the god of this world; who, by many secret snares, and more obvious allurements, seeks to entangle the minds of poor mortals, and lead astray their affections from that inestimable Fountain of light, life, and happiness, wherein is centred all true joy, both in time and in eternity.

Dearly beloved! for so in the bowels of gospel compassion I call you; have you ever seriously considered that you have no continuing city here; and that as your souls are immortal, it is the proper, and ought to be the principal business of your lives, to seek for them a habitation, suitable to their being and nature, wherein they may have a happy residence for ever: which is alone to be found in God, who is the source and resource of his people? Now in order that your souls may at last centre with God, it is necessary that they should be made habitations for him through the sanctifying operation of the Spirit of his Son, which alone can render us who have been defiled with sin, (and therefore unfitted for a residence with Him), fit objects of his favour. Allow me therefore to ask you, and O! that you would ask yourselves, what you have known of this work, in your experience? Has the spirit of judgment and of burning done its office in your hearts? Have you passed through the first



Part of the work of sanctification? I mean the administration of condemnation for sin. Have you been bowed under the testimony of the righteous Witness of God in your conscience? Or have you not rather depressed and condemned this heavenly messenger; not suffering it to tell you the 'Truth, or at least, disbelieving the doctrine it preached, because it did not countenance some of your actions? Nay, have not some gone so far as to slay the "two witnesses for God," the internal evidence of his Spirit, and the external testimony of his servants; and are perhaps at this hour exulting in their victory, and proclaiming to themselves peace; when alas! a day of fearfulness, amazement, and unutterable anguish, awaits them, and is near; when, if not sooner, the curtains of mortality shall be drawn, and they shall see the Judge, tremendous in majesty, and that righteous witness, which in time they slew, raised in power, to testify against them for their rebellion, and assert the justice of their exclusion from the realms of light and blessedness.

What effect this faint description of the day of judgment to the wicked, and those who forget God, may have upon the minds of such, I know not; but my heart being impressed with an awful sense of its certainty, is animated to endeavour to wrest them from its eternal consequences, by persuading them to bow in the day of God's merciful visitation to their souls, and to kiss the Son lest he be angry, and they perish from the way of life and salvation, ere his wrath be kindled but a little.

Do not vainly and proudly imagine, that you are able to stem the force of Omnipotence. He is, and will be King, whether you are willing to allow him the right of sovereignty or not; and his sacred laws of unchangeable truth, are as manifest in the punishment of transgressors, as in the reward of those that do well: and O! if it were possible to convey to you a sense of that sweet peace, glory, and joy, which are, and shall be, revealed to those who love and serve God, you would be convinced that no punishment could be too great for such as, by a contrary conduct, slight and cast away so great salvation and happiness. But as no eye can see, nor heart conceive, the exceeding grace of God in Christ Jesus, but such as have happily witnessed its sanctifying operations; I cannot but invite you to "Come, taste, and see, that the Lord is good, and that his mercy endureth for ever."

It is true, that in the way to this attainment you must pass through judgment; for Zion must be redeemed through judgment, and all the converts with righteousness, and a portion of indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, must (consistently with the law of Di-

vine justice), be administered to every soul that sinneth. But this judgment when received in the day of God's merciful visitation, is succeeded by such inexpressible peace and assurance of Divine favour, as abundantly compensates for the pains it may have occasioned: for of a truth the carnal "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor heart conceived," what good is in store for those who manifest their love to God by their obedience. Believe me, my beloved friends, when I tell you that my heart is strongly engaged for your welfare, as you stand in your various classes. I feel much more for you than I can write, and would beseech you by the mercies of God, as well as by his judgments, that you would present the whole body of your affections unto him, which is no more than your reasonable service.

Has he not dealt exceeding bountifully to some of you of the things of this life? For what cause think you, has he entrusted you with such abundance? Is it to gratify the lust of the eye, and the pride of life? Is it to make you haughty, and assume a superiority over such as, in this respect may be below yourselves, but who perhaps may, some of them, be higher in the Divine favour? Nay, surely: but in order that you may improve this gift to his honour, the good of others, and your own eternal advantage; and may be humbled in a sense of the disproportion of your deserts to his mercies. Has he not favoured some of you with superior natural abilities? And for what end, but that you might be in a superior degree serviceable in his hand? Has he not afforded to all a day of merciful visitation, wherein he has by various means endeavoured to bring you into that fold of immortal rest, wherein he causes his Flocks to feed and lie down beside the clear streams of salvation?

O saith my soul! that you may consider his mercies, and make a suitable return for them; that the Most High may delight in the present generation, and dwell among the people as in days past. O! you of the rising generation, open the doors of your hearts to that Divine Visitant, who has long stood thereat, and knocked for entrance. Let him prepare them, and he will assuredly spread his table, and admit you to be happy communicants thereat. Think not that it is too early in life for you to look steadily towards a future state of existence; but consider, that the solemn message to summon you from works to rewards, may be sent to you at an early and unexpected hour: and that it therefore behoves you, to be prepared to meet the great Judge. My heart is particularly engaged for your welfare, and pained in the consideration how widely some of you have deviated from that path of primitive simplicity,

wherein your worthy predecessors trod. Let me therefore beseech you to seek for the "Good old way" of holiness, and walk therein; that you may experimentally know the "God of your fathers, and serve him with a perfect heart and willing mind:" so will his blessing forever rest upon you, which maketh truly rich, and adds no sorrow therewith.

Let the cloud of witnesses to the power and unutterable riches of pure religion, prevail with you to submit to its holy influence; that you may rightly understand, and diligently pursue, the things that belong to your peace here and hereafter. Let the examples of the righteous in all generations, let their peaceful lives, let their happy conclusion, triumphing over death, hell, and the grave, in a lively and full assurance of faith; let the solemn importance of time and eternity, excite you while it is yet day, and light is upon your tabernacles, to improve it: that you may be numbered amongst the wise, who shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and may be instrumental to turn many to righteousness, and be as stars for ever and ever.

The negligent and careless, the stout-hearted, and they that are far from righteousness, may receive instruction from the event of the like-minded in all generations. Such have not escaped the righteous judgments of the Almighty, who has sealed it as a certain truth: "Verily there is a reward for the righteous; verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth."

And now, dear Friends, as in plainness I have endeavoured to communicate what has freely opened to the several classes among you, I would warn all to beware of putting their proper portion far from them; but let each examine, "Is it I; Is it I?" And let not the iniquities of others, which some may observe to be struck at, tend to fix any in a state of self-security; for assuredly every one must suffer for his own transgression. Nor let those close hints which are pointed to some of the foremost rank, be made use of to invalidate the testimony of such, whom the Lord has preserved as "watchmen upon your walls." I know and am thankful that he has a remnant amongst you, of all ranks, whom he has preserved near unto himself; to whom my soul is united in the tribulations and rejoicings of the gospel; and unto whom a salutation reaches forth, and seems expressed in my heart thus; Brethren and sisters, be of good cheer, "be patient, and hope to the end:" for the hand of that God whom you serve, is stretched out for your help; and if you abide faithful to him, in his own time he will crown your sufferings with rejoicing.

Finally, dearly beloved, farewell; and may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of

God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all, Amen.

I am your friend and sister in the Truth,

CATHARINE PAYTON.

Dudley, 10th of Tenth month, 1758.

My mind settled in quiet after this disappointment, but my body had suffered so much, that a little rest seemed necessary to repair my health; and I entertained a hope of being at and about home this winter; but Divine wisdom pointed out work for me elsewhere, and my mind was resigned to follow his directions. I left home in the twelfth month, and went to the quarterly meeting at Warwick, where through much painful labour of spirit, I was favoured to discharge the duty required of me, to the relief of my own spirit and the satisfaction of experienced Friends. From that place I went through several meetings in Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, to the quarterly meeting at Northampton; and turning back to the monthly meeting at Banbury, visited some other meetings in Oxfordshire, and attended the quarterly meeting held at Oxford. In all these services the supporting protecting arm of Divine goodness was near, whereby I was conducted in safety, though not without considerable danger from the badness of the roads. I had one very dangerous fall from my horse, but was mercifully preserved from any fracture.

The quarterly meeting at Oxford was attended by many of the students, who mostly behaved well, although the doctrine of Truth ran very closely and pointedly to them. That Divine power with which they were too much unacquainted, bound down their spirits. May it be praised for ever.

From Oxford, I passed through several meetings wherein Truth favoured, pretty directly for London; where I staid about five weeks visiting the meetings of Friends, and attending other services as I was favoured with strength. Sometimes, through a fear of exceeding, I apprehend I fell short of my commission, and a degree of suffering followed; which was however less painful to me, than what would have arisen from errors on the other hand. I laboured and suffered much in this city, and the state of my health was poor during my stay in it; but through infinite mercy I left it in the enjoyment of a good degree of peace, and returned home in the second month, 1759, to the mutual rejoicing of myself and friends. My friend Ann Fothergill and several others accompanied me to some meetings in my way home, and took me in their carriages; whose affectionate care in my weak state of health, I commemorate with thankfulness to the ever bounteous Author of all my mercies.

The day after I got home, my dear mother



was taken ill, as was my brother a few days after, and the state of my own health was weak, and some peculiar exercise attended me. Some libertine spirits endeavoured to invalidate my character and service, for no other cause than what appeared to me to be my duty. This was an extremely trying season, but I hope in the end it was profitable, and tended to establish my mind in a patient suffering of reproach, and to guard me with caution that I might not administer occasion for it to the adversaries of Truth.

I attended to services about home, as liberty and strength were afforded, and became better in my health: my mother also recovered bravely, but my brother continued in a very weak state. In the fourth month I was obliged to leave him and my dear mother, being drawn to attend the circular yearly meeting for the four northern counties, which was this year held at Stockport in Cheshire. It was very large, and signally attended with the humbling power of Truth; and the Lord was pleased to make use of me and several other of his servants: for which my soul worshipped before Him who humbleth and exalteth, and in his unsearchable wisdom, doth all things well. I returned home, and found my dear mother and brother much in the same state as I left them.

In the fifth month I again left home, intending to attend our quarterly meeting at Evesham, and so proceed to the yearly meeting at London. My brother was so much recovered as to accompany me to the quarterly meeting, from whence he intended to return home; but on our first day's journey he was taken very ill. This brought a fresh exercise upon me, under which I petitioned the Almighty that he would be pleased to direct me how to act for the relief of my own mind, and the discharge of that duty which I owed to an affectionate brother; on whose account I intreated, that if he might be relieved, the way for it might be pointed out. Under this exercise I proceeded to Evesham, my brother still accompanying me, though very weak. After the service of the quarterly meeting was over, my way opened to Worcester; whereto my brother was persuaded to accompany me, and to take the advice of a physician, who strongly pressed his going to Bath. Upon considering the urgency of his case, some of my friends with myself judged it best for him to proceed there directly, as returning home first would but weaken him the more: so I wrote an account of our determination to my dear mother and sister, who acquiesced therein. I also informed my brother and sister Young of my afflicting situation, and requested that one of them would accompany him; and Providence so ordered it, that my sister came prepared for the journey the day

after I sent for her. The next day, being the first of the week, we were favoured together by Divine goodness; and the following morning we parted in much affection; they proceeded to Bath, and I was at liberty to pursue my journey. This had been to me an extremely exercising season, from the great fear I was under of erring on either hand; but I record it to the praise of Infinite goodness, who, in this critical juncture, directed me to act for the help of my dear brother; to whom my endeavours were signally blessed with success, the Bath waters being rendered serviceable to him.

From Worcester I went to Coventry; and in the way had a meeting at Henly in Arden, Warwickshire, in which place Friends have a meeting-house, but none of our Society remained. At Coventry, I met my friend Samuel Fothergill, who having been long indisposed, I was rejoiced to see that it appeared likely he would be again restored to the service of Truth. We went, together with many Friends from the North of England, directly to London: where I was favoured with strength to attend pretty closely to the service of the yearly meeting, and had full satisfaction that I was there in the direction of Divine wisdom.

From London I went to the quarterly meeting at Colchester, and in my way there attended the first-day meeting at Coggeshall, which was large, and favoured with the Divine presence.

I left Colchester before the concluding meeting, being pressed in my mind to reach the quarterly meeting at Banbury in Oxfordshire, which, with very hard travelling, I accomplished. I had some meetings in the way, and was comforted in administering a little relief to some poor souls who appeared ready to faint under their exercises. After the quarterly meeting at Banbury, I went to that at Northampton, much in the cross to my own will, being very desirous to get home, considering the state of our family, and that my own health was affected with very hard travelling, ministerial labour, and exercise of mind. But I did not lose my reward, for I was favoured with strength sufficient for the service required, went from Northampton in much peace and thankfulness, and reached home in two days after: where I was gladly received by my dear aged mother and sister, but my brother was not yet returned from Bath. In the last fifteen days before I got home, I attended twenty-three meetings, besides other services, and travelled on horseback.

The concern I had for Ireland reviving, I left home in the eighth month, and with very hard travelling was favoured to visit most of the meetings in that nation this fall, and returned to England soon after the half-year's meeting in the eleventh month. A religious young woman, Sarah Christie, not in the ministry,

accompanied me through the greater part of the journey in Ireland. I landed from Ireland at Whitehaven, and went through the meetings in some parts of Cumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham, and the east side of Yorkshire; and turned to the quarterly meeting for Westmoreland in the first month, 1760. The weather being extremely sharp this winter, and my health but poor through hard travelling, and taking cold, I suffered much in body; but gracious Providence supported and carried me through the service required, to the admiration of myself and others. The weakness of my constitution appeared inadequate to so great a fatigue; but I experienced that hand which employed me, to be strength in weakness: salvation and power be ascribed thereto for ever!

It appears the following letter was written about this time.

Third month 15th, 1760.

DEAR COUSIN,—Previous to the receipt of thy letter, I had intelligence both of thy illness and recovery. I am thankful to providence for thy restoration to health.

I never yet could believe that thou wast wrong in entering into the connection; and therefore I trust, that He who constituted the union, will bless it to you both. I am glad to find thou canst so readily obey the pointings of the Divine hand; and that thy husband so freely resigns thee to its disposing. No doubt nature will feel in these separations, but as your happiness does not consist in the gratification of earthly desires, but in doing and suffering the will of God, your union in that life which can never end, will be increased by absence.

Thy concern for my preservation from the snares of an unwearied adversary, I take notice of, with thankfulness, and hope to join thee therein. I dare not presume upon my standing; feeling daily my weakness, and having, with sorrow, to observe the failures of some who have been eminently favoured: but if a strong desire to be detached from the world, and fixed in the station which Heaven allots me, recommends to its notice, I may be allowed to hope I shall be supported in the midst of discouragements which attend.

After many painful baptisms, (to some of which thou art no stranger) every prospect of what may be allotted me, is removed; and I am content to remain blind to the future, until the hour come, wherein every determination of Providence is revealed.

My constitution seems to be shaken by the many engagements which await me, both at home and abroad; but I am content, if this assurance remain, that I am about my heavenly Father's business. Please to remember me affectionately to friend Hammond, and believe

me to be, dear cousin, in the sympathy of the gospel, both in suffering and rejoicing, thy friend and companion,

CATHARINE PAYTON.

In the beginning of fourth month my sister Ann was married to Thomas Summerfield, of Bloxham, Oxfordshire; and my brother, who accompanied her to her new habitation, returned home very ill; yet I could not be easy to omit the attendance of the Welsh yearly meeting held this year at Oswestry, and my sister Young kindly staid with him and my mother in my absence. The meeting was very large; and I had good reason to believe I was there in the counsel of the Almighty. I returned home in a little more than a week, where I found my brother yet unwell; nevertheless I thought it right to leave him again in a few days, being engaged to attend the yearly meetings of Bristol and London: which I did, taking some meetings in my way.

The yearly meeting at London was large and very satisfactory, except from some disturbance which was given to Friends meetings, by some disorderly persons not in unity with them. My strength in the discharge of my duty was mercifully renewed, and an enlargedness of heart experienced towards my brethren. I had left home through much difficulty, but was thankful that I had pressed through it; and on my return, I had reason to believe that kind Providence had made up the loss of my company to my mother and brother; for I found her cheerful, and him in better health.

I came home in the sixth month, and staid at or near it until the latter end of the eighth, labouring as I found ability in the service of Truth, and endeavouring to discharge my duty in domestic cares: a greater weight whereof than heretofore rested upon me since my sister's marriage; through which, and my brother's continued indisposition, my way in leaving home was straitened; yet I know not that any clear manifestation of duty was omitted; although sometimes it was discharged with difficulty.

My brother being somewhat better, I left home in order to visit Friends meetings in Derbyshire, some of the dales of Yorkshire, and part of Lancashire. I was favoured to accomplish this journey in forty-eight days, travelling in that time about seven hundred miles, and attending fifty-two meetings, besides other services, often in Friends' families, by which hard labour my spirits were much exhausted, yet was not my health so impaired, but that I hoped with rest it might be restored.

In this journey I had some satisfactory service among people not professing with us; and some in towns where no meetings were held. At Bradford in Lancashire, some unthinking



people and children disturbed our meeting almost through the whole time of our holding it; but some sober inquiring people attended it, with whom we had reason to hope the testimony of Truth had place. After the meeting, we had a satisfactory opportunity with some of them, at the house of one that had lately joined Friends in that place. Some Friends accompanied me in this service, viz. Jonathan Raine and his wife, of Crawshay Booth meeting, Matthew Meller of Manchester, and several others; from whom I parted in gospel love.

On my return home the 16th of the tenth month, I had the satisfaction to find my dear mother well, and my brother better than he had been. The night before I came there, I had a fall from my horse, but through mercy received no hurt.

The 17th of the eleventh month, I set out to attend our quarterly meeting at Worcester, which was large and mercifully favoured with the Divine presence. From thence I went to Leominster to visit my sister Young and her family; and spent a few days with them and Friends there profitably. In my way home, accompanied by several Friends from Leominster, I had a large meeting at Ludlow, in which town there was only one that professed with us. Several sober people were amongst those who attended this meeting; and Divine goodness was pleased to favour with opening the Truths of the gospel unto them. I left the town that night, at which I was not quite easy, not knowing but if I had staid, some inquiring people might have sought an opportunity of conversation. I returned home the 27th, and found my mother tolerably well, on whose account, in this absence from her, I had been concerned, considering her advanced age.

In the twelfth month, I went to the quarterly meeting at Warwick, and thence to visit my sister in Oxfordshire; with whom I spent a few days, visited some meetings in the neighbourhood; and proceeded to Oxford. Many of the students and others not professing with us, came to the meeting; towards whom Divine Wisdom was pleased to manifest his regard, and some of them behaved soberly. It was the time of the quarterly meeting. In my return home, I attended at Long Compton the funeral of a religious young woman, with whom I had been acquainted. It proved a strengthening season in Divine love, which freely flowed towards the people.

From Long Compton I went to Chipping-Norton, Evesham, and Worcester, staid a few days amongst Friends there, and returned home through Evesham and Alcester.

I staid about home until the 21st of the third month, 1761, when I went to the quarterly

meeting at Birmingham; which was comfortable in a sense of the continued regard of heaven; but sorrowful in the apparent declension of some professing with us from the life of Truth.

From Birmingham I proceeded to the quarterly meeting for Nottinghamshire held at Mansfield, which was small, few Friends residing in that county. I laboured among them in love, and with strong desires for their help; and left them in a degree of peace, though not without a doubt of having been rather short in discharging my duty.

From Mansfield, I went to Chesterfield, and had a meeting there, to which came several from other meetings, and we were favoured together in the Divine presence. I then proceeded through some meetings in Yorkshire, wherein I was strengthened to minister, I hope to the satisfaction and comfort of honest-hearted Friends, and to the relief of my own spirit. I came to Lancaster the 9th of the fourth month, in order to attend the quarterly meeting there. Thus far on the journey I had travelled very hard, and the day before I came to Lancaster, having met with a very dangerous fall from my horse, whereby I hurt one of my arms, so that I was unable to help myself, and was otherwise hurt, it was hard for me to travel; yet I was enabled to proceed forward the next afternoon in a chaise to Kendal; and having attended the quarterly meeting there, proceeded to Appleby, to the yearly meeting for the four northern counties, which began the 12th. I carried my arm in a sling, but in this time of weakness kind Providence furnished me with a suitable companion to assist me, viz. Christiana Hird of Yorkshire, of whose tender care and affectionate services, I retain a grateful sense.

The yearly meeting at Appleby was attended by many sober people from the adjacent country, as well as by a large number of the inhabitants of the town; and many of them were considerably affected by the testimony of Truth; whereto they had been strangers. Many had imbibed disagreeable sentiments respecting Friends and their principles; but the Lord was pleased so to manifest his power amongst them, that their prejudices were removed, and a confession obtained to the truths which were freely preached among them. Friends left the town rejoicing in the heavenly Father's love and goodness, in thus favouring us, and exalting the testimony of Truth, in a place wherein some of our worthy Friends in the beginning of our being a people, had suffered deeply. The 15th, Samuel Fothergill and myself had a meeting at Kirby Steven, which was large and solid, many seeking people around the country attending it; and the

Lord was pleased to cause the gospel trumpet to be sounded clearly and powerfully among them: glory be to his Name for ever!

I went accompanied by Christiana Hird, with the Friends from Wensleydale into that quarter; had a meeting at Haws, and the ensuing first-day attended the general meeting at Aysgarth, which was very large. A light set of people frequently attending at that time of the year: but the power of Truth was measurably over their spirits, and I left the place in a good degree of peace. I proceeded in visiting the meetings in this part of Yorkshire, and having a view of going almost directly from that county, to the yearly meeting at London, and being desirous of getting clear of as many meetings therein as I could, I continued to travel hard among the dales. But my strength being much exhausted, and some painful effects of my late fall continuing, when I came to the house of my friend William Hird, at Woodhouse (father to my kind companion), I rested for a few days, and was treated with that tenderness which the state of my health required. From hence, I went to Gildersome meeting, where I parted from Christiana Hird, in love and sympathy; and went through several meetings in Yorkshire, to Nottingham. I staid at Nottingham over first-day, and attended two meetings there. I was weak and much affected with a hoarseness, yet had some service amongst Friends there, though not fully to the relief of my mind.

I left Nottingham on second-day, and reached London the 7th of the fifth month. I was favoured with a good degree of peace, and thankfulness to that good Hand which had hitherto conducted and supported me in weakness.

The yearly meeting was large, and I hope profitable; although I did not think, in the general, that instrumental ministry rose so high, as it had done in some of those annual solemnities: but Friends were comforted in the immediate sense of the continuance of Divine favour, under which they separated; some perhaps, to meet no more in time. Our friend Joseph White, from America, having paid a religious visit to Friends in this nation, and being about to return home, had a certificate from Friends at this meeting of their unity with his services whilst here; and John Stephenson and Robert Proud being under an engagement of mind to visit Friends on the continent of America, had certificates for that end.

My spirit rejoiced that I was enabled to attend this meeting; and indeed I have seldom or ever attended the yearly meetings in London, without peculiar edification, although sometimes sufferings from various causes have fallen to my lot: and I am persuaded that if

Friends more generally gave themselves up to attend that solemnity; and when there, abode under the seasoning virtue of Truth, they would be better qualified to labour in their several stations and places of residence: the weight of service devolving upon them there, would be brought home with them, and a more fervent care would remain for maintaining our Christian testimony in its various branches, and stretching the line of discipline over such among us who walk disorderly.

The week after the yearly meeting I went to Plaistow, and rested a few days with my friend John Hayward; and being a little recruited, I proceeded, though in diffidence and fear (being often low in body, as well as pressed with the weight of the service appointed me), to the yearly meetings of Colchester, Woodbridge, and Norwich: in all of which, through the strengthening hand of Divine mercy, I had good service.

From Norwich I passed through some meetings in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire to the quarterly meeting at York, which was at this time attended by many Friends from the several quarters of it; and some Friends under appointment from the yearly meeting at London, to visit monthly and quarterly meetings of Friends, were there; and I hope, were serviceable, in inquiring into the general state of Friends, exciting them to various duties, and endeavouring to strengthen the hedge of discipline.

From this meeting I proceeded, accompanied by Rachel Wilson and Margaret Raine, to Leeds and Bradford, and so to a large general meeting held annually in a barn at Bingley. It was in a good degree satisfactory, many gospel Truths being opened to the people; who behaved soberly, and many of them seemed well affected towards Friends. After this meeting I proceeded towards the quarterly meeting at Lancaster, and from that place, accompanied by my friends Jonathan Raine and wife and Alexander Parkinson, I went to Turton near Bolton, where several young men and others were under conviction. Several Friends met us here, and we had a favoured meeting with them and many of their neighbours; rejoicing in the hope that the Shepherd of Israel would gather to himself a people in that country. There are none under our name near them, which rendered the breaking forth of Truth amongst them a more signal instance of the immediate efficacy of its Divine power. May they be preserved humble, and dependent on that Hand, which alone can build up, and "establish on the most holy faith."

From Turton I went with my friends Jonathan Raine and wife to their house near Rosendale, and attended a large general meeting there the next day; and proceeded to Manches-



ter on second-day, and had a meeting there that evening. On third-day, accompanied by two men Friends, I travelled hard; and in the evening we missed our way over a moor, which rendered it late in the night when we came to John Draycoat's in Derbyshire. I had a fall from my mare, through her missing her step upon a narrow causeway, but through mercy was preserved from hurt. Next day I had a meeting at Furnace, and afterwards rode to Burton upon Trent, and the ensuing day to Polesworth, in order to attend the marriage of my cousins John Wilkins and Elizabeth Lythall, which was solemnized at Badsley the next day, and we were favoured together with the Lord's presence: blessed be his holy name! The next day, being the 20th of the seventh month I reached home, where I found my dear mother as well as could be expected for her age, but my brother yet poorly. I had now at several times visited Friends in Yorkshire pretty generally; and had considerable service amongst people not professing with them.—After this journey my mind settled in peace and thankfulness, having to look back upon it with deep gratitude to the Divine hand, whereby I had been conducted, supported and encouraged to press forward, although under considerable bodily weakness, and some fears on account of the situation of my dear mother, &c. But as my eye was preserved single to the Lord's service, he cared for those I had left for his name's sake, and brought me home in a better state of health than I had left it, notwithstanding I had travelled and laboured exceedingly hard; having in fifteen weeks attended one hundred and seventeen meetings, and travelled about one thousand two hundred and thirty miles; nearly the whole on horseback.

The beginning of the eighth month, I attended the circular yearly meeting, which was held at Bromyard in Herefordshire. It was not so large, either of Friends or people of other societies, as of late years had been usual, nor did the life of Truth in the ministry rise to the height I have known it; yet, upon the whole, Friends had cause to be thankful for the opportunity.

About this time she wrote the following Epistle, viz.

*To the Quarterly Men's meeting of Friends  
of —*

DEAR FRIENDS,—It having lately been my lot to pass through your quarter, and with sorrow to observe the declining state of the church therein, I find my mind engaged to write a few lines to you who may be accounted its ruling members; to advise, that you be careful to fill up the station of governors in all humility and honesty, acquitting yourselves like men con-

cerned for the cause of God. And in order that each may find his hands made strong for the work, let first a strict scrutiny be made into your own conduct, to see how far you are purged from the abominations which are committed: for, except those who are rulers in Israel, support their testimony by a circumspect conversation, it seems to me impossible they should rule well. For, not preserving a sense of the necessity of an entire purity subsisting in the church, they will be apt to admit of things inconsistent with the nature of that holy principle we profess; and wink at, instead of reproving, the conduct of backsliders. And, indeed, I see no right that a man who breaks the law himself, has to sit in the seat of judgment. He may plead the example of the Scribes and Pharisees, but no Christian precept countenances such a practice: for “except our righteousness exceed theirs, we shall in no wise enter the kingdom.” And I think it may not be amiss, in order to evince whether there be any resemblance betwixt us and them, to examine what their righteousness was. It was only a bare external righteousness, put or kept on with a base hypocritical design, to impose upon the people. Spiritual pride was cloked under it. They loved the places of chief presidency in the synagogues, &c. and to be called of men, “Rabbi;” oppressed the distressed, and neglected the weightiest matters of the law, viz. justice, mercy, and truth, without which no right government can ever be administered. They were not possessed of holiness, though they made “broad their phylacteries, and enlarged the borders of their garments.” How different to this is the character of a bishop\* given by the apostle, viz. “He must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate; holding forth the faithful word as he has been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and convince the gainsayers.” An excellent catalogue of necessary qualifications! May both you and I covet to obtain them.

It seems to me that a great regulation is wanting amongst us, and judgment must begin as at the sanctuary, before it can go on rightly. The camp is shamefully defiled, and few fit to minister judgment in wisdom, to the transgressors; which is very much wanting, for “weakness has reached to the head and the heart,” and insensibility seized many of the members. Arise and shake yourselves, lest you perish with the multitude; and being partakers of the sins of Babylon, ye be also partakers in her

\* Or, as it may be translated, *overseer*.

plagues; for I verily believe, the Lord is on his way to try the foundations of the professors of his Truth, that their deeds may be made manifest, whether they are wrought in God or not; and the cause of his suffering seed will be espoused and pleaded, and their wrongs redressed.

Alas! my friends, it will not do for us to have been once called and anointed of God. Except we dwell under the teachings of that anointing, and wait for renewed baptism to fit us for further service, we shall become dwarfish, dry, and formal; and though to an injudicious eye we may appear as flourishing trees; upon examination by a wise observer, good fruit will not be found upon us, such as that its flavour will demonstrate that the tree has its nourishment from the Eternal Fountain of life and wisdom.

Have a care, lest the world cast a mist before your eyes, and hinder your keeping a sight of that transcendent excellency which is in the Truth; which once engaged some of you to follow it, with sincere desires to know your spirits leavened into its pure nature. Remember the day of your espousals, and also, that, as saith the apostle, "If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."

Let none judge that these lines proceed from a self-sufficiency in me; for I think that I retain a just sense of my weakness, and unfitness as a woman for such a service; but I trust some of you know that the wind bloweth when and where it listeth.

I am, with the salutation of unfeigned love to the true seed of God amongst you, sincerely desiring their preservation, and that the unfaithful may be warned in time, and turn to the Lord in the day of his mercy, your friend and sister in the Truth,

CATHARINE PAYTON.

27th of 8th month, 1761.

N. B. This Epistle may appear close and sharp, considering unto whom it was directed; but there was sorrowful cause for it, in some individuals.

From this meeting I went to spend a day or two with my dear sister Young at Leominster, which I esteemed a great favour, as it was the last time we spent together, except near her last moments. She was seized in the tenth month following with an indisposition, which terminated in a violent inflammatory fever. Her husband was then in the west of England, in company with some Friends, on a religious visit to the monthly and quarterly meetings of Friends in that part of the nation. A messenger being sent to inform us of her illness, I went to her; and was favoured to find her so sensible as to inform me that she was very easy in mind: soon after which she grew delirious,

and her senses were never more quite clear; yet she once intimated that she was quiet, and hoped she had a quiet habitation.

She was a truly valuable woman, and doubtless her spirit entered into rest. She died at the age of forty-five, after a life attended with various trials. The loss to her family, her other relations, friends and neighbours, was great; and the sorrow for it amongst all who were acquainted with her was general; yet under a sense that our loss was her great gain, it was mixed with joy in the hearts of her nearest relations and friends.

She left three children, and her sorrowful and very affectionate husband; who, after he had information of her dangerous state, travelled hard to get home, but did not reach it until after her corpse was interred. My brother staid at Leominster until he came thither, and I returned home to my dear mother and my sister's eldest daughter, who was then at Dudley, a thoughtful child of about eleven years of age, who had a very great affection for her mother. I found them full as well as I expected, considering my mother's great love for my sister, who had been an extraordinary child to her; steadily sympathizing with, and assisting her in her afflictions, when she had no other child that was so capable of doing it. But she was favoured with signal resignation to the Divine will, which is doubtless right in taking away, as well as in giving.

My spirits had been supported beyond my expectation through this trial, although my health appeared shaken by the fatigue attending it; yet in less than two weeks, I set out for Bloxham to attend my sister Summerfield, who was now my only surviving sister. I attended Warwick meeting in my way; and in the evening appointed one for the neighbours, which was large, and crowned with Divine life and power, for which I was truly thankful. After about two weeks stay I went for London, having before I left home a certificate to visit Friends in that city. I had several meetings in my way thither amongst people not professing with us, to satisfaction.

I staid rather more than a month in London, and through diligent labour, and considerable travail of spirit, left it easy in mind, and returned home by my sister's.

The day I left her house the wind was very high. I rode double, and when we came to the high uninclosed field-lands, nearly upon a level with the summit of Edge hill, it was so extremely boisterous, that myself and the man who rode before me, concluded it safest to alight; which we did, under shelter of a short thorn-hedge, probably planted to afford shelter to sheep. We saw a village, but had to cross the field to it. The man held the horse by one



hand, and I held by his other arm; but the wind was so violently strong, that he rather dragged than led me, for I stooped very low, being unable to stand against it. I think it rained also while we crossed the field. We got to a poor house of entertainment, the covering of a building belonging to which was stripped off a little before we came; and we staid in it, not without fear, until the violence of the wind abated; which it did in the afternoon, and we reached Eatonton the same night. I think this was the wind of which it was said, that none had been so high since Eddystone light-house was blown down; and our getting through it without hurt appeared providential. It was a hurricane in the morning, yet it was tolerably calm in the evening.

I got home the 15th of first month, 1762, in a better state of health than I left it, and was comforted to find our family tolerably well; and I had great cause for thankfulness, for the many mercies and preservations vouchsafed in this journey.

In the spring of this year I attended the northern and Welch yearly meetings; the first held at Bolton in Lancashire, and that for Wales at Bala in Merionethshire. That at Bolton was very large, and attended by many valuable ministers and Friends, and a great number of sober inquiring people of other societies; amongst whom the gospel-trumpet was sounded in Divine authority, to the comfort of faithful Friends, and I hope, to the instruction and awakening of many souls. In my way from Bolton to Bala, in company with my friend Samuel Fothergill, I attended the meeting at Chester on the first-day morning; whereto many soberly behaved people of the town came, and we were favoured with a comfortable tendering opportunity together. From Chester we proceeded to Bala, in company with Isabella Middleton, a ministering Friend from Ireland, and overtook Rachel Wilson and Christiana Hird, before we got thither.

The meeting at Bala was large, considering the part of the country it was held in: the people behaved soberly, and many of them were affected by the heart-tendering power of Truth. We had a comfortable opportunity with a few that came in love to bid us farewell; and left the place, in full assurance of the extendings of Divine love to the inhabitants of this poor part of the nation, and thankfulness that we were accounted worthy to preach the gospel to them. I returned home by Coalbrookdale, and on the first-day was at a very large meeting at the New Dale, wherein the Lord's power was exalted: blessed be his name for ever!

I reached home the 4th of the fifth month, and found my mother and brother well as usual, but my brother Henry, my father's son by

a former wife, unwell, with a disorder in his right leg; which terminated in a mortification, and in something more than eight weeks his leg was taken off. Our affliction through this circumstance was considerable; for besides the care for his natural life, which was imminently in danger, our concern for his immortal soul was great. For having addicted himself to pleasure and to the gratification of his natural appetites, he had lost the simplicity of his education; and because he would indulge himself in liberties which he knew were inconsistent with the profession of Truth, he threw it off; saying, he would not retain the name and be a reproach to the people. He sometimes went to the church of England, not, as he said, from principle, but because he would go somewhere. When a youth, he was much humbled under the visitation of Divine love; but when he arrived to mature age, he was drawn aside by vain company.

In this affliction he was favoured with a renewed visitation of heavenly favour; under which he lamented his loss and fall, and remarked, "that it had been through keeping company, and not that which is accounted the worst of company neither." He had a long time allowed him to repent, and in the fore part of his illness was penitent and much exercised in mind; but being flattered with the hopes of life after his leg was cut off, his thoughts appeared then to be too much occupied with its prospects, although not without some proposition of a reformation of conduct, if his health should be restored.

In this situation I was obliged to leave him, being engaged to attend the circular yearly meeting, which was held this year at Exeter. My sister supplied my place in the family, and I went pretty directly to it, attending the quarterly meeting at Gloucester, and two other meetings, in my way, the Lord's power accompanying me.

The meeting at Exeter was much less than some of the like kind had been; but was attended by some sober people, and by some high professors of religion, whose foundations were struck at in the power of Truth, the testimony whereof was measurably exalted. The state of the members of our own Society was ministered to; in some instances it was lamentable, and tended greatly to lessen the weight of the testimony of Truth, which had been at this time borne in the demonstration of its own spirit.

I proceeded from Exeter to the quarterly meeting in Somersetshire, which was eminently crowned with Divine favour; and I parted from Friends there in the comfortable sense of gospel fellowship, and returned to Bristol, having several large and satisfactory meetings in the way thither.

I spent a few days in Bristol, I hope profitably, having renewed cause to believe that the Divine life was revived in some in that city, although too many had fallen asleep as in the lap of this world.

From Bristol I went to the quarterly meeting for Herefordshire, held at Ross, and so to Leominster; where I spent more than a week in my brother Young's family, not idly, but caring for it; and returned home to the mutual satisfaction of myself and my relations there.

I found my dear mother and brother tolerably well, and my poor brother Henry appeared in some respects better, yet at times so languid, that I doubted his continuing long in time. My fears proved well founded, for his deplorable disorder seized his other foot, and on the 15th of the twelfth month, 1762, he died; having endured a long scene of inexpressible pain and affliction. Agreeably to his own desire, his corpse was interred in Friends' burying ground. He was endowed with a good understanding and an engaging natural disposition, and his person and manners were superior to many. He was in his fifty-seventh year.

I think it worthy of commemoration, that some time before he was seized with the disorder which terminated his life, I had been earnestly solicitous that the Lord would bring him to a sense of his apostatized state before he was taken out of time; and constrain him to condemn that libertine spirit wherein he had so long indulged; that his associates might not have cause so to triumph as to invalidate the Christian testimonies. These my desires were signally answered.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Visits Cornwall—Marriage—Circular yearly meeting for Cornwall—goes into Devonshire—visits Hampshire and attends the yearly meeting in London—visits Friends in Devonshire, Somersetshire and Dorsetshire—Religious engagements in Ireland—Letter to a Friend—return home—Circular yearly meeting at Bewdley in Wales—Letters to several persons.*

FROM the occurrences related in the close of the foregoing chapter, until after I entered into a marriage state, I made no minutes of my religious labours, although I was as constantly engaged as heretofore, in attending yearly and quarterly meetings, &c. in divers parts of the nation, visiting particular meetings of Friends, as well as appointing some for people of other societies; and in the winters, I mostly spent some time in London. Yet so few remarkable incidents occurred, that my movements appeared scarcely worth noting; except that the Lord's

hand was revealed for my help and preservation, through which I was enabled to sustain almost uninterrupted, though varied, fatigue and exercise, both of body and mind. After my sister Ann's marriage, a load of domestic concerns devolved upon me. Through my mother's very great age, and my brother's frequent indisposition, my times of respite from travelling and gospel-labours were far from being seasons of rest. A short time before I married, my left elbow was dislocated by a fall down stairs, and reduced with considerable difficulty. As that joint from my infancy had been weak, and had several times been hurt by falls from my horse, as is before related, it became from this time so weak, as to render my riding single improper, and riding double was rather dangerous, as I could not help myself on horse-back without my arm.

For the fulfilling of every purpose of Divine wisdom there is a particular season; and although I married rather late in life, the connection from its beginning was attended with such singular circumstances, as marked its being superior to nature, although nature had its share in it; and the restrictions laid upon my mind, and that of my beloved husband, were too remarkable to be omitted in the memoirs of the signally providential occurrences of my life.

I have already noted the meeting with William Phillips in 1749, at Swansea. Before that time we were entire strangers to each other, I do not recollect that I had ever heard of him. My mind had been, and was under strong restrictions in regard to entering into the marriage state, should I be solicited thereto; for as it appeared that for a series of years I should be much engaged in travelling for the service of Truth, I feared to indulge thoughts of forming a connection, which, from its incumbrances, might tend to frustrate the intention of Divine wisdom respecting me. This caution tended to keep me reserved in my conduct, towards such as might be likely to entertain views beyond friendship, in their acquaintance with me; and my mind, to the time of our meeting, had been so preserved, as never to admit the least impression of affection beyond that line, with any one.

William Phillips was then a widower, and had two young children. His worldly circumstances I was unacquainted with, further than that I then learned the place of his residence, and somewhat of his business, which was, in part, that of an agent to a copper company. He was considerably older than myself. So that none of these circumstances could of themselves make a connection with him desirable. For as to his employ, which might seem the least exceptionable, it was less pleasing to me than would have been his being his own free man. It was therefore improbable that tem-



poral considerations should bias my mind in his favour; and as to his religious experience, it appeared to be but in its infancy. He had indeed, a frank and open disposition, which, joined to a good understanding, rendered his conversation agreeable; but I had but little opportunity to judge of this, before it appeared that perhaps we might one day unite in the marriage covenant.

Upon observing him strictly, I had the satisfaction to see that his mind was susceptible of the best impressions, and bending out of the world, wherein, in some parts of his conduct, he had taken too great a part. His behaviour to me was prudently restricted, though he afterwards confessed that his mind was affectionately disposed towards me. We were favoured together, especially in one meeting, with the uniting influence of Divine love, but parted merely as common friends. Very soon after, a circumstance happened, which, without the least design on either side, necessarily introduced a correspondence by letters between us; and we exchanged several in restricted terms, suited to our situations.

In a journey to the western counties, I had meetings in some towns where none were established, particularly at Redruth and Truro in Cornwall, at both of which William Phillips was very serviceable; and his spirit being dipped into sympathy with me in my service, and mine with him, under his religious exercises, it tended to strengthen the regard we had for each other; yet such was the restriction we were preserved under, that no sentiment transpired, nor was there any part of his conduct, more than was consistent with friendship: and thus we again parted, and continued our religious correspondence. But my mind becoming doubtful whether I had such an evidence that our intimacy would ever rise higher than friendship, as to warrant my retaining the prospect of it; and ruminating upon the injurious consequences which might ensue to us both, should our affections be engaged contrary to the Divine will; and that, perhaps, the continuing an intimacy with me might prevent his mind from settling upon some other person, who might be a suitable companion for him through life; and seeing clearly, that my religious prospects would not for a long time admit of my changing my situation, I concluded it safest to relinquish our correspondence, and to leave the event of the foundation of affection which was laid, to future time; hoping, that if Divine wisdom designed a nearer union betwixt us, he would prepare my friend to be a suitable helpmate for me. My fear of erring on this occasion was proportioned to that superior love, which bound me to the service appointed me; in the pursuit whereof, I was desirous to relin-

quish every prospect and connection which might retard my fulfilling it: and I continued closely engaged in it for many years, and kept an entire distance from my friend.

In this time our minds became so released from each other, as to be at liberty to entertain other prospects of marriage; and but for the interposition of a watchful Providence, we might each of us have been engaged to our hurt. But however promising the prospect might be to my mind, I never was favoured with true peace, in looking to a marriage connection with any other; and as to my friend, although he had entirely lost the hope of a nearer union with me, however thoughtful he might be respecting its being convenient for him to change his situation, he did not find freedom to propose it to any other woman. Thus we continued separated, and separately exercised; I in close application to public service; and he in his worldly engagements, and under various temptations and conflicts, inwardly and outwardly, which called for the sympathy of a friend; when none was afforded, save that of the never-failing Helper, by whose hand his head was sustained, and he witnessed preservation even as from the "paw of the lion and bear."

In the year 1766, I attended the circular meeting, and visited most of the meetings of Friends in Cornwall. Previously to my taking that journey, I had an intimation in my mind, which seemed to point towards a revival of our intimacy. This happened at a time when I was quite free from impressions of natural affection towards William Phillips; for I was deeply engaged in thoughtfulness respecting another friend, and humbly and earnestly desirous to be informed whether I might safely remove to the place of his residence.

Under this exercise, my mind was turned with uncommon force to Cornwall; and the name of the place where William Phillips resided was revived with such strength, that it was as if vocally spoken in my soul. At the same time I was favoured with the sweet sensation of Divine love and life. And although the removing to this poor country afforded no pleasing view, I was willing to submit, if Divine wisdom appointed it; but as to William Phillips, I doubted his having advanced in religion, so as to render a nearer union with him safe; but I could only judge superficially, the exercised state of his mind being hid from me.

Hannah Shipley, of Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, was my companion in this journey, whose affectionate attention to me, I remember with gratitude; her service also in the ministry was acceptable to Friends.

When we came into Cornwall, I was cautious of giving heed to the before-mentioned intimation; and when I met William Phil-

lips, I was desirous to be favoured with a sense of the state of his spirit; and was thankful to find it bending towards the spring of Divine life, beyond my expectation. We were frequently together while I was in the county; but never alone, so as at all to enter into conversation on the subject of our former correspondence, except when riding on the high road; when one day, he mentioned the trial it was to him that I should so abruptly drop it; and said he had cautiously avoided a conduct which might give me umbrage; and added, that he had never admitted a sentiment of displeasure on the occasion, as he concluded I had some reason for so doing, which was of sufficient weight to myself: but if my being in a single station were the cause, I needed not to have feared him, for although he loved me, hitherto his mind had been under a restriction from endeavouring to pass the bounds of friendship. This was saying more than he had ever done before; but during his being with me in this journey, his behaviour was strictly consistent with friendship only.

One circumstance I think worthy of relating, as it discovered both his sympathy with my religious engagements, and how Divine wisdom works to the effecting of his own purposes. After I left Plymouth, in my way into Cornwall, it appeared that I should have a meeting at Plymouth Dock in my return. This I intimated to a Friend of Plymouth then with me, and desired him to inquire whether a proper place could be procured. This Friend, and another from Plymouth, met me at the circular yearly meeting, which was held at Bodmin, at which also was William Phillips.

They gave me no encouragement of getting a meeting at Dock; indeed it was looked upon improbable that a place large enough for the people could be procured there; so they proposed that a meeting should be appointed at Friends' meeting-house at Plymouth, and that the people of Dock should be invited thereto. This did not seem to promise relief to my mind; for besides the Dock's being three miles distant, the house might probably have been too small for the Plymouth people and them. My concern for the Dock continued, but I said little about it, except hinting it to my brother, who, with divers Friends out of Worcestershire, was at Bodmin. In the night before I left that place it pressed weightily upon my mind; but I could see no way to obtain a meeting, unless William Phillips would accompany me; who I knew had resolution enough to assist in the undertaking. He designed going homeward the next day, and I was reluctant to propose his going with us to Plymouth; but desired, if my exercise for Dock was from the Lord, and it was right for him to assist me therein, that it might

be impressed on his mind to go. After this, my spirit was relieved, and in the morning I heard W. Phillips say to the Friends, I must go to Plymouth, giving as a reason, that he had an uncle there who was unwell. He afterwards told me, this was the only reason he could assign for his mind being forcibly drawn to Plymouth, which it was before he arose; and when at breakfast he heard me inquiring whether a place could be procured at Dock to hold a meeting, he saw the cause of his being drawn to Plymouth, and immediately replied, There is no doubt of it. In our way to Plymouth, we had a large satisfactory meeting in the market-house at Liskeard. At Dock, my brother, Friends from Worcestershire, and William Phillips, obtained a large school-room; which opened into a square. A window was taken out, and I stood in that, so as to speak to the people without; and the house being full within, I believe all might hear, though there was a great concourse of people. It was a favoured opportunity, at which the Friends who accompanied me for the promoting of it were very serviceable; but had not William Phillips assisted them, it did not appear probable that so large a meeting would have been procured, and held so quietly: he was peculiarly fitted for such services.

After my return home, our correspondence by letter revived; but although it soon passed the bounds of mere friendship, our minds were clothed with caution of stepping forward without Divine direction. For some years we saw each other but seldom, and that only as we met in the course of my service; and notwithstanding a nearer union was from time to time pointed out, yet our way not opening clearly to the accomplishment of it, we did not marry until the 15th of seventh month, 1772; when, in a large and solemn meeting held at Bewdley, we took each other in the real fear of the Lord, and therein had a strong evidence of his favour. Many of my friends from the adjacent meetings met us upon the occasion; unto whom my spirit was drawn forth in the best love; wherein, after we had taken each other in marriage, I was led to advise, caution, and encourage them.

The parting from my dear mother had been an affecting circumstance, but it was a great satisfaction to me, that although her faculties were breaking, she was sensible I was removed from her in Divine wisdom. The morning I left her, she took a quiet steady farewell of me, and told me she was satisfied Providence had provided for me, to whose will she was resigned. As my brother proposed accompanying me home, my sister Summerfield staid with our mother in his absence.

After our marriage at Bewdley, we proceeded on our way to my brother Young's at Leo-



minster, where we staid some days, and then went to Swansea, my brother and niece A. Young, accompanying us. In our way to Swansea, we had a meeting at Hereford, and another near Talgarth in Wales, where the Countess of Huntingdon had established a college for the education of young men for the ministry. Some of them came to the meeting, and several behaved rather lightly; but one sought an opportunity with us afterwards, and freely expressed his uneasiness in his present situation, and desired to get amongst Friends. He requested my husband's assistance to procure him a suitable place; but though one pretty soon offered, and he was informed of it, he declined accepting it. Many are shaken by the power of Truth, but few are steadily concerned to build upon its foundation: and therefore it may with sorrow be said, "Many are called, but few chosen." We had also a meeting at Llandilo; which, though not very large, was satisfactory.

We staid at Swansea some weeks, the wind being contrary for our going down the channel. During our stay there, the first and week-day meetings were mostly large and favoured. A particular visitation of Truth was extended to some who had gone out from Friends by marriage and otherwise, who were affectionately entreated, and warned of their danger and trifling with the day of their visitation, which was hastening fast to a conclusion. Several of these were much affected, and two of them soon finished their course. I have admired the mercy of God, even to the backsliders and revolvers from us; from few of whom the witness of Truth is so withdrawn, but that they will confess to it; and many to the latter stage of life are followed with close convictions, and tender calls to return to the heavenly Father's house, and yet continue in a country far remote from it: having so connected themselves with those who are in the spirit of this world, as to conclude it impossible to break loose from them. But, although through inattention to the holy Spirit of light and grace, they may have rendered their way very difficult, and mingled for themselves a bitter cup; yet if they would attend to that Divine love which draws them, they would experience its power to release their spirits from the power of satan, and bring them into "the glorious liberty of the children of God."

I visited the families of those professing Truth in Swansea; but the time for holding the circular meeting for the western counties approaching, and it being to be held this year in Cornwall, my husband was earnest to get home. Another meeting, also, which was usually very large, held annually near his habitation, engaged our attention; therefore, the wind not

serving for us to go to Cornwall, we crossed the channel to Ilfracomb in Devonshire, and through Divine favour landed safely, though not without some danger; and proceeded directly home to Redruth. The first-day after we reached it, we attended the before-mentioned meeting at Key, at which it was supposed there were fifteen hundred people; it was held without doors, and was a favoured opportunity. The next week came on the circular yearly meeting, which was held at Helston, was extremely large, and well attended by Friends; and in divers meetings the testimony of Truth was exalted through several of the Lord's chosen servants. I was largely and livingly opened in his service; by him who alone can qualify for it; to whom I ever desire to ascribe the praise.

For some time after I came home, a pretty many serious people attended our meetings, and doctrine suitable to their states was opened; but most of them were too much under the influence of human teachers to receive the Truth in its simplicity, and walk by its light. I found a concern to appoint a meeting at the place called St. Agnes, a town on the north sea coast. Near this place the people were addicted to the barbarous custom of plundering vessels wrecked upon the coast. Abundance of people collected, so that we were obliged to hold the meeting in the street, which was a remarkably quiet solemn opportunity. Many of the wreckers were supposed to be present, and I had to reprove the practice very closely; which might be supposed to have present effect, for the people exerted themselves to save the cargo of the next vessel that was wrecked.

In a few weeks after the circular meeting, I went to the quarterly meeting for Devonshire, held at Kingsbridge, and thence took a turn into the north of the county, accompanied by William Cookworthy, and several other Friends. We appointed meetings in several places where none were settled, in all of which, except at Great Torrington, we had good satisfaction; and there we had reason to conclude that we appointed the meeting at too late an hour, through condescension to some who expressed a desire to attend it, and could not come sooner. It was first-day, and the evening coming on, a crowd of disorderly people impeded the service; and my mind was the more pained, because an earlier hour had been pointed to me for holding the meeting. We had a good meeting in the town-hall at Launceston, after which William Cookworthy went homewards, and I to Wadebridge. I had a meeting there to satisfaction, and returned home, under the persuasion of having been engaged in the discharge of my duty, and assisted by Divine grace in the performance thereof.

I staid at and about home until near the time of the yearly meeting at Bristol, 1773, which I attended; and thence, accompanied by my dear friend Lydia Hawsworth, went to that in London. We visited the meeting of Friends in Hampshire in our way, and I returned into Cornwall to our quarterly meetings held at Looe, in the seventh month; where my husband met me, and we went together to that for Devonshire, held at Plymouth.

The annual meeting at Key was this year large and satisfactory; after which I went to visit my aged parent and other relations, and attended the circular yearly meeting at Gloucester. I visited the meetings of Friends, as I went along, who were truly glad to see me, and we were favoured together with the sweet influence of Divine love and life. The circular yearly meeting was very large both of Friends and other professors of religion, and was much favoured through the ministry. The select meeting for Friends was a memorable opportunity. Plentiful are the showers of gospel rain which often fall upon these occasions; but in regard to many minds visited, it is like water spilled upon a stone, which, though it wet its surface, doth not change its nature; but in others, I hope it is like "Bread cast upon the waters," a very unstable element, yet it "may return after many days!"

From this meeting I returned home with my friend Sarah Tregelles. In my way I had two large meetings at South Molton to good satisfaction. There are none professing with us in that town; but some Friends from Exeter accompanied us, and others under conviction from the north of Devonshire met us here. I returned home to our quarterly meeting at Penzance, and was thankfully received by my dear husband, whose great affection rendered it hard for him to be so frequently separated from me, but in resignation to the Divine will he was favoured with peace.

In the first month 1774, I had a satisfactory meeting at Helston, in the town-hall. The weather was wet, and the seat whereon I sat was very damp, but on the evening after the meeting I did not find I had taken any cold. Next morning I was well as usual, but suddenly, I found myself much indisposed, and was seized with convulsions in my head. This alarmed my husband, who called upon an apothecary, and I quickly got better, and we went home, where the disorder returned. In a few days however I appeared to be much better, but I quickly relapsed; and in a few weeks was reduced to a state of extreme weakness. My affliction in this time of indisposition was very great, but I was preserved in patience, and when I revived a little, wrote as follows.

"I am now reviving from bodily weakness.

O! that it may be with renewed strength to serve the bounteous Author of my being and blessings, who bringeth low and raiseth up in his wisdom and mercy. He knows when afflictions are needful to his servants; and in this season of weakness, my soul has thankfully acknowledged his tender care, to prevent my spirit's settling with too great attention on "the things which are seen, and which are temporal." We often want to be awakened to seek with greater earnestness those "things which are eternal," viz. righteousness and its consequence, Divine favour; by being put in remembrance, that the time of our departure hence may be at hand. "Blessed," indeed, "is that servant who, when his Lord cometh" and calleth from works to rewards "he shall find watching;" and what great need is there to watch against the encroaching spirit of this world; whereby many quickened, enlightened minds have been benumbed and darkened; and their desires after the food which nourisheth up the soul unto everlasting life, weakened; until at length they have left the Lord's table, and fed with pleasure at the table of idols! The friendships of this world, which are enmity with God, have been delighted and gloried in, and its interests principally sought.

These, though they may appear orderly in the view of men, are in danger of becoming as "trees twice dead;" they having been dead in a state of nature, and quickened by Divine grace. If these totally fall away from their spiritual exercise, how shall they be again renewed? Alas! the judgment is determined; they must be plucked out of the Lord's plantation, wherein only living fruit-bearing trees can remain with acceptance."

"In this time of weakness my spirit hath been renewedly visited, and my understanding opened in Divine love and light: and therefore it rests with me to commemorate it, as a fresh instance of the love of my heavenly Father; who, in all the dispensations of his wisdom to his children, seeks their being perfected in righteousness; that he may more and more bless them with his favour whilst here, and finally receive them into everlasting mansions of bliss."

But although I grew so much better as to get about in the spring, my constitution still laboured under a heavy load, without hope of being entirely relieved; and I was therefore frequently led to pray for patience and resignation to suffer in the way Divine wisdom might permit; and, under great weakness, was enabled in a degree to come up in the service appointed me, in our little meeting and about home. I was reduced so extremely low by this indisposition, as to be doubtful, whether I could have survived it, had I not been removed



from my mother's family; as in that, considering her situation, and my brother's, it was unlikely I should have been so released from care, and so tenderly and affectionately attended to, as by my dear husband, and the assistance he procured for me.

In the seventh month I left home in order to attend the circular yearly meeting and once more visit my aged and honourable parent, who had several times expressed a desire to see me. My husband accompanied me to Torrington, where we had a meeting of Friends scattered round in that neighbourhood. From Torrington we went to Appledore, and crossed the Channel into Wales, and I proceeded to Bristol; where, and in its neighbourhood, I staid until my husband's business admitted his coming to me; and thence we proceeded to Dudley, visiting the meetings of Stourbridge and Worcester in our way. I found my dear mother extremely weak, and her faculties so impaired that she did not know me; yet I thought she was sensible I was one for whom she had a great affection; and after seeing me several times she recollected me, and was much pleased with my company. After I had taken my leave of her, she said, "Now I shall not be here long;" and so it proved, for she died in the following winter.

From Dudley we proceeded to the circular yearly meeting held at Kington, Herefordshire, which, considering the country not being so populous as some others, and but few Friends in the neighbourhood, was large, and for the most part satisfactory. I still continued in a weak state, yet was enabled to take a share in the service, Divine mercy strengthening beyond my expectation. After this meeting we went to Bath, Dr. Fothergill having advised me to drink the waters.

In the spring of 1775 I visited some meetings in Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire, in my way to the yearly meeting at London. Lydia Hawsworth accompanied me in some part of the journey. Such was my state of bodily weakness, that my getting along, and being enabled to go through with the service assigned, claimed my admiration and thankfulness. I attended the meetings in London with considerable diligence, though very unwell, got out of town as soon as I could, and, accompanied by Lydia Hawsworth, went to her mother's, Deborah Waring, at Alton; where I rested a few days, and then proceeded to the quarterly meetings for Hampshire and Dorsetshire held at Ringwood and Poole; and so to our quarterly meeting at Looe. Here I met my dear husband, to our mutual rejoicing, although my languid state affected him painfully. From Looe we returned home, and through Divine favour I so gathered strength, as that in

the eighth month I again left home, accompanied by my husband, intending to go through Wales to the circular yearly meeting. I had several meetings in our own county and Devonshire to good satisfaction, and we crossed the Channel from Appledore to Swansea.

A circumstance happened at Appledore worthy of observation. Some sober people of that place were desirous of a meeting; but I was restrained from having one so public as was wished, yet was quite free to sit down in a friendly woman's house, with such as she might think proper to invite. The meeting was held in an upper room, the window of which fronted the river. A number of serious people came, and I had a favoured opportunity amongst them. Immediately as I sat down, one of the persons present stepped to me, and told me, the vessel we wished to go in was getting under sail. This was unexpected intelligence, as we were informed she would not sail that tide, and had not taken our passage in her. Had we held our meeting in another place, she had probably slipped away without our knowledge; as her sailing was perceived by the before-mentioned person in the meeting from the window. As I was now free to go, I immediately went out at the back-door, into a boat, and on board. My husband went to the inn, and reached the ship, with our clothes, in a boat, before she got over the bar. We had a good passage; but had we missed this opportunity, we should have suffered much in coming in a sloop the next day, as the weather changed to wet and stormy. This is one of the many instances of providential direction I have experienced.

We staid at and about Swansea about two weeks; and thence proceeded to Leominster, Worcester, and Dudley. From Dudley, after spending a short time with my brother, we went to the circular yearly meeting held at Coleshill, Warwickshire; which was large and Divinely favoured. From Coleshill we went through Coventry to Warwick, spent a little time with my sister, who, with her husband and son, were now settled there; and thence we went through Evesham, Painswick, &c. home, where we arrived in safety.

In this winter a concern rested upon my mind once more to visit Friends in Ireland; and in my way to that kingdom, to attend the quarterly meetings at York, Lancaster, and Westmoreland, and the yearly meeting for the four northern counties to be held at Keswick. My beloved friend Lydia Hawsworth was given up to accompany me, and we accordingly prepared for the journey; and in first month 1776 my husband accompanied me to Bristol. The weather was extremely cold, and the snow so deep that the roads in Devonshire, and thence to Bristol, had been impassable, and

were then dangerous; but through Divine favour we got along safely, although the cold was so extreme that it was hard to bear. The road in some places was cut through the snow, so that it looked like passing through a deep hollow way, which had a very striking appearance. At Bristol, my dear husband left me to go to Swansea, where he arrived safely, although the Severn at the New Passage, where it is three miles over, was so full of ice as to render crossing dangerous.

Just at this juncture, my companion's mother died, and she went to attend her funeral. I staid over first-day at Bristol meeting and proceeded, through some meetings in Gloucestershire, &c. to Dudley, where my sister met me. We spent some time together with my brother, and I went to Birmingham, where I was met by my companion, and we proceeded on our journey. Our first meeting was held in the town hall at Stafford, which was large, solemn, and satisfactory. From thence we went to Leek, and passed through several meetings in Cheshire and Lancashire, to Sheffield, and so through many meetings in Yorkshire, to the quarterly meeting at York. After the meeting at York I was concerned to have one at Tadcaster, where there was no Friends' meeting-house; and another near Harwood, which was very satisfactory; and another, on the first-day, at Otley, which was large, and I hope serviceable. Thence we went, through several meetings, to Lancaster, attended the quarterly meeting there, afterwards to Westmoreland quarterly meeting held at Kendal, thence to the yearly meeting at Keswick, and so to Cockermouth and Whitehaven. We had travelled from Birmingham in sixty-two days, five hundred miles, and attended fifty-six meetings; and as much of the service of meetings lay upon me, my natural strength was greatly exhausted before I embarked for Ireland: but I had abundant cause to acknowledge that Divine aid was from time to time dispensed; by which I was enabled to press forward, though under very painful feelings.

We went on board a large vessel at Whitehaven on the 21st of the fourth month, and landed at Dublin the 25th. Our passage was not without danger. One night a vessel run so near ours, that they became entangled in their rigging. The captain and sailors were much alarmed, but we got clear. How imprudent it is for vessels not to hang out their lights. As our preservation was great, it claimed our deep thankfulness: a very little more, and probably one of the vessels had sunk, and the other might have been much damaged. Another night we lay at anchor near the Isle of Man, and had reason to conclude ourselves in shallow water upon a sand-

bank. Had the wind blown up fresh, it might probably have been of bad consequence.

Our captain had not been accustomed to navigate the Irish Channel; and when we drew near Dublin Bar, appeared regardless of the danger of crossing it, wishing to get into port without a pilot, although the wind was rough. A pilot, however, espying us, came on board, and took the vessel safely in; but the tide was so far spent, that she threw up the mud with her keel, as we passed the bank called the Great Bull.

We arrived at Dublin a few days before the national half-year's meeting began. This allowed us time to attend several meetings with the Friends of that city; wherein the spring of the ministry was livingly opened to the states of many professors amongst us: and although I had to lament the stript state of that city, through the removal of useful members, and the weakness of many who remained in the Society; yet was there cause for thankfulness, in feeling the fresh extending of the Divine visitation to them. The half-year's meeting was large, and signally favoured with an awakening searching visitation; and I was so helped therein, that many of my Friends, who had been with me in former services in that nation, rejoiced that the heavenly Master had again sent me to see how they fared.

I write these remarks in reverence and thankfulness to the Great Putter forth and Qualifier for the services he appoints; who, to keep the minds of those whom he favours humble, permits them to be tried with hidden exercises. This was my case through the course of this journey, wherein the spring of gospel-ministry was largely opened; and I often appeared to my friends as clothed with a royal robe, though, underneath, I was girded as with sackcloth.

From Dublin, we proceeded to visit the meetings through the main body of Friends in Leinster province, to that of Ulster; wherein we visited all the meetings, except two or three very small ones, the Friends belonging to which we desired to meet us at another meeting.

We attended the quarterly meetings in both provinces, and returned back to Dublin the 2nd of the seventh month, where we staid until the 12th: in which time we attended meetings either for worship or discipline almost every day; and Divine condescension in opening fresh matter, suited to the several occasions, was so admirable, that it appeared as if every state and office in the Society was ministered to.

By this time my natural strength was much exhausted; yet we pressed on through the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, and were



at a province meeting at Enniscorthy, which was very large and crowned with solemnity. Here we took leave of Friends of that province, and proceeded to that of Munster, wherein there are but few meetings, but the distances mostly long. My reduced state rendered it hard getting along; yet I was enabled to visit all the meetings, except a small one at Bandon, and favoured to discharge my duty therein; although my voice was sometimes so weak, that it was with extreme difficulty I exerted it to speak so as to be understood. When we came to Clonmell, and had attended the meeting there, it seemed proper for us to retire to the house of our friend John Grubb about two miles out of the town; whither I went the 8th of the eighth month, and staid until the 14th, being much indisposed. Here I was affectionately received and attended, and the quarterly meeting for the province being held at Clonmell during my stay there, many Friends came to see me, and we were favoured together. I was enabled to speak beyond my expectation, to the comfort and encouragement of some, and caution of others, and took a solemn farewell of them in the love of Truth.

About this time she penned the following letter, viz.

*To a Friend of Ireland, written a short time before I left it, in the year 1776.*

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—As I have had some cause to doubt the rectitude of our determination of not spending a night at thy house, I am inclined to essay a few lines, as a friendly salutation, as well as to intimate what appeared to me proper to recommend to thy consideration and practice. As a member of Society, disengaged from the necessity of being much employed in worldly business, it behoves thee to attend steadily to the filling up that station in the church, for which Divine wisdom designed thee; that, glorifying him with thy body, spirit, and substance, thou mayest, in the conclusion of time, receive the answer of “Well done good and faithful servant;” which those are not likely to be favoured with, who “dwell in their ceiled houses,” and settle down in the enjoyment of their temporal possessions, while the Lord’s house lies waste.

There are so few who are of clean hands, and are therefore fit to take part in the active services in the church, that I cannot but regret the loss of some who are seeking concealment, contenting themselves with preserving a fair character amongst men, and attending on the external duties of religion; but who, had they devoted their faculties to the Lord’s service, might have been girded for it, and stood as in the front of the battle. Thus, clothed with

concern for the welfare of their fellow members in Society, their zeal for the promotion of Truth would, in an especial manner, be manifested by an engagement to cleanse the camp from those who bring a reproach on our holy profession; and for the preservation of our youth from the snares of the enemy. Well, my friend, it is with me to query whether thou hast taken thy proper share in this work, or hast been excusing thyself, and leaving it to others.

I know nothing by outward information, but as something like a jealously rested on my mind respecting thee, I am willing to intimate it; at the same time assuring thee of my esteem for thee, as one of the Lord’s visited children; who, I hope, has been in a good degree preserved “from the corruptions that are in the world through lust;” and hast received a portion of that precious faith, which in all ages has been delivered to the saints, through which some in the present day have obtained a good report, and been rendered very serviceable. Whether thou mightest not have stood amongst those chosen, and (shall I say) dignified servants, it behoves thee to inquire. Must the poor and the illiterate, who are “rich in faith” and good works, be brought to condemn those amongst us who have received much spiritually, naturally, and temporally? Yea, verily: some of these have done so little that the sins of omission must be chargeable upon them; whilst others who have had to struggle under difficulties in regard to temporal things, and appeared comparatively to be of but low understandings, have come up nobly in the Lord’s cause, and shone as stars in the firmament of his power. Well, my friend, look to thy part of the work, and solemnly attend to the filling up thy measure in righteousness. “Let no man take thy crown.”

Something of this sort seemed to point towards thee; and in that love which seeketh thy increasing in the increases of God, do I communicate it; and now add a few words in regard to thy wife, for whom thou art doubtless tenderly concerned, and, considering her delicate constitution, mayest justly fear the consequences of her nursing unavailing sorrow. I wish she would imitate David, who, when the child was dead, arose and washed himself and ate: for it is no doubt acceptable to kind Providence, that when we are deprived of one temporal blessing, we should humbly rejoice in those which remain, and say with Job, The Lord gave and hath taken away, and blessed be his name. Hath he not a right to recall what he hath sent us? But unprofitably to sink under such strokes of his hand, appears to me to savour of the sorrow of the world, which worketh death, sometimes both to body and spirit, if persisted in. I therefore beg she will

look from the beloved object, now no more her's; and consider how graciously the Father of mercies hath dealt with him, in removing him thus early from this state of conflicts. When our attention is rightly turned to consider what is lacking in ourselves, we are not so subject unprofitably to ruminate on circumstances like these; but, being principally concerned to be prepared to participate in the happiness of those "who die in the Lord," shall desire that all may finally "work together for our good."

I now conclude in true love, your friend,

CATHARINE PAYTON.

N. B. These Friends had lately lost a young son.

The 14th, we went to Waterford, but I continued so much indisposed, that it appeared best to go into the country; so we retired to a village called Tramore, by the sea-side. Here we staid from the 15th of the eighth month, till the 9th of the ninth month. My indisposition continued and reduced me very low; but blessed be the Lord, his hand sustained me; and through all, my spirit was at times set at liberty in his service to the admiration of myself and friends; many of whom from Waterford came to us there, and we had divers seasonable opportunities with them, as well as with some who were at the place to bathe in the sea. My nerves being extremely weak, I was also advised to bathe, by the doctor who attended me, but I believe it had rather a bad effect. We had not staid at Tramore so long, had there been a suitable vessel at Waterford, ready to sail for England. On our return thither, we had two meetings with Friends in a large parlour, at the house of our friend Isaac Jacobs, my voice not being equal to a meeting in the meeting-house. Thus we visited Friends in that city pretty generally, and the 12th embarked on board a vessel bound for Minehead. Our friend Robert Grubb, of Clonmell, accompanied us, being in sympathy inclined thereto; which we accepted as a favour from Providence.

Our passage was easy as to wind; but my great indisposition, and my companion's extreme sea-sickness seemed to render such an assistant necessary, and he was very attentive and serviceable to us. When we came near our desired port, the wind turned against us and the weather became rough. However, the captain got over the bar just in time, for had we been but one hour later, we must have been driven back to sea, if not to Waterford: we landed at Minehead the 14th. There is only Robert Davies's family of our Society in that town. He was from home, but one of his children met us upon the beach, from whence it was a long walk to his house. When we came into the street, we saw an empty cart

going up it, and asked the carter to carry us to our friend's, which he readily did. My dear husband met us here, to our mutual satisfaction; though to receive me back in so weak a state was affecting to him. The 15th was first-day, but I did not attend the meeting at the meeting-house, but had an opportunity in the afternoon with the Friends belonging to it, in our friend's parlour.

The 16th, we left Minehead, and travelled homewards by easy stages, my dear companion accompanying me to the verge of our county, whence she turned to the circular yearly meeting held at Bridgewater. She was indeed a most tender affectionate companion, and a deep traveller in spirit, both in meetings and private opportunities: and although her public service in this journey was not large, it was very acceptable; and her private labours in many families were signally under that heavenly anointing, from which she was concerned to minister. I hoped to have been able to attend the circular yearly meeting, and pressed forward in Ireland, in the fore part of this journey, in order to get to England in time; but after our return from the north of Dublin, it was much impressed upon my mind, that I should have but just strength to accomplish the service in that nation, and so it proved.

I had travelled in this journey in England and Ireland, about two thousand English miles, and attended one hundred and ninety two meetings, besides family opportunities, and visiting the sick. Sometimes we had several private meetings of this kind in one day, and seldom were without one, at least.

After my return home, I continued much indisposed, and my nerves so irritable that I had continual spasms for a considerable time; and my dear brother James Payton came to visit me, and becoming very unwell, was detained the winter. As I gathered strength, I was enabled to attend upon little services about home; and my friend Lydia Hawksworth coming to see me, we visited the families of Friends in Falmouth and Marazion monthly meetings, except one or two of each, whom I afterwards saw: in this service the Lord was with us of a truth. Soon after Lydia Hawksworth left me, Sarah Stevenson came to visit Friends in this county; in company with whom, I visited most of the families belonging to Austle monthly meeting, to our mutual satisfaction; my dear husband accompanying us in this service.

Until the seventh month in this year 1777, I had not been out of Cornwall since my return from Ireland in the ninth month 1776, which was the longest period I remember to have been confined within the limits of one county, since my first journey in the service of Truth into Wales, in the year 1749. I do not mention



this as thinking much of my services; for although it has been my lot to be more constantly employed than many others of my fellow-labourers, I can truly say, I frequently look upon myself as an unprofitable servant; and when laid by a little, have to ruminate upon my many weaknesses; under a sense whereof I feelingly acknowledge that what I am, that is acceptable to the Lord, or honourable in his house, I am through his grace; and I often admire at his employing me so much in his service.

In the seventh month this year, in company with my dear husband, I went to Swansea, his business, and to visit his mother, calling him thither. In our way we had a meeting with Friends in the north of Devonshire; but being yet very weak, I was easy to pass along without engaging much in public service. We had a good meeting at Appledore with some serious people, and crossed the Channel to Swansea, where we staid about two weeks, and proceeded to Bristol.

In our way between Newport and the New Passage, which we intended to cross, we received information that the Passage-house was so full of people that there was no probability of our getting a lodging there; so my husband intended going forward to Chepstow, though neither of us liked the prospect of crossing at the Old Passage; but our minds, especially mine, not being easy to proceed thither, we stopped at a small inn about two miles from the New Passage, and got a comfortable lodging, and next morning proceeded to the New Passage. We got safely over the Channel, although the wind was squally; but the same tide, the boat from the Old Passage was lost, even while we were on the water, and several men, with many oxen, drowned. Had we gone to Chepstow we should most probably have been in her. Thus kind Providence signally preserved us.

After about a week's stay at Bristol, and visiting Frenchay meeting, we went to Worcester, so to Bromsgrove and Dudley. I was still in a very weak state, yet enabled to attend meetings, and labour in them to the comfort of my friends and my own peace; although at times in great bodily pain. My sister met me at Dudley, and we were glad to see each other. From Dudley we proceeded to the circular yearly meeting held this year at Bewdley; and in our way we had a meeting with Friends at Stourbridge, wherein my weakness was such, that I could hardly impart what pressed upon my mind so as to be heard. I was discouraged from looking towards the solemnity at Bewdley, with expectation of being able to take much part in the public service; but was desirous to be assisted to labour in spirit for the help of my

brethren and sisters engaged therein. On the seventh-day evening, the meeting for ministers and elders was held, wherein I had something to impart, in so low a voice as painfully to affect my friends; who might reasonably conclude it probable that my strength was so exhausted, as that I should not long be capable of public labour in the church; and indeed my own feelings of general weakness coincided with that apprehension; but in the course of the public meetings the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested, in strengthening me for service, to the admiration of all who saw my extreme weakness, and my own also. Indeed with humble gratitude I may acknowledge that it appeared miraculous; for I do not know whether I was ever able to speak with greater strength of voice and sentiment, than in the last meeting; so that although the booth was very large and crowded, I believe all might hear: and to the praise of the Great Name be it commemorated that his power was signally over the meeting.

This extraordinary manifestation of favour tended to strengthen my mind, which for a long time had been sorely exercised with many fears, insomuch that my spirit was weary in the conflict, and ready to hope for death rather than life. Yet was I secretly sustained so as to press forward, and mostly to preserve a cheerful countenance, so that my friends could not perceive how my spirit was exercised and abased in the sense of infirmities, even when I was evidently clothed for service. Thus it hath pleased Divine wisdom to permit me to be tried in my passing along from youth to advanced age: doubtless for some good end, and I desire thankfully to commemorate his gracious and wise dealings with me, in humble hope that finally all will work together for good; when, having filled up my measure of sufferings, I may be accepted in and through his beloved Son. It is not for us to query why these afflicting dispensations are appointed, but patiently to endeavour to wade through them. We may be certain they will tend to humble our spirits and prepare for service, as my soul hath many times experienced; and therefore can pray, that I may be passive in regard to the dealings of the Lord with me, who best knows what is necessary to effect the glorious purpose he has in view, viz. the thorough sanctification of my spirit, and reducing it into "the obedience of Christ:" concerning whom it is written "Although he was a son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered;" and if so, his servants can expect no other.

I have sometimes considered what that suffering of Christ was, whereby he learned obedience; seeing that he could not suffer for disobedience, being in all things subject to the will

of his Father. But as man he was made like unto us, and had the same feelings as have the members of his mystical body; and although he was never overcome of the enemy, was liable to be assaulted by him. He had to bear the contradiction of sinners against himself; and, no doubt, in the course of his ministry felt the oppressive weight of contrary and wicked spirits, as the members of his church now do in their measure.

As man, we may suppose that he had the same reluctance to pain and insult as we have; but in submission to his Father's will, did and suffered what he in wisdom and mercy to mankind appointed him. His followers also must thus "be made conformable to his death," if they have part with him in his resurrection unto glory. And although some of them may be left in seasons of extreme conflict, as he was in the most extreme, without the sensible feeling of the Divine presence; yet that power which appoints their suffering, secretly sustains under it; and when they have filled up their "measure of suffering for his body's sake, which is his Church," with all other afflictions attendant on this probationary state, they will with him be able to say, "It is finished;" and as good and faithful servants enter into the joy of their Lord.

After the before-mentioned memorable meeting at Bewdley, I recruited in health, though yet attended with very painful feelings. We returned home pretty directly, taking the quarterly meeting for Somersetshire, and some other meetings in our way; and the remainder of this year I spent at home, attending to services in our own county as they opened.

The 20th of the fourth month 1778, I again left it in company with my dear husband, intending for Wales, he having business there, and I had an engagement to attend the yearly meeting for that principality. We proceeded to Ilfracomb, and, in our way, had a meeting with Friends in the north of Devon at Newtown. At Ilfracomb we had a large satisfactory meeting, amongst a people very ignorant of our principles. We were detained here by contrary winds until first-day, and as we sat together in the morning, I earnestly desired to know whether any further service was required; as it did not appear probable we should be released that day; and afterwards as I sat quietly in my chamber, our Lord's words to his disciples arose in my mind, "Arise, let us go hence," and soon after, the captain of the vessel came and told us he intended to sail. We went on board in the afternoon, and before midnight landed at the Mumbles, and the next morning proceeded to Swansea. My husband's mother was lately dead; concerning whom I may say, that she was an exercised woman,

and I believe finished her course with joy, about the ninety-seventh year of her age; and except her hearing, she retained her faculties to admiration. As her furniture, with her servants, remained in her house, we settled there.

The 2nd of the fifth month we went for the Welch yearly meeting, and were at a meeting by the way at New Inn meeting-house, which was large and very satisfactory. Samuel Spavold of Hitchin in Hertfordshire, John Lewis of Haverford-west, and Thomas Carrington, from North America, were there also; and we went in company that afternoon to a meeting which was appointed by John Lewis, at a Friend's house, not far out of the way to Llandovery, and to Llandovery the same night. Here the yearly meeting was held, and began the next day; and through the various sittings, was a favoured season both to Friends and others. The weather being very wet, it was not so large as was expected, but many sober people attended, unto whom the gospel flowed freely. In the course of my travels before my marriage, I had two very satisfactory meetings at this place, where none else who profess with us.

My spirit, in the course of the yearly meeting, was dipped into sympathy with the few Friends scattered about Wales: and to those who were there assembled, encouragement and instruction were afforded. In our return to Swansea, we had a large and much favoured meeting at Llandily; the before-mentioned Friends and John Townsend of London attending it. They went back to a meeting at the New Inn meeting-house, and next day we all met again at Swansea. The afternoon meeting there was large, solemn, and instructive.

We staid at Swansea until the 14th, then went to Cardiff, and on the next morning had a small meeting there with a few who met together on the first-day; several of whom were not in membership with us. I was very unwell, but was helped to speak to their states, and was well satisfied with the opportunity. We reached the New Passage that night, and next day we got to Bristol to attend the yearly meeting there, which was large and divinely favoured. Samuel Spavold, John Townsend, Thomas Carrington, and other Friends in the ministry attended it.

On the 21st I was at a meeting at Frenchay, with Thomas Waring of Leominster; and after the meeting, my friend Lydia Hawksworth and I had a good opportunity with a young woman, who was likely to marry out of the Society. She was much affected, yet held her resolution to engage in the connexion. Her intended husband was a man of property, and had long resided in America, where he took her, and there she died.



In the afternoon we had a favoured season at Joseph Beck's, with many young people, and returned that night to Bristol. The 24th (first-day), we were at Claverham meeting, the 25th and 26th at Bristol; myself unwell.

The 27th, I was at Bath meeting, which was not large but favoured, returned to Bristol, and the 30th, we went to Pont-y-pool. The 31st (first-day), we attended two meetings at Friends meeting-house at Pont-y-moel, near Pont-y-pool. That in the morning was principally for Friends, that in the afternoon was large, and both opportunities were crowned with the Divine presence.

Sixth month 1st, we had a meeting at Cardiff with a few sober people. In our way back to Swansea we called upon a convinced woman, who lived alone near Cowbridge, who was comforted by our visit. We staid at Swansea, until the 12th, attending the meetings there in their course, some of which were seasons of Divine favour. My mind being drawn to visit the few Friends at Haverford-west, my husband accompanied me there. The way was long, and my strength much exhausted by the before-mentioned services; but I was favoured with ability to discharge my duty. We had a large meeting at Carmarthen the evening we left Swansea, and next day got to Haverford-west; attended two public meetings there on the 14th, it being first-day, and in the evening had a private opportunity with Friends. We had considerable satisfaction in this journey, and returned to Swansea, accompanied by our friend John Lewis, the 16th.

The 18th was the quarterly meeting at Swansea, which although very small was a solemn opportunity; Divine mercy favouring the few assembled from the several meetings, with counsel and encouragement. The 19th, John Lewis and myself had a meeting in the town-hall at Neath, which was not so large as we expected, but, I believe it was a profitable season to some present. The 20th, we went to Llantriffent, and the 21st attended two large meetings at Trêf-y-Ryhg, a meeting-house in the country.

The morning-meeting was much favoured. The few from Cardiff, and the poor lonely woman near Cowbridge, met us, and we had an opportunity with them and a few other Friends at a Friend's house. In our return to Swansea, we had a meeting at Bridgend, in a bowling-green, wherein was an arbour, under which I stood. The people were very still, and I hope some were benefited. I was extremely fatigued with this journey, having performed it mostly on horseback, double; which appeared the best method of travelling in some part of the journey, but I found my strength was not equal to that exercise in such long stages.

The 28th (first-day) I attended a small meeting held at Neath, in a Friend's house, in the morning; and in the evening had a very large meeting at White Rock, amongst the workmen of the Copper House and others. This was the last meeting I appointed in Wales, and left Swansea with peace and thankfulness the 27th of the sixth month, and returned to it no more. We reached Bristol the 29th, and got to Wellington the 1st of the seventh month, attending the first-day meetings there: that in the afternoon was very large, and both were good meetings. The 5th, we had a living meeting at Camelford in Cornwall, amongst a people not professing with us; but some of whom appeared to me to be near the kingdom. The 6th, we got home.

*Extract of a letter to a Member of our Society, who had spent much of his time very inconsistently with his profession of religion, and was favoured with a Divine visitation when far advanced in life.*

6th of the Sixth Month, 1778.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I have several times thought of writing thee since our return from Bristol, but till now have neglected it; and as I know not but we may pretty soon turn homewards, it may appear the less needful for me to do it; but as my mind still bends towards thee, in an affectionate concern for thy more firm establishment in the Truth, I am willing to tell thee so, and earnestly request thy constant attention to its dictates; that thereby thou mayest be led out of corrupt self in all its appearances, and consequently, into that holy simplicity of mind and manners, which characterises a disciple of Christ.

I have been much afraid lest thou should settle down in a partially converted state, and after having deeply tasted of the terrors of the Lord for past sins, which indeed were flagrant, shouldst content thyself with forsaking them, and neglect to press after inward righteousness.

I hope thou wilt excuse me for being thus plain with thee, and that I shall explain my meaning in some degree to thy satisfaction, when I tell thee, that the observations I have made at thy aiming after grandeur or show in thy appearance and furniture, have given me pain, as I know it to be the fruit of a mind not truly or fully humbled.

In the general, in the infancy of religion, when conviction for past offences has gone deep enough, the mind is very scrupulous and fearful of receiving a fresh wound by the indulgence of the natural inclination; and frequently is led into so strait a path, that when it has been well disciplined by the cross, a little more liberty is allowed in the use of some things,

which in that state it was restrained from. This has appeared to me as passing under the dispensation of John the Baptist, which was preparatory to that of Christ, and must be experienced in our religious progress. For, although the necessity of the outward shadowy baptism cease, we must be plunged in Jordan, the river of judgement: and as John appeared in great austerity and mortification, having "a garment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his meat was locusts and wild honey;" so renewed minds must know that life to be slain, which delights itself in grand appearances and delicacies, and be content with mean things; so as to walk in contrariety to the world, and be sequestered from it, as John was in the wilderness. Under this dispensation of mortification, the mountains and hills are brought down, and the vallies are exalted, and the way of the Lord is prepared; unto which, as the soul is reconciled, rough ways are rendered smooth, and crooked paths straight; and the salvation of God is revealed; and there is an entering into the innocent liberty of the Lord's children, in the use of his creatures. For although "John came neither eating nor drinking," the Lord Jesus came "eating and drinking," yet in reverence and fear; and though he was "Lord of all, he became of no reputation," and took upon him the appearance of a servant.

Well, my friend, these things are written for our instruction, and are worthy our attentive consideration, that we may see whether we are endeavouring to enter "through the gate into the city" of the saints solemnities. We read, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way which leads to life;" and alas! "few find it." The indulgence of the fleshly mind and natural inclination, prevents many from seeing it; and though some have seen it, they have not steadily persevered in striving to enter in; and therefore have rested short of that perfected righteousness they had once a prospect of. Let not this be thy case, but earnestly desire that thy understanding may be fully opened into this holy highway which leads to the kingdom, and thine eye be preserved single to God's honour, that thou mayest be enabled so to run as to obtain the glorious crown of immortality.

Consider thou hast set out late in this important race, and therefore it behoves thee to use great diligence in endeavouring to overcome thy spiritual enemies; all of which will be manifested, as thine eye is single, for then thy "whole body will be full of light:" so that thou wilt be preserved from entering into a league with such of the old inhabitants of thine heart, as are appointed to utter destruction.

The Israelites were deceived by the appearance of the wily Gibeonites, thinking them to

have come from a far country, when they were near neighbours; as many, for want of cautious watching in the light, which maketh manifest what is hurtful in its tendency, have been deceived, and united with those dispositions, in one shape or another, which were for judgement.

And it just presents further to say, Beware of that which is without the sacred limits of divine prescription. So wilt thou be preserved from all the snares of a subtle enemy, who, so long as he is permitted to tempt us, can suit his baits to every station and situation of life, and to every stage of our religious experience; which manifests the propriety of our Saviour's precept, not only to one but to all of his disciples; "Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation."

CATHARINE PHILLIPS.

The 31st of this month I had a meeting at the house of a man lately convinced, in the parish of Breague; where some hundreds of people gathered, that we were obliged to hold it without doors. They generally behaved well, and some were much affected. It was a favoured opportunity, and I was truly thankful for Divine aid to discharge my duty therein.

The 13th of the ninth month, the circular yearly meeting for the western counties began. It was held at Launceston, and was a large and favoured solemnity; and, although I did not think the ministry rose so high as I have known it in some of those general meetings, it appeared to be a serviceable opportunity, and the people seemed well satisfied therewith. I spent the remaining part of this year about home, and was favoured in occasional services there amongst Friends and others. Upon considering the service wherein I have been engaged since I settled in Cornwall, I see cause for true thankfulness, having therein been owned by the heavenly Master: and although in regard to uniting with us as a people, much fruit has not appeared; the testimony of Truth seems to gain ground amongst the inhabitants, and some of our own Society, and others, are awakened and strengthened thereby; so that I trust I have not run or laboured in vain altogether. May the Lord preserve me humble and dependent upon himself, that whatsoever I am or do, it may be by his grace.

In the first month, 1779, our quarterly meeting at Austle was a memorable season of Divine love, wherein many states were ministered to, and many hearts tendered. The rebellious were warned, and I believe some of them saw the imminent danger of their states; but, alas! the prophet's complaint respecting Ephraim, &c. too well befits many visited minds. "Their righteousness is as a morning cloud, and as the early dew which soon passeth



away;" yet I trust the savour of love and life witnessed in this meeting rested sweetly upon some minds.

For some time after this meeting, my exercise for some of the members of our own Society was heavy, and I was livingly opened in several meetings, and private opportunities, agreeably to their states; so that whether the labour bestowed hath its desired effect, or be as water spilt upon a stone, I hope to be clear respecting them: and great is the mercy of God in visiting and revisiting them.

The 1st of third month, I had a large good meeting at Helston, which many serious and religious people attended, and I believe were instructed and refreshed.

Copy of a letter to a young man from America, viz;

*To a young man, an American.*

RESPECTED FRIEND,—I conclude this will meet thee preparing to return to thy native country; and I wish thy mind may be impressed with a due sense of the mercies of God vouchsafed to thee in this land, and with an awful inquiry whether thou hast so profited therein, as to return to thy own, wiser and better than thou left it. I am assured that thou hast been favoured with a Divine visitation, intended to subdue thy natural will, regulate thy affections, and bound thy pursuits after the acquisition of either interest, pleasures, or knowledge, merely terrestrial; and so to reduce the whole man, that thy mind, being bent upon higher attainments than what would only gratify the natural will and desires, might become capable of enjoying the one only unmixed supreme good; and, being devoted to the service of its bounteous Creator and Benefactor through time, might participate with him in unchangeable happiness when it terminates. I entreat thee to inquire how far this glorious end has been accomplished and do not slight that great salvation, which in infinite mercy has been offered thee. I fear thy views have been after that honour which is of men, and that the wisdom which will one day be manifested to be foolishness, has been preferred to that which is pure, and which therefore so recommends to the Lord's favour, as to make men his friends. He has favoured thee with natural gifts, which, if sanctified by his refining Spirit, might render thee useful in time. Consider how they have been employed, for be assured, thou wilt one day see that, where much is given, much will be required, and that, "mighty men," if they counteract the design of their creation, will be "mightily tormented" with pungent and unavailing remorse. Therefore prize the day of the Lord's visitation to thy soul, and solemnly

attend to the "reproofs of instruction," as the alone way to true happiness, both in time and eternity.

As I intended consigning the inclosed to thy care, an unexpected inclination arose thus to address thee, and express my desire for thy preservation and welfare every way. If thou should be favoured to attain thy native shore, thou mayest perhaps have to remember my labour of love for thee: and O! saith my soul, may it, with that of others my fellow-labourers, not be bestowed in vain.

My love to the several branches of thy family with whom I am acquainted. Thy father's kindness in accompanying me and my dear companion Mary Peisley when travelling through America, is fresh in my remembrance. Remember me also to such other friends of my acquaintance, as may inquire for me, who am thy real friend, CATHARINE PHILLIPS.

*To B. H.—Yorkshire.*

DEAR FRIEND,—Thy affectionate salutation of the 7th ult. I received and read with a degree of satisfaction, as it evinced I lived in the remembrance of an absent friend. When spiritual sympathy is felt with each other, it strengthens the hope of our being continued in the holy membership of the living body of Christ.

Sometime before the receipt of thine, I had been closely tried, and, although I am favoured to know on whom to depend for succour and support, encouragement from my fellow-travellers Sion-ward, is truly acceptable. There are seasons, wherein I doubt not but it is a cordial to the most advanced; but as for me, I many times fear I am behind some who have not been called to stand forth so conspicuously in the front of the battle; but whose hidden life may be with Christ, in a greater degree than mine, or some others who have moved in an active sphere. Certainly to be called up into active service, is a token of Divine approbation; but if any servants who have thus been frequently distinguished, should measure themselves by the services they have been assisted to perform, they may and will centre in deception, respecting their real spiritual state; and may clothe themselves with the Lord's jewels, when they are not adorned with the truly beautiful covering of humility, and a fear of endeavouring to appear to be any thing but what they are through his grace. Thus self-consequence may get up, and if such are not watchful, it will get up, and occasion pain to the truly feeling, though less active members of the church. My sincere and earnest desire is, and indeed for a series of years has been, for preservation from

it, and that I may constantly centre in my own littleness, yea nothingness: for indeed in my flesh dwelleth no good thing. All good, and the power of showing it forth, is of and from its own Divine source. Who are great, but those whom the Lord sees meet to dignify? All is the effect of his wisdom, power, and mercy: therefore to him be the praise, saith my soul; and may I ever humbly confess before him, that I am nothing, nor can do any thing, but as he puts me forth.

Dear friend, the work of purification is a great and deep work. May we attend to it, and not seek great things to ourselves, either spiritually, naturally, or temporally, that we may be distinguished among men; but be concerned, that the inside-work of the temple may be completed; and the outside will not want the ornaments Divine wisdom designed it; but we shall move and act in the church in pure gospel simplicity, which will ever tend to its edification.

I was glad to receive a late account that T. Colley and his companion were returned from their perilous voyage. I also hope that there may be some occasion to rejoice, that the Lord is visiting his people in your county (once distinguished for its worthies in Israel), because I hear there are divers late appearances in the ministry among you. May the spirit of the departed Elijahs, so rest upon some of the present generation, that they may go forth in the same spirit and power wherein they acted; and become instrumental to turn the "hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just." A truly living baptizing ministry is much wanted among us; but except the Lord in mercy favour us with such a ministry, silence in our solemn meetings is far preferable. Alas! few, very few indeed, of the present warriors appear to be thoroughly accoutred for the battle of the day. Some are essaying to go forth as in Saul's armour, the wisdom of men decorated with literature; but it will not do the Lord's work. Weapons despised by the worldly wise, are far more efficacious; and although the users of them may be despised also, they are chosen to confound the human wisdom of such, and, if they keep within the bounds of his appointment, will glorify his name.

I doubt not but that many of my friends in Yorkshire, will be pleased to know that I am better in health than when last in London. I had a long season of weakness after that journey, and am yet weak, compared to what I have been. Remember me affectionately to such of them, as thou knowest will be pleased to receive that salutation; particularly to thy brother and sister, and my cousin S. B. Thy wife and self will receive the same,

From thy affectionate friend,

CATHARINE PHILLIPS.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Visits to Gloucestershire and Somersetshire—attends the yearly meeting in London—religious engagements on the way home—visits meetings in Warwickshire, Worcesterhire, Shropshire, and Gloucestershire—attends several circular yearly meetings—meetings in Bedfordshire, and Devonshire—yearly meeting in London—at Truro in Cornwall—remarks on Oratorios—Death of her husband.*

FOR some time I had entertained a prospect of visiting some meetings in Somersetshire and Gloucestershire, and paying a particular visit to the families of Friends in Herefordshire. I left home to accomplish this service, accompanied by my dear husband; and on the 13th of the third month 1779, we met our friend Lydia Hawksworth, who was concerned to accompany me therein, at Wellington. The 14th, being the first of the week, we attended Friends' meeting at Spiceland; and in the evening had a select opportunity with Friends at Wellington. My husband then proceeded to Bristol on business: we industriously pursued our concern, visiting many meetings that week; and on the 21st, first-day, were met by my husband and my brother James Payton, at Puddimore meeting. We went the same evening to Compton in Dorsetshire, to visit our valuable friends Jonah Thomson and his son; spent the next day with them; and in the evening had a meeting with their scholars and others of the family and many of the neighbours, in the school-room, which was a favoured season; and we proceeded to Sherborn meeting on the 24th. Here my husband and brother left us, and next morning we proceeded to Hollowtrow, had a meeting there in the afternoon, went the same night to Pensford, next day to a meeting at Bolton, thence to Chew Magna, and were at the first-day meeting held there on the 28th.

The 30th we had a meeting at Portshead, and crossed the Avon at Pill, were at King's Weston meeting on the 31st; thence went to those at Olveston and Thornbury, and thence to Worcester. In these meetings in the counties of Somerset and Gloucester, I was enabled to discharge my duty to my own humbling admiration, and the edification of many who attended them.

The quarterly meeting for the county of Worcester being held at Worcester, we attended it, and also two meetings with Friends of that city; and on the 7th of the fourth month, went to Bramyard in Herefordshire, where we were met by my brother Young and Thomas Waring of Leominster; who united with us in the intended visit to the families of Friends in that county, which we began at this place. In this laborious and important service we were



Divinely assisted. My dear companion had a considerable and very acceptable share therein; which was generally the case in family visits, and private opportunities, although she was frequently silent in public meetings. She was peculiarly gifted for these private services, and when she did appear in public ministry, her service therein was very edifying, and acceptable to Friends. Having an intention to return to Bristol before the yearly meeting was held there, we pursued this service with diligence, and on the 24th of the fourth month, we paid our last visit.

My brother Young had accompanied us through the visit, but Thomas Waring left us at Almely on the 18th, their company was acceptable and strengthening to us.

On the 25th (being first-day) we had a meeting at Shire Newton in Monmouthshire, which was attended by many of the Welch people, and the few Friends in the neighbourhood, and, I believe was an acceptable opportunity to them. In the evening we had a meeting with Mary Powel of Chepstow and some others. She was the only member of our Society residing in that town; where a meeting of Friends was never settled. Next morning, we proceeded to the New Passage, but the boat being gone a few minutes before we reached it, we were detained until the evening tide; but, through Divine mercy, we got safely over, and reached Bristol about ten o'clock the same night.

My husband staid with me at Bristol until the yearly meeting there was ended, which was large and attended by many ministering Friends of this nation and America; yet a large share of the public labour in the ministry fell to my lot, at which I believe my brethren and sisters rejoiced; for I was assisted to minister in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power; and returned the praise due to Him who exalts and abases his servants, as he knows is most conducive to his honour, and to their preservation. I staid at Bristol to attend the marriage of two Friends with whom I was acquainted; and then, accompanied by my husband, set out for London. We attended a few meetings in our way, and reached London about a week before the yearly meeting, myself much spent with hard labour and exercise. I was enabled to attend the meetings in course, during the sitting of the yearly meeting; and after its conclusion, with my husband and friend Lydia Hawkesthorn, proceeded to Calne in Wiltshire, attended the meeting of Friends there in the morning of the first-day, and had a public meeting at Chippenham, appointed to begin at six in the evening. The meeting was large, and was a favoured opportunity; the people not professing with us behaved with becoming seriousness, and some

of them were visibly affected. It was long in gathering, which might occasion its being late before it concluded; yet my inclination being strong to go to Melksham that night, we proceeded thither. Before we reached it, the family where we were to lodge were in bed, but the master of it, my relation Thomas Fowler, came down and received us with great kindness. Next day my dear husband left us and went to Bristol and Swansea. I had a view of visiting some places in the neighbourhood; but my strength was exhausted too much to suffer me to engage immediately upon service. In the next night I was much indisposed, and in the morning sent for an apothecary, who thought my disorder was the effects of a cold; but it proved a fever, which, with the weakness attendant thereon, confined me for some weeks with these my affectionate relations; whose tender care and generous treatment of me, both now and at all times, when my lot was cast under their hospitable roof, demands my grateful acknowledgement, both of their kindness, and that of my heavenly Father; whose mercy was at this time signally discovered in upholding my enfeebled frame until I came to Friends by whom I was so well nursed, and with whom my mind was so easy. My affectionate companion continued also with me, and tenderly assisted me until my fever went off. My husband returned to me; but his business calling him home, and my strength not being equal to so long a journey, he left me to the care of my friends. As my strength returned, my prospect of some service in the neighbourhood returned also, and I ventured to the meeting at Bradford upon a first-day; but my principal concern was to hold a public meeting at Trowbridge, in which town no one resided who professed with Friends. I went in weakness, accompanied by several Friends, and appeared to a Friend of London who casually met me there so emaciated, that when she returned home, she reported amongst Friends there, that it appeared to her my labours were nearly accomplished. We held a meeting in a large dining-room at the inn, which was attended by many attentive well-behaved people; and the testimony of Truth was exalted amongst them, to the praise of Him who strengthens for every service in which he engages his servants. I was that day made strong to declare of his wisdom and mercy, and preach the doctrines of his Son Jesus Christ; and returned to Melksham in peace, and with thankfulness for the assistance afforded in that memorable day's labour. After this meeting, I was easy to return home; so, accompanied by my companion and a Friend of Melksham, I left that place; and got to a meeting held at Grenton in Somersetshire on first-day, which was attended by many

of the country people, both of that place and its neighbourhood, and was a favoured opportunity. There being a funeral at the public burying-ground on the preceding evening, our friends Beaven, with whom we lodged, gave notice, at my request, of the meeting to the people who attended it, which occasioned it to be the larger.

In the afternoon we had a private opportunity with the Friends, and next day proceeded to Wellington, and from thence towards Oakhampton; where we met my dear husband, to our mutual rejoicing and thankfulness, with whom we proceeded to our quarterly meeting held at Looe, and thence home, where we came in the early part of the seventh month. As I had not preserved any minutes of my movements since the yearly meeting at London, I could not insert dates.

The state of my health required rest, and I was favoured with it; and having the company of my dear friend Hawksworth, her attention was turned to assist in restoring my strength; and as she also was in need of rest, I hope she gained some advantage by accompanying me home; although our quiet was disturbed in the eighth month, by an alarm of the French and Spanish fleets being off Falmouth Harbour. What their design was could not be known, but there they lay for some days, the wind not permitting them to go up the channel; and as they did not attempt to land, it was conjectured that their hostile views were towards Plymouth, and the King's dock near that place. Soon after they had sailed up the Channel, being in our week-day meeting, with my mind retired to the Lord, under an exercise on account of the intended mischief, it run through it, "He sent forth lightnings and scattered them." I think, as we returned home from meeting, the wind was rising; the sky soon lowered, and a terrible storm gathered and discharged itself, with fierce lightning, tremendous thunder, and violent rain; which continued more or less through great part of the night, and indeed the thunder until the next evening. The fleets were, by the time the storm began, got near Plymouth; and we heard that the commanders had deliberated about the business they had in view; but the Lord, who holdeth "the winds in his fists," discharged against them his terrible artillery so powerfully, as to prevent their designs, and obliged them to sheer off from our coasts in a shattered state. O! what frequent occasions have Britons to "praise the Lord for his mercy," and wonderful interference in their favour! but alas! though in words they acknowledge it, the generality of them are not concerned to make those returns which he is calling for; but continue in a course of conduct, and disposition of mind, which dares his righteous judgments: these will one day be poured forth upon

the people of this highly favoured but ungrateful nation, unless they repent and turn from their manifold iniquity.

I choose here to mention a remark of a sensible inhabitant of the town of Helston, upon this signal and memorable storm, so favourable to this nation. He told me, that seeing it gathering, and having people at work on his harvest, he hastened to direct their labours. As he went, he made his observation on the wind, &c. and I think he said that such was the confusion of the elements, that he could not say from what point the wind blew; and he said in his mind, 'This is no natural storm;' and indeed it proved to be signally providential, and as such worthy of commemoration; as is also a circumstance which happened in the town of Falmouth. As soon as government had intelligence of the enemies lying in great force off that port, ammunition was hastened for the garrison there. The wagons halted in the market place, to which the sea comes up, whence the inhabitants fetch sea-water for some uses. A woman coming up with a bucket of water at the instant the ammunition wagons stopped, observed that the axletree of one of them was on fire; and dashed her water upon it. As the fire was on the side next the sea, if she had not discovered it, it might have increased until it had blown up its dangerous loading; and there being also a quantity of gun-powder in that part of the town, the houses might have been much damaged, and some lives lost.

My dear friend Hawksworth left me in the latter end of this month, or early in the next; and I was allowed to stay at and about home for the remainder of this year.

In the early part of the year 1780, I attended several large meetings in Cornwall, held on account of marriages or funerals, which were signally honoured with the Divine presence. I also was at our quarterly meeting at Falmouth; and on the 3rd of the fifth month my husband and I left home to attend our annual solemnity in London. In our way we had meetings at several places, and called at Compton to pay our last visit to our beloved friend Jonah Thomson, who was near the close of an honourable life. We found his mind awfully collected, and waiting for his release from a pained body, in certain hope of his spirit's being admitted into the saints' rest, after having laboured many years in the work of the ministry. In the younger part of my life, he had conducted himself towards me as a tender father; and in my more advanced years, as an affectionate friend. He had also a sincere regard to my husband, and as our affection was mutual, our interview and farewell were affecting.

The yearly meeting at London was large



and favoured by the heavenly Master of the assemblies of his servants. From London, we went, accompanied by our friend Lydia Hawksworth, to a general meeting held annually at Weston in Buckinghamshire, and so to High Wycombe. My husband returned to London, and Lydia Hawksworth and myself proceeded to Reading, where we met a committee, who, by appointment of the yearly meeting, were going to visit the meetings for discipline in Bristol. We attended several meetings with them in our way to that city, where we arrived on the 1st of the sixth month.

Before I left Cornwall, I had informed Friends of our monthly meeting, that I was under an engagement of duty to attend the quarterly meeting for Oxfordshire to be held at Banbury, and to visit some meetings in Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, and Gloucestershire, also to attend the circular yearly meeting to be held at Hereford; where-with they concurred. And my friend Lydia Hawksworth being given up to accompany me, I staid at and in the neighbourhood of Bristol, until the seventh month, to afford her time to prepare for the journey. We went to Worcester, and attended the meetings held there on the first and third days: and thence proceeded to Evesham and Alcester. Several of the town's people came to the meetings at Alcester, and I was favoured to preach the everlasting gospel to them. The same evening, we reached Eaton, where at the meeting there on the first-day, whereto many Friends from an adjacent meeting came, at my request, and I hope it was a profitable opportunity: we proceeded that evening to Banbury, and to the house of Edward Stone, whose wife was nearly related to me, and with her husband received and entertained us with affectionate kindness.

The quarterly meeting held at this place was a large and favoured solemnity; and many people not professing with us attended the meetings, to whom the gospel of life and salvation was preached in the demonstration of the Divine spirit. In the course of the meetings, a dangerous accident befel me. In the womens' meeting-room was a gallery for ministering Friends, wherein my companion, myself, and other Friends were seated. Upon my rising to step further, to make room for more, the floor gave way, and I sunk with it; but I received but little hurt, which might be esteemed a singular mercy, considering how I was situated in the fall. Friends ought to be careful in examining these elevated seats in old meeting-houses. This was not the only time I have been in danger through the neglect of it.

From Banbury we went to a meeting at Redway, and to Warwick the 28th. We staid here with my dear sister Summerfield, until

the 4th of the eighth month, when we went to Shipton, where the quarterly meeting for Worcestershire was held the next day, at which were many Friends of that county, who rejoiced to see me, and we were favoured together in the Divine presence. On the 6th, we had a meeting at Long Compton, which, although small, was a favoured season. The same evening we had a meeting at Tredington at the house of our friend William Lambly, whose family was the only one of Friends residing in that village. His neighbours attended, but appeared so low in the knowledge of Divine truths, that it was difficult to minister to them so as to be understood.

On the 7th, we returned to Warwick, and the 9th, being the first of the week (accompanied by my sister), attended a large meeting of Friends and other professors of religion, held annually at Birkswell; and on the same evening went to Coventry. We had a meeting there the 11th, and in the remainder of the week had meetings at several places amongst Friends of Warwickshire; and on first-day, the 16th, were at a large meeting which is held annually at Atherston. There I met many Friends from divers counties, amongst whom I had laboured and been conversant before my settling in Cornwall; and we were favoured together with the merciful visitation of Divine love and life. The 17th, we attended a monthly meeting for discipline held at Hartshill. Here I left my sister, who was so much indisposed as not to be able to accompany us to the before-mentioned meeting at Atherston.

On the 18th, we went to the neighbourhood of Birmingham. We attended the week-day meetings there in this week, and also those on the first-day, I hope to the edification of many present, and visited several of our friends; and on the 24th, were at a monthly meeting for discipline at Dudley. The 25th, we had a large and good meeting at Wolverhampton; and thence we went to Coalbrookdale, had a meeting there, and proceeding to the meetings of Shrewsbury, and the Bank, came back to Coalbrookdale meeting, first-day, the 29th. The Lord's power and presence were evidently with us in our services in this quarter; and after a solemn opportunity in our friend Abiah Darby's family, at which some other Friends were present, we left it and returned to Dudley; and I visited Friends in that quarter no more. We staid with my dear brother until after the ensuing first-day, when the meetings were large; as has been usual, when I have visited that place, since my removal from it; my old neighbours pressing to the meetings, more generally than when I resided amongst them: and many times has the Divine power, and the testimony of Truth, been exalted; to

the praise thereof, and the conviction of many of the truth of the doctrine preached, although but few have so "believed unto righteousness," as to make a public profession thereof. Leaving Dudley, we had meetings at Stourbridge, Bewdley, and Bromsgrove: that at Bewdley did not tend to relieve my mind, being attended by very few of the town's people, to whom we suppose proper notice had not been given. On the next first-day we attended a large meeting which is held annually at Redditch; and thence we went to Worcester, staid over the third-day's meeting there, and proceeded to Camden to the funeral of a Friend; then to a meeting at Stow in the Woold and to Cirencester, and attended the meetings there on the first-day, which was a day of memorable favour to some souls. We visited the meetings of Nailworth, and paid a visit to my cousin M. Fowler, at Minchin Hampton; whence we went to Sudbury, had a meeting there, and proceeded to Bristol, where my dear husband was engaged in business: and although I saw I must return into Gloucestershire, I was pleased to be permitted to see him before his return into Cornwall. From Bristol we went to the meetings at Frenchay and Thornbury on first-day, and so to the quarterly meeting for Gloucestershire, held at Cheltenham. As it was the season for drinking the water of this place, many who were in it on that account, attended the public meeting, unto whom the testimony of Truth was declared. From Cheltenham we proceeded to Painswick, attended a large meeting, held on account of the funeral of a Friend, which was a favoured opportunity, and had also a meeting select with the Friends of that place. I had a desire to have a meeting at Gloucester with the people not professing with us, of which notice was given; and although it was not so large as I wished, I had some open service amongst those who attended and behaved seriously. We visited Friends at Tewksbury, and on the first-day, had an appointed meeting at Stoke Orchard, where formerly there had been an established meeting of Friends, returned to Tewksbury, and next day went to Worcester. Thence my companion returned to Bristol, being desirous to spend a little time at home before the yearly meeting at Hereford. On the next first-day, being the 10th of the ninth month, I attended a large, and I hope a serviceable, meeting at Stourport; which was appointed and attended by John Townsend of London, and Thomas Waring of Leominster; and was the first meeting which had been held by Friends in that place.

My mind not being easy respecting Bewdley, I proposed to the before mentioned Friends, to accompany me in a meeting there; which they being willing to do, one was appointed to

be held the next morning; and although it was not so large as I expected, it was a favoured season, and tended to the relief of my mind. The 12th, John Townsend accompanied me to Droitwich, where I desired to have a meeting with the town's people, which proved a memorable season of Divine favour. The 13th, I went to Bramyard, and the 14th attended the monthly meeting at Leominster, and staid with my relations there until the 23rd. On the 21st, the marriage of my niece Catharine Young, with George C. Fox of Falmouth, was solemnized; and the meeting held upon the occasion was large, and the testimony of Truth was exalted therein, to the Lord's praise.

From Leominster I proceeded to Hereford, where I was met by my companion Lydia Hawksworth, and many other ministering Friends and others, assembled to attend the circular yearly meeting, which was a large, solemn, and to myself and many other Friends, humbling season, under the sense of the fresh extendings of Divine love and power towards Friends, and the people of other religious societies. How frequently is the assent of the judgement given to the truths preached in our meetings, by many who attend them, who do not profess with us! But how few of these walk answerably to what they have been convinced is consistent with the holy dispensation of Christ! Alas! the cross appears too great to be taken up, even to gain an immortal crown. But be it considered who it was that said, "He that taketh not up his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me;" and also, "He that is ashamed of me, and of my doctrine, of him will I be ashamed before my Father and his holy angels." It is not only the unfaithfulness of many who have been born and educated amongst us, but that of very many, who have been convinced of the truth of our religious principles, which prevents the increase of our numbers. There was a time when many people were weary of worshipping in the outward courts of religion, and could not content themselves with shadows of it, and were willing to embrace the cross, that they might obtain the substance; when many great and distinguished persons and characters, bore testimony to the Truth as it is professed by us, as they were thereto called of God; whose light shone brightly, and very conspicuously through their great and numerous sufferings, for their "testimony of a good conscience towards Him and men." The present time is a season of ease, and greater liberty to worship the Lord agreeably to the instruction of his pure Spirit; but wherein many of the people are willing to hear, but few are awfully inquiring "What is Truth," with an earnest desire to know, and sincere intention to follow it. Pontius Pilate



inquired, "What is Truth," but did not wait for an answer from the Light of Truth. He was in part convinced of his power and purity, yet he delivered him up to the Jews to be crucified, lest his temporal interests should suffer, if he rescued him from their malice. And we read, "that the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends," who had before been at variance with each other. Thus it has been, and is, with many who have been partly convinced what is Truth. Temporal interests and pleasures have been preferred to a possession in the Truth; and the joining with the world in persecuting Christ, to the confessing of him before men. The testimony of his servant is fulfilled in such; "whosoever will be a friend of the world, is the enemy of God." These will one day see and lament their great loss. May the Lord in his mercy rouse many of them to consider the things which will make for their peace with him, before they are forever hid from their eyes.

I believe there will come a shaking time in these favoured nations, wherein the false rest of many will be disturbed, and the judgements of the Lord being in the earth, the inhabitants thereof will learn righteousness; and many will be gathered from the barren mountains of an empty profession of religion, and the desolate hills of formality, to sit under the teaching of Christ, manifested by his Spirit in their souls, and delight in the extendings of the wing of his love and power; whereby they will be solaced, and sheltered in this state of probation, and therefore sing salvation and strength thereto. O! that those remaining under the name may be concerned to keep their lamps burning; that they may attract the notice of those who in that day will sincerely seek the way to Zion, saying, "let us be joined unto the Lord in an everlasting covenant;" that such may behold us, as a chosen people of God, abiding in our tents, under the direction of our Holy Captain, Christ Jesus: who raised us up to be a people, that should bear an uniform testimony to his pure everlasting Truth. He cleansed us from all the chaff and dross, which under a religious show, remained amongst the professors of faith in Him; as well as from all the fragments of the legal dispensation, which with its ordinances and ceremonies were appointed to pass away, when his pure spiritual dispensation of grace and truth should be introduced and established. He stripped us of that fragment of superstition wherewith the nominal Christian church was, and yet is in degree, clothed. He abolished the false faiths and false trusts whereon many had depended; and he clothed us with that true faith, which overcometh the world, and is productive of fruits

meet for his holy kingdom. And will he suffer us to become extinct as a peculiar family to himself? Nay, verily. Although many of us are as "degenerate plants of a strange vine unto Him;" he will return and visit them, and some of these will be ingrafted into him; and others will be brought from far, to seek an inheritance amongst them; and the Most High will acknowledge them, as "the branches of his planting, the work of his hands, in whom he will be glorified."

After taking an affectionate farewell of my friends at Hereford, my companion and I went to Ross, had a meeting there, and to Bristol, where I left her; and Ann Byrd accompanied me to Wellington. We staid the morning meeting there on the first-day, and went in the afternoon to Collumpton; had a religious opportunity with the Friends living there in the evening, and early next morning went for Exeter; in hope of getting there in time to go forward with the Friends from that place to the quarterly meeting at Kingsbridge; but they were gone, and we had to travel a lonely and long day's journey, which was not accomplished without difficulty, and some danger, it being late at night ere we got to Kingsbridge. Had not a young woman whom we met at Totness, taken us into the chaise which she had hired, there was little probability of getting there that night; as no other chaise was to be had in the town, and the fleet lying in Torbay, the officers were revelling at the inn; so that we should have had but an uncomfortable time amongst them. From Kingsbridge, I went to Plymouth, where I met my dear husband; and after a meeting there, we proceeded home, where we arrived the 9th of the tenth month.

I have the more particularly noted my proceedings in this journey, because it was amongst my friends and others who had heretofore so largely shared my labours: and this being the last visit which I paid them so generally, it appeared to me singular, that I should fall in with so many quarterly and annual meetings; which afforded us an opportunity of seeing each other more generally and repeatedly than we should have done, had it not so happened: and be it commemorated with humble thankfulness to the merciful Fountain of blessings, that it was a season of signal favour to many of our spirits.

I had been laboriously exercised for more than five months in this journey, and except in attending our monthly and quarterly meeting, and occasional services about home, I was excused from travelling more in this year. Indeed, I had for some time, found my nature sinking under the load of exercises it had long sustained; so that I did not go through services

assigned me without many painful feelings, but He who employed, supported me, to the praise of his ever worthy Name.

In the spring of the year 1781, I wrote my brother Young to the following import:—“My mind is so closed in regard to future prospects of duty, that I am ready to conclude some family affliction may prevent my moving far from home soon.”

In this I was not mistaken; for soon after I wrote that letter I was seized with a cold, the effects whereof became alarming; and after its load was removed from my lungs, it fell upon my joints, which have gradually stiffened, and baffled all medical application; so that I am become an entire cripple, and my fingers are so contracted that my being able to use my pen is admirable to my friends. But although this is ultimately the consequence, yet I have been enabled to struggle on for several years.

I was not so recovered as to appear equal to the fatigue of attending the yearly meeting at London this year; and my husband also was easy to abide at home, where he was so dangerously attacked with a quinsy, that it appeared he very narrowly escaped death. His son was from home, and the weight of his critical situation, together with the attention which was due to him, bore heavily upon my weak body and spirits, and but that our cousin Frances James, now Fox, was then with us, I know not how I should have sustained my fatigues. She very tenderly and assiduously attended upon my husband, and assisted me in this season of affliction; which I note with thankfulness to that good Hand which furnished us with her help. My husband's first wife was her mother's sister, and she being left an infant orphan, my husband, with other relations, had cared for her, and a mutual affection subsisted; so that her services were the more willingly lent, and pleasingly accepted.

When my husband's disorder was turned, he recovered strength but slowly, and I continued weak, yet I could not be easy to omit attending the circular yearly meeting, which was this year held at South Molton in Devonshire. My husband's health not admitting of his accompanying me, my niece Fox was my only companion; but being in our own chaise we got along the more easily and in safety to South Molton, where we hoped to have met my brothers Payton and Young; but in this we were afflictively disappointed. My brother's servant brought us intelligence, that his master and my brother Young had come within one stage of Bristol, where my brother Young was laid up extremely ill; and of consequence my brother Payton was detained with him. This was afflicting intelligence to us both; my niece, his daughter, was sunk too low to proceed forward alone;

and until the meeting closed, no Friend could be expected to accompany her, when my friend Hawksworth took her under her care. She found her father extremely ill, and his case appeared for some time very dangerous, yet it pleased Providence to restore him; but he was confined some weeks at the inn, before it appeared safe for him to move forwards.

The people of South Molton very kindly welcomed Friends amongst them, and freely opened their houses to receive such as could not be accommodated with lodgings at the inns. My friend Hawksworth and myself preferred lodging at a private house, as our inn was likely to be very full of company; and as we went to see a room at a considerable distance, a young clergyman joined us, and appeared to interest himself in our being well accommodated. He told us the people of the town were generally moderate and civil, and seemed pleased that the meeting was appointed there. We were kindly lodged near the inn.

The meeting was very large, and the people behaved soberly: indeed many of them seemed prepared to receive, or at least hear, the testimony of Truth; and the power of it so prevailed in the meeting as to bind down the spirits of others, who might attend from no better motive than curiosity. The spring of gospel ministry ran freely, and I, though so weak, was enabled to take a large share in the labour. Friends were comforted together, and the faithful amongst them rejoiced in perceiving the extendings of the love of God, both towards the members of our own Society, and those of other religious professions; many of whose hearts were affected under the testimony delivered in the meetings.

I returned directly home, my friend A. Price accompanying me. Here, and in the county, I continued for the winter, in a weak state of health, and my dear husband tender, but mostly cheerful, which was his natural disposition. I do not know that I have enjoyed one day's health since the spring of this year, which, as I foresaw, was a year attended with much family affliction, wherein our son Richard Phillips had a share before it terminated.

In the year 1782, I attended the Welch yearly meeting, which was held at Bridgenorth. My husband accompanied me to Bristol, and Lydia Hawksworth went with me to Bridgenorth. We went direct, only called and staid a short time with my brother, and returned to the yearly meeting at Bristol, and thence to London.

When I went from Bristol to Bridgenorth, my husband went to Swansea, and met me in London, to attend the yearly meeting there. A general epidemic cold reigned during the sitting of the yearly meeting. Many Friends



were seized with it, but we were favoured to escape it, until much of the service of the meetings was over. We were both much indisposed, which detained us some time in London; and when we were able to travel, we returned with our friend Lydia Hawsworth to Bristol, and thence home. We recovered strength to attend the circular yearly meeting, which was held at Tamworth in the ninth month. My weakness and contraction in my joints increasing, my husband consulted Dr. Ludlow, a physician of note of Bristol, upon the case, who ordered me medicine to take on the journey, which, being of an invigorating quality, I thought helped to strengthen me to get through the fatigue of the journey, and the exercise of the meeting; although the principal help in the course of the labour assigned me therein must be attributed to the Lord's power, which is manifested in the weakness of his servants. The meeting was large, both of Friends and those of other societies, and crowned with the Divine presence. The testimony of Truth was exalted, and faithful Friends were comforted, in the sense of the continued extendings of the heavenly Father's love to the various states of the members of our own Society, as well as to other professors of religion. Before the meeting was opened I had dislocated my left elbow, by a fall down a steep and long flight of stairs, and was obliged to carry my arm in a sling; although I had to take so considerable a share of active labour through the course of the meetings. After their conclusion, we attended a meeting at Birmingham, then spent a short time at Dudley, with my brother, and returned to Bristol, where we again consulted Dr. Ludlow; who advised me to try the effect of electricity on my contracted joints. After I had continued some time under that operation, he ordered me to Bath, to try the effect of pumping upon them, at the same time continuing the medicines he had prescribed. But all was without the desired effect; and indeed I believe the Doctor had but little hope in my case, for he intimated that I might probably become an entire cripple, and live many years in that state; which has been my case.

1783.—My husband accompanied me to the yearly meeting at London. Before I left home, I had informed my friends that I was engaged to attend the yearly meetings of Colchester, Woodbridge, and Norwich, which succeeded that at London; and had obtained a certificate of their unity with me therein; and my friend Lydia Hawsworth being under the like concern, we left Bristol on the 28th of the fifth month, accompanied by our friend Mary Were of Wellington. We proceeded to Melksham and Salisbury, where we left Mary Were, and went to Poole, attended the meetings there on

first-day, 1st of the sixth month, and the 2nd, met Mary Were at Ringwood, attended the monthly meeting there, and proceeded to Rumsey, thence to Alton, attended the week-day meeting there on the 4th, and went to Godalming, and the 5th to London. On this day we intended to have fallen in with the week-day meeting at Esher; but there being a funeral of a Friend at Kingston, most of the Friends of Esher were gone to attend it; so we pressed on, and got to the meeting a little after the time appointed; and I hope it was well we were there. We attended the quarterly meeting, and proceeded on our journey, taking meetings in our way to the before-mentioned yearly meetings. We also visited almost all the meetings in Norfolk, then passed into Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, visiting the meetings therein, thence into Essex, and after visiting divers meetings which I had not before attended in that county, turned back through Cambridgeshire to Huntingdon. In this journey I sustained much labour both in body and spirit, which was the more painful from my increased and increasing weakness; which rendered it probable, as indeed it proved, that this would be the last visit I should pay to Friends of those parts; as it was also the first I had paid to many of the meetings which we attended. I was however thankful that the good Shepherd influenced our minds to visit so many of his sheep in those counties, unto whom our spirits were united in gospel sympathy; and we had also to bear the burden of the spirits of formal professors, to whom the alarm was sounded, to awake out of sleep. I had some public meetings in this journey to my satisfaction, and I hope to the edification of many people attending them. One of them was held at Cambridge; which I hope was serviceable, although I was not favoured to rise in the exercise of the Divine gift bestowed upon me, to that height I did when in that town many years ago.

That was indeed a singular time, and answered a singular end, viz. to convince a man who had contemned women's ministry in Christ's church, of its weight, efficacy, and consistency with the gospel dispensation. The same man, who did not live in the town, was invited to attend this meeting, and he might therein hear gospel truths published, and treated upon in a more argumentative way, than it was common for me to be engaged in. The All-wise employer of true gospel ministers knows how to direct his servants, both as to the matter, and the manner wherein he intends it should be communicated to the people. I have admired his wisdom and condescension therein, when without forethought my speech has been accommodated to the capacities of those to whom it was directed. To such as

were illiterate and ignorant, I have spoken in very low terms; and to those of more understanding, in such as answered its level; while to the learned, and those of superior natural abilities, I might say with the prophet, "The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned;" although I had it not by education. I have not wanted eloquence of speech, or strength of argument, wherein to convey and enforce the doctrines given me preach; of which I could say, as my Lord and Master did, "My doctrines are not mine, but his who sent me;" and his love, life, and power, have accompanied them to the stopping of the mouths of gainsayers, and convincing of the understandings of many, of the rectitude and efficacy of "the Truth as it is in Christ Jesus."

O the depth and excellency of true gospel ministry! The Lord's prophet in the prospect of it might well exclaim, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those who bring good tidings, who publish peace, who publish salvation, who say unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!" These are not made so by human or literary acquirements; but "the Spirit from on high being poured upon them," under its holy humbling influence, they are enabled to minister, and "compare spiritual things with spiritual," or elucidate them by natural things, as occasion may require, without forecast or premeditation; for they speak extempore, as the Spirit giveth utterance. When the ministry in the general thus returns to its original dignity and simplicity, an education at colleges will not be sought to qualify for it. No, those who are accounted for the service of Him "who spoke as never man spake," must be educated in his school, and disciplined by his wisdom; whereby they are made able ministers of the new testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.

Thus have I, with many of my fellow-labourers, been assisted to minister in the gospel of Christ; and now in the close of a laborious day's work, I may commemorate the mercy, power, and wisdom of Him who chooseth whom he pleaseth for the various offices in his church. He appoints, of both male and female, "some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; until his members come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; and may grow up into him in all things who is the Head, from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to its effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh

increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love." Then, there is the highest rejoicing in him the heavenly Teacher, who fulfils his gracious promise, both to those who minister under him, and to those who are not called to this awful service, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world!"

Unto him all true gospel ministers direct the people, and endeavour to settle them under the teaching of his pure Spirit. These disclaim the least degree of ability to labour availingly in his service, except what flows from him, the fountain of Divine power, love, and life; and, after they have done and suffered what he assigns them, sit down in the acknowledgement, that "what they are, they are through his grace;" and thanking him that they have not received his grace in vain, humbly confess they have done but their duty. Thus from early youth, have I travelled and laboured, that the saving knowledge of God may increase, through experience of the prevalence of the power of his Son; whereby the true believers in him become crucified to the world and the world unto them; and being thus dead, are raised by him in newness of life, to the praise and glory of God. Freely I have received the knowledge of salvation through the sanctifying operation of the Spirit of Christ; and freely have I testified thereof, and of God's universal love through his Son to mankind: for he would have none to perish, but that all should be saved, and attain to the knowledge of his Truth.

My views, with those of others my fellow-labourers in the ministry, have, in regard to ourselves, been simply to obtain peace with God through an honest discharge of our duty; and in respect to those unto whom we have freely ministered, that they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; and be favoured with the experience of the remission of sins, and obtaining a fixed inheritance amongst all those who are sanctified. And we are not afraid to say, that the love of Christ hath constrained us to minister, unmixed with any temporal interested motive, or view of reward. Through that love, we have been made willing to spend our temporal substance, as well as our strength of body and of faculties, and to suffer many hardships; yea, to leave what was dearest to us in nature, and be accounted fools by the wise and prudent of this world; some of whom have poured upon us contempt, but who professing themselves to be wise, have manifested their foolishness; and by speaking evil of what they knew not, have evidently been wise in their own conceits.

As to us, however we may have been favoured by the Lord, who has accounted us worthy to have a part in this ministry, and has at seasons clothed us as with a royal robe, to



the astonishment of even those who have had us in derision; all boasting is excluded, by the pure humbling law of faith in Christ, "the wisdom and power of God," and we confess with his primitive ministers, that we have nothing of our own to boast of but infirmities, nor have we ought to glory in but his grace to help us; through which we have been rendered equal to the arduous tasks assigned us; and willing to turn from prospects the most pleasing to the natural mind, and to endure crosses, tribulations, and the contempt of men, for his sake, who so loved us as to die for us; and hath mercifully called us by his grace, to become heirs with him in the kingdom of his Father: and having done all, we have nothing to trust in but the mercy of God, manifested in and through him; and under a sense that all we can do to promote his honour is but little, and that little communicated by his strength, this is ultimately the language of our spirits; Not unto us, O Lord! not unto us, but unto thy ever worthy name, or power, be glory for ever! Amen.

From Cambridge, one of the seats of learning, I wish I could say of piety, we proceeded to visit some other meetings in this quarter, and coming to Ives, attended the funeral of Samuel Abbot, an elder of good report. The meeting held upon the occasion was extremely crowded, and many of the principal inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood attended it. It was a season of awful solemnity, wherein the tide of gospel ministry rose high, even to the overflowing the mounds of opposition; and I believe the people were so humbled, that many of them could join us in supplication and praise to the Lord, who "is glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, working wonders." Hence we went (as before hinted) to Huntingdon, our friend John Abbot, son to the friend whose funeral we had attended, accompanying us. From Huntingdon we proceeded to Ampthill in Bedfordshire; and in our way passed through Potton, intending, if it was convenient, to lodge in that town, with one professing with us. But alas! when we came there, we found the town, which the day before, had been, it was said, one of the prettiest in the county, in ruins. A terrible fire had raged all night, and was not then in some places quite extinguished. Almost the whole of a principal street, through which we walked (not without fear lest the chimnies, or some other parts of the brick or stone-work left standing, should fall upon us), and most of the houses in the market-place, were consumed. The fire stopped at the next house to that which our friend had inhabited. He had time to get his goods out, but had left them, and with his wife was gone to another town where they had relations, and through

which we had to pass, and where, at an inn, we lodged at night, our friend Abbot accompanying us. The view of Potton and its inhabitants was truly pitiable: the goods of the sufferers were scattered about round the town in the fields, and some were watching them. The countenances of some whom we saw in the streets were deeply marked with grief; and the principal ovens being destroyed, bread was to be fetched from a town some miles distant. Our friend John Abbot was so touched with the countenance of one poor woman, that after passing her, he turned back, and gave her something handsome; but she probably knew not where to buy victuals if she wanted it. The principal inns being burned down or greatly injured, we stopped at the house of an acquaintance of his, in a part of the town which had escaped the fire, who readily gave us some refreshment; and in return, we left with him, towards the present relief of the sufferers, so much as excited his thankfulness. The next morning we visited our friends who had fled from Potton, at their relation's; and had a solemn religious opportunity with them and others present; and proceeding to Ampthill, attended the first-day's meetings there. From Ampthill, John Abbot returned home, and we went pretty directly to Melksham, appointing some meetings in our way thither. Before I came there my strength was extremely exhausted, and having a concern to attend the circular yearly meeting to be held at Frome in Somersetshire, it appeared necessary for me previously to take a little rest. We therefore staid at Melksham with my affectionate relations Elizabeth Fowler and her son and daughter, her husband being now dead. At Frome, I met with my dear brother James Payton, and many of my relations and friends, and the Lord favoured us together with his presence. The meetings were large, solemn, and eminently crowned with divine life and power, wherein the gospel was preached by several ministers. Nicholas Waln, from Pennsylvania, attended this meeting, and had acceptable service therein. I went directly home; and in my way had a favoured meeting with Friends and many others of the inhabitants of Exeter. My niece Fox accompanied me from Frome to Truro, where my dear husband met me, to our mutual thankfulness. I do not recollect any thing more worth remarking in the remainder of this year, wherein I continued weak, yet attended services about home as they occurred.

In the spring of the year 1784, my dear husband was much indisposed, and from that time was frequently afflicted with a giddiness in his head; yet he recovered so far as to attend the yearly meeting at London, and I accompanied him in much weakness; yet I had

cause to be humbly thankful for the Divine aid vouchsafed to labour, although I was unable to attend all the meetings which were held in the course of that solemnity.

From London we went to Bristol, where my husband had business; and as I had no inclination to stay in that city, proceeded in company with M. and A. Moon, to Wellington. Thence I was accompanied by my dear friend Mary Were to William Byrd's at Uffculm; at whose house we had a favoured meeting with the town's people, and returned to Wellington; where I waited, until my husband came to me. I was strongly impressed with a concern to pay a visit once more to the few professing Truth in the north side of Devonshire, as well as to hold some public meetings in some of the towns which I had heretofore visited. My husband knew of my having this prospect, but when he came to me at Wellington, and saw how poorly I was, he almost feared for me, and would have been pleased if I had been easy to accompany him directly home. This however not being the case, we went on the first-day to Friends meeting at Spiceland, which was attended by a pretty many sober people, not professing with us; and the Master of our assemblies favoured with suitable doctrine and counsel, so that the truly righteous rejoiced together; and under the sense of the arm of the Lord being extended to help in the seasons of weakness, we proceeded from this meeting to South Molton; and our friends Nicholas and Mary Were, and William and Ann Byrd, accompanied us; as did also Thomas Melhuish of Taunton. We appointed a meeting to be held there the next morning; but the weather proving very wet, there was some doubt how it would be attended; however, it was pretty large, and a solemn instructive season. No one professing with us lived in this town, nor had any meeting been appointed there since the circular meeting was held there in 1781. But the remembrance and savour of that solemnity might continue long upon the minds of religious persons.

We went that evening to Barnstaple, except T. Melhuish, who returned home, and next day had a meeting there in the assembly-room, which was large, solemn, and highly favoured with the Divine power and presence. I was wonderfully assisted to publish gospel truths, "in the demonstration of the Spirit, and with power;" and it appeared that many who heard, understood and were affected, amongst whom were some of the higher rank. O! that such heavenly visitations might produce fruits of righteousness answerable to the labour bestowed; but alas! they are too frequently like water spilled upon a stone, which although it wets the surface, does not change the ob-

durate unfruitful nature of the stone; and the rain which has descended upon it, is so quickly dried up, that there remains no evidence of its having been watered.

Indeed the stone is, agreeable to its nature, unfruitful, and must remain so. But what said the apostle unto those whose hearts were like ground, which, although it was often watered, brought forth nothing more profitable than briars and thorns, "It is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned."

It is extremely dangerous trifling with the Lord's merciful visitation to the soul, as time is uncertain: therefore those who hear, have need to be concerned to obey the call of God to a renovation of mind and manners, that their souls may live.

From Barnstaple, we went to Great Torrington, and had a large and I hope serviceable meeting there, although not so distinguishedly favoured as that of Barnstaple had been. My dear friends A. Byrd and M. Were had acceptable service in the before-mentioned meeting; as well as in ministering to the few Friends who were scattered about the country, who met us at one place or other; and we had private religious opportunities with them, so that they were generally visited. I was favoured with much freedom to speak to them in the love of Christ, and therein to take my farewell of them; for this proved to be my last visit. There were never many Friends settled on the north side of Devonshire. I know not of a meeting-house having been built in any town I have visited there; yet a few, some of them having been gathered from other professions of religion, were scattered about in this quarter, and held meetings at their houses.

W. Byrd and his wife left us at Torrington; but Nicholas Were and his wife concluded to accompany us to Hatherly, twelve miles farther, where I had a desire to have a meeting; and their being so disposed proved very serviceable to us.

There having been a large fair for cattle the day before we came to Hatherly, and the farmers scarcely all gone from the place, we found the inn in such disorder as to render it doubtful how we should lodge. However, the landlady got clean linen, and our friends Were and ourselves got lodging; but some men Friends who met us from Exon, were obliged to shift for themselves as well as they could; and a young woman who accompanied them was provided for with us. The town was small, and in such a hurry, that it appeared a poor time to get a meeting. The weather was also very wet on this and the next day; but some of the town's people being informed of our view in coming, interested themselves in procuring us a meeting place, and we were furnished with



one as commodious as we could expect. Many assisted to seat a part of it; and the weather continuing wet, prevented some of the inhabitants from going to their labour, so that I know not but our meeting was the larger through that circumstance. The people behaved well, many were content to stand, and we were favoured with a solemn meeting amongst them. No meeting had been held in this place for very many years; so that most of our auditors appeared ignorant of our religious principles and manner of worship; but our visit was received with expressions of pleasure and gratitude by some, and we left the place with thankful hearts, each of us setting our faces homeward the same evening. My health continued declining, and my husband's complaint of giddiness returned pretty frequently. We did not go far from home for the remainder of this year.

In 1785, my husband was inclined to attend the yearly meeting at London, and desirous of my accompanying him. I was so weighed down with painful sensations, and my joints so much contracted, and he so subject to the giddiness in his head, that I suggested to him the propriety of our considering whether it was safe for us to venture upon such a journey: to which he replied, that his mind was strongly drawn to the yearly meeting, and said, that it would be the last he should attend. In our way thereto we were at the meeting of Bridport on the first-day; and I appointed a meeting at Andover, which was large, and eminently favoured with the Divine power and presence. Samuel Emlen and George Dillwyn, both of Philadelphia, attended this meeting; but the principal share of the ministry rested upon me: indeed I had long had a view to a meeting in this town, and this proved to be the last time I passed through it. When we reached London, I was in a very weak state, but was enabled to attend the meetings in their course. At the yearly meeting in the preceding year, our men Friends had weightily considered the state of our women's yearly meeting; and it appearing that it might become of more general service, if the queries for women Friends, which are answered from their monthly to their quarterly meetings, were also answered from the quarterly to the yearly meeting of women, they sent a minute to the quarterly and monthly meetings to that import; and this year answers were sent from some quarterly meetings, and women Friends attended as representatives. But it being a new thing, and the propriety or necessity of it not fully understood by all our women Friends, an epistle was written, setting forth the rise and use of the discipline established amongst us, and encouraging women Friends to attend to their share of it. As

mothers of children and mistresses of families, they have an extensive service to attend to, and ought to be concerned so to discipline their families, as to be able to answer the several queries relative to their situation.

My mind being drawn to visit the quarterly meeting of Hertfordshire, I intimated it to my friend Elizabeth Talwyn of Bromley, who kindly took me and my dear companion Lydia Hawksworth thereto in her coach; and this was my farewell visit to Friends there. As I knew that my husband as well as myself wished to leave London as soon as we could with ease of mind, I requested that notice might be sent to the several meetings near to that of Chorley Wood, that I hoped to be there on the next first-day, and should be pleased to see as many as could meet me there. The meeting-house was pretty full, it was a favoured season, and the last meeting I had in that part of the kingdom. That night we lodged with our friend Robert Eeles near Amersham, by whom and his kind wife I had several times been affectionately entertained. Next day we reached Banbury, had a meeting with Friends there, on the next morning, and after taking an affectionate leave of my near relation S. Stone, we proceeded that night to Warwick. My sister received us affectionately, though not without concern to see me so much enfeebled. My joints were so contracted that it was become difficult for me to walk; and throughout this journey I was assisted in dressing; and my inward weakness was also very apparent, so that it appeared probable that this might be our last interview. I attended one meeting with Friends at Warwick, wherein the Divine spring of gospel ministry was opened to the refreshment of religious minds; and, after taking my last personal farewell of my dear sister, we went to Coventry, had an evening meeting there, which was pretty generally attended by Friends and some intelligent people not professing with us; and the Lord favoured us together in a memorable degree. The subjects given me to speak upon, were the awfulness and importance of passing through time, considering the consequences depending thereupon, and the solemnity of passing out of it, even to the best of men. For although such might be favoured with a well-grounded hope of participating in "the inheritance which is undefiled and fadeth not away;" and might rejoice at the approach of the hour of release from the pains and solitudes attendant in this probationary state; it was a season, wherein, from the consideration of the purity of Christ's kingdom, they might think it needful to examine whether their spirits were so clean, as to be meet for admittance thereinto. But to the wicked it was a terrible hour. Many striking remarks, directed to div-

ers states, were given me to make ; and I was favoured to deliver them in concise, yet strong terms, to the affecting the minds of many present : and thus, taking leave of that city, we proceeded next day to Birmingham—attended the first-day meeting there, and thence to Dudley. We staid a few days with my brother—attended one meeting there, and another at Stourbridge, afterwards went to Worcester, and were at the first-day meetings there.

As my case appeared alarming, and some of my friends advised my making trial of Buxton water, my husband, when we were at Birmingham, took the advice of a physician of note, who did not choose to prescribe for me, nor encourage my going to Buxton ; but advised our calling at Bath, but cautioned me against drinking the waters, or bathing, without taking further advice there : so taking leave of our brother James Payton and Friends at Worcester, we proceeded directly to Bath. The advice I there had was to return home, drink the Bath water there, and pursue the course of medicine prescribed. The weather was then too hot for me either to bathe, or drink the water there, but it was left to further consideration whether I should return there in the fall.

Weak as I was, I had two meetings at Bath ; in one of which I had a strong and clear testimony directed to a state, which in youth had been Divinely visited, and made some advances in the path of self-denial ; but in more advanced age, had sought after worldly wisdom and knowledge, and the friendship of those in that spirit, and had lost the heavenly dew of youth.

There was a person in the state described, in the meeting, who was much affected, and died in a short time. How does Divine mercy follow the backsliders from his holy commandment, with the gracious call of “Turn ye, why will you die ?”

From Bath we went to Bristol, where my husband had business, and where I left him, and went to John Hipsley’s at Congersbury—was at the meeting of Claverham on the first-day, and returning to Congersbury, staid there until my husband’s business permitted him to return home : to which we went directly, myself in a feeble state, but my husband appeared to be as well as when we left it.

After our return from London, my husband’s time and attention were very much engrossed by business, relative to the mining interests in this county. Some alteration in the course of the trade appeared necessary, and as he had from his youth been engaged in the copper trade, and was well acquainted with the state of it, both in the past and present times, much regard was paid to his judgement, by many who attended at the meetings held on the occasion : and his solicitude for its settlement to

the advantage of the labouring miners, as well as for allowing the adventurers, and others engaged in the trade, a prospect of a reasonable profit, was such, that under the continued exertion of his faculties for several weeks, his strength evidently declined.

The circular yearly meeting falling this year in Cornwall, it had been at our spring quarterly meeting appointed to be held at Truro, the 7th, 8th and 9th of the eighth month, which was several weeks earlier than it was customary to hold that meeting. This had occasioned some demur in the minds of some Friends, who doubted whether those of the distant counties might be so generally at liberty to attend it, as if it should be held in its usual course ; and some Friends gave a preference to another town for the meeting. But my husband having attentively considered when and where to fix this important solemnity, under a concern that the All-wise Director would deign to influence the minds of Friends therein, was steady in his judgement that both the time and place proposed were right : and the event showed that he was not mistaken. He with other Friends were engaged in preparing accommodation for this meeting, and the town’s people were very ready to assist. A large booth was erected to hold it in, and other places were procured, if that should not be sufficient to contain the people.

I was yet in a feeble state, and as it appeared to me improbable that the meeting would be attended by so many ministers and Friends of religious weight, from the distant counties constituting it, and other parts of the nation, as in some past years, my spirit was weighed down under a sense of the great importance of the service, and the disproportion of my natural strength to the labour of so large meetings. My faith was indeed ready to fail ; but I cried unto the Lord, in the language of Samson, if the testimony of His Truth might but be exalted through me as an instrument, “let me die,” if it be thy will, in this great effort to overcome the Philistine nature in the people : and this proved to be the last of those general meetings which I attended. In the night before we went to Truro, my dear husband was so much indisposed with the giddiness in his head, that he proposed to me to go to Truro, and leave him to take an emetic, which he hoped might ease his head, and to come to me the next morning. I was reluctant to leave him behind me, and it was well I did not, as the straining to vomit would probably have produced instant death. He grew better towards mid-day, and accompanied me to Truro, where we met with many of our friends, and he regained his wonted cheerfulness and activity, and was very serviceable during the course of the meetings, in



regulating the holding of them, settling the people, and taking share in the care that nothing might happen amongst our young people at the several inns, which might tend to shade the testimony of that pure Truth, which we met to propagate, from very distant parts of the nation. The concourse of people, especially of those not professing with us, was very great, and not a few of them of the higher rank. Many came far to attend the meetings, and behaved with becoming decency, consistently with so solemn an occasion. The booth, though as large as a good voice could well extend over to be distinctly heard, would not nearly contain the people; so that Friends were obliged to hold a meeting in the afternoons of the 7th and 8th in another place.

This consequently tended to divide the ministers to the several meetings, and, as I had foreseen, much of the service of the meetings in the booth devolved upon me; yet not so, but that some other ministers had an acceptable share therein. The testimony of Truth was largely and freely declared, and arose in its native dignity and clearness; so that very many not professing with us assented to the truths preached. The public meetings concluded on the 9th before dinner, under the overshadowing wing of Divine love, life, and power. The minds of many Friends were comfortably impressed with a sense of the continued extendings of the heavenly Shepherd's care over us as a religious Society; as well as of his condescension in causing his gospel call to go forth amongst others, and they turned their faces homeward in the afternoon, in humble thankfulness.

Here I may observe, as it hath occurred to me when attending those large general meetings, how different in their nature and tendency these meetings are, to those which are appointed by professing Christians for amusement, wherein there is much noisy mirth, and unchristian jollity: and if in some of them, the entertainments, in one part of the day, have an outward and pompous show of religion, under the vain and false pretence of praising God with the voice, accompanied with instruments of music, in the repetition of some of the most sublime and instructive parts of scripture; in another part of it, the Christian name is shamefully dishonoured, by the amusements, which succeed what they call their sacred oratorios. I have been shocked in the consideration, of the expressions of holy men of God, who penned them as the Holy Spirit dictated them, and some awful instructive historical parts of scripture, becoming prostituted to the purpose of amusement; and furnishing occasion for many nominal Christians to assemble, to gratify their inclinations to pride, vanity and pompous ap-

pearances, as well as in some instances, the practising of gross wickedness: insomuch, that it may be said with truth, the Lord of purity abhors their religious mockery, and their seemingly solemn meetings are iniquity; and as such, an abomination in His holy eyes, who cannot be imposed upon by specious pretences, nor bribed by donations given for distressed objects, to withhold his righteous judgements; which will assuredly be executed, in their appointed season, on "all the proud, and those who work wickedness." How different to these, I say again and without ostentation, are the meetings, of which in the course of these memoirs I have so frequently given an account! whereto many Friends resort, from very distant places and at a very considerable expense, with a view to the edifying of others by the pure doctrines which may be freely preached in their public assemblies, and by a conduct consistent with Christian morality and rectitude; and with desires to be edified together in the presence of the Lord, in whose presence there is life, and at whose right hand there are pleasures, sublime, and everlastingly durable. My spirit worships in the sense of the foretaste of them, which I have experienced in the present state; and in the hope, which cheers in the painful seasons and afflictive occurrences attendant thereon, that finally, the immortal spirit will be solaced in the inestimable, and by it, unmerited reward, which is appointed for the righteous, and is unmixed with sorrow.

From this, I hope not ill-timed, digression, I return to the 10th of the eighth month; when several of the ministers who had attended the meetings at Truro were at ours at Redruth; amongst whom was my friend Hawksworth, who came with intent to spend some time with us, in hope that we might be favoured together with a little rest both of body and mind, which might tend to the recruiting our strength. But alas! although this important solemnity was so well over, and my dear husband's engagements in temporal concerns now sat comparatively light, and we were cheered for two days, the third evinced the instability of all human comforts. On the 11th, our friend T. Bevington, of Worcester, came to pay us a short visit. He expressed an inclination to have a meeting with the town's people; and my husband going, as he was accustomed upon such occasions, to inform some of them that a meeting would be held that evening, was observed to do it with rather more than common solemnity and tenderness of spirit. I hope the meeting was serviceable, and we spent the evening agreeably with our friends.

In the morning of the 12th, T. Bevington left this place pretty early, and my dear husband arose before me in seemingly usual health, and

ate some breakfast, but was suddenly seized with an acute pain in his breast. He came and found me dressing, and told me that the pain was extreme, but said that he conceived it was only in the muscles, and might be rheumatic, but that he could cover the spot affected with his finger. He chose to undress and go into bed, and complained of cold. I sent for an apothecary who apprehended no danger in his case, and gave him a small dose of paregoric elixir, which operated to quiet him and stupify his pain. I left a servant with him, and got some breakfast, and returning found him rather inclined to sleep, so, having some family concerns to attend to, I left him again. The maid who was left with him said he complained of a return of his pain, and she soon perceived such an alteration as occasioned her to ring the bell violently, on which my friend Lydia Hawksworth and I hastened to the chamber. She came soon enough to see him draw his last breath; but my lameness not permitting me to make so much speed, and the maid preventing me from immediately approaching his bed-side, I saw only a breathless corpse.

Thus ended the valuable life of my dearly beloved William Phillips, in the manner he had repeatedly expressed a desire it might end, that is suddenly; though not altogether unexpectedly by himself, as may have been noticed by what I have noted before we set out on our late journey. He intimated to me, that his prospects in regard to service in the present state were much closed; and that in respect to the future he had no cloud before him; and he would speak of the solemn close with that ease that discovered he expected no sting of conscience in his death: but the reason he gave for wishing (in submission to the Divine will) that it might be sudden, was, that he had felt so little pain in passing through time, until he had attained the common age of man, that he doubted whether if tried with it in the awful season of death, he should support it with that calm, patient dignity, which graces the close of a Christian life.

By appearances upon his body when it was cold, it was evident that a large blood vessel had broken in his breast; although not the least indication of such an event appeared by any discharge from the mouth, whilst he was alive. His desire of attending the meeting at Truro was gratified, which had not been the case had it been held in its usual course. Neither is it probable that I could have attended and laboured therein with that strength of mind I was favoured to do, had this important stroke been executed before that meeting; for although I was preserved from sinking into a state of condemnable sorrow; the shock attending it could not be sustained without my already much enfee-

bled nature suffering by it. We had lived in the tender endearing connection of marriage somewhat more than thirteen years, after a friendship of about three-and-twenty: The tie of natural affection betwixt us was strong, arising from a similarity of sentiments, which was strengthened by an infinitely higher connection. Indeed he was a man who commanded love, esteem, and respect, from his numerous relations, friends, and acquaintance, in their different ranks and stations. He was extensively useful without priding himself with it, and he commanded the assent of the judgement of those, amongst whom he might be looked upon as a principal, in the transactions of business, by sound reasoning rather than by overbearing. Such was his public character, drawn, as far as it goes, not beyond the life, though by his afflicted affectionate widow.

She also best knew his private virtues and engaging manners, exemplified in his family connections, friendships, and the general tenor of his conduct; and therefore may say, that he was a kind master, an affectionate father, and a warm and steady friend; always ready to serve his relations, friends, and neighbours, by advice, or as an executor, or referee in disputed cases. An affectionately tender husband—ah, me! how shall I delineate this part of his character! Bound to me by the endearing ties of love and friendship, heightened by religious sympathy, his respect as well as affection, was apparent to our friends and acquaintance. His abilities to assist me in my religious engagements were conspicuous; for although he had no share in the ministerial labour, he was ready to promote it. His natural temper, though quick, was soft and complaisant; a man of exact order in his business, and strict economy, even to minute circumstances; yet prudently liberal in his expenses, and charitable to the poor.

In his religious character, he was firmly fixed in his principles agreeably to his profession, and concerned to act consistently with them; but, clothed with charity towards all men, he rejoiced if a reformation of mind and manners was wrought amongst mankind, whoever were the instruments of it. His experience in the spirituality of religion was deeper than even some of his friends might conceive; as it was sometimes concealed under the veil of cheerfulness, which predominated in his constitution; or secreted, through his aversion to make any ostentatious show of it; but when called up to some service in Christ's church, it was evident that he had been instructed in his school. His faith and trust in the Divine power, wisdom and providence, were strong; which enabled him to sustain disappointment and worldly losses with firmness. In this he was tried in some instan-



ces, to a degree which would have shaken many minds; but he would say, If a part is gone, I have many mercies left to be thankful for; and he therefore endeavoured to preserve his wonted calmness and cheerfulness.

And when Death's solemn shaft with swiftness flew,  
Prepar'd he stood, and no confusion knew;  
Sudden the stroke, but peaceful was his end;  
Angels his consorts, and his Lord his friend.  
Belov'd and honour'd, see, his spirit soars  
To heavenly mansions, and his God adores.

If any peruse what I have written, who had but partial knowledge of him, they may perhaps conclude me too abundant in encomiums upon him. But there are who can subscribe to their truth, and who might add their testimony to his worth and abilities as a man, and a useful member of the community at large, as well as an honourable one of the religious Society of Friends: and if his descendants in the natural line, succeed him in that of virtue and piety, they will value this attempt to delineate his character.

My dear brother was fast declining in his health. He had lately received an alarm, by a stroke of the palsy, to trim his lamp, unto which I hope he attended. He was now in part recovered, but in the succeeding spring was revisited by that distressing disorder, which quickly terminated his life; in the close whereof he was favoured with the cheering prospect of his immortal spirit's centring in everlasting blessedness. He was endowed with a very good natural understanding, which in the latter part of his life was so much employed for the assistance of his friends and neighbours, both of the town and country wherein he resided, that he had as much business in accommodating disputes about property, and other acts of kind aid as his strength would well bear. He died beloved, and his loss was regretted by both the rich and poor.

*To a relation.*

Redruth, 29th of Seventh month, 1793.

ALTHOUGH I have not written to thee since the commencement of thy present sorrowful state, thou canst not be ignorant of my sympathy with thee; and considering my increased debility for writing (of which I advised thy mother), I might have hoped that thou wouldst not have waited for my doing it before thou hadst addressed me: if but with a few lines, they would have been very acceptable; especially so, if they had breathed a spirit of acquiescence with the will of the All-wise disposer of events. He knows best on what to lay his hand, in order to facilitate his merciful designs respecting us; and if he deprives us of what is most dear, and which also may appear to be

the most valuable and beneficial to us of all his temporal gifts; does he not therein speak this instructive language, Set your affections on things which are in heaven, and not on things which are upon the earth, which must all pass away in their appointed season? They are only lent us as temporary assistants or accommodations in our passage through time; and although they may be rejoiced in and valued as his gifts, they are not to be depended upon or loved beyond the appointed standard of his wisdom. It is our interest as well as duty, to hold them by the tenure wherewith he has intrusted us with them, viz. to be returned at his call; which always ultimately comports with our real happiness, if "we look not at the things which are seen," which, however high we may prize them, are but temporal; but steadily behold, with ardent desire of possessing, "those which are not seen," save with the eye of faith, "which are eternal." My principal concern for thee is, that this eye may be opened widely in thy soul; that thou mayest see and rightly estimate all possessions which are attainable by man; and, beholding and contemplating the transcendent excellency of spiritual gifts, mayest covet them earnestly. This is the only allowable covetousness, and the mind being thus engaged, becomes transformed from a state of nature to that of grace: agreeably to the apostle's testimony and experience, viz: "And we all beholding as in a glass, with open face, the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even by the spirit of the Lord."

In this renewed state the will of the creature is so absorbed in the will of the Creator, that its life is swallowed up in it; and it does not wish to enjoy any thing which is not "freely given to it of God;" whose inscrutable wisdom bounds its desires, and under a sense that it knows not what is best, it refers all thereto, and thus it comes to experience "new heavens and a new earth" to be created unto it, "wherein dwelleth righteousness;" and it abundantly rejoiceth in that which God creates, as it is sensible that "he creates Jerusalem, the city of the solemnities of his saints, a rejoicing, and her people a joy."

Dear —, be not dejected at the present dispensation of affliction, nor indulge reasoning upon causes or events, of which thy natural understanding is incompetent to judge. Remember that "the Lord hath a way in the clouds, and a path in the thick darkness, and his footsteps are not known;" they cannot be fully comprehended by mortals. How vain therefore is the query, Why hast thou suffered this or that? Yea, is it not worse than vain, if our temporal interests, pleasure, or convenience, are put in competition with his will and wis-

dom? He can restore what he deprives of, or compensate for it; and often does so abundantly to those who sincerely desire that the light and momentary afflictions may work for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, and tend to their increasing in the present state in that superlative blessing which maketh truly rich, and is unmixed with sorrow.

I am persuaded thou hast seen this blessing, yea, hast tasted of it; but remember, this is not enough; thou must attentively behold and consider its worth, and thy desire to attain it must be strong and steady. If thou possess it and hold it fast, then wilt thou be enabled to say, "I will not be afraid of evil tidings," nor of the consequence of the loss of temporal goods of any kind, "My heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord," who upholdeth his children, and provideth from one stage of life to another, what is meet for their accommodations, and most conducive to their acquiring that inheritance which is incorruptible and undefiled: whereon I earnestly desire thy attention and affection may henceforward be so fixed, that thou mayest experience that what has happened, however afflicting to nature, has worked together for thy real permanent good.

I was almost afraid to write to thee, as it appeared like touching a sore which might be a little healed; but I hope my pen has been directed to steer clear of adding to thy pain. I saw nothing of what I have communicated when I began to write. Receive it as a kind intimation from the Father of mercies, as well as the cordial advice, and affectionate desire for thy experiencing thy mind to be so stayed upon the Lord as to become settled in true peace, of thy sympathizing

CATHARINE PHILLIPS.

To —————

Redruth, Eleventh month 2nd, 1793.

DEAR FRIEND,—For with that epithet I hope I may address thee in the spiritual relationship, having felt an affectionate sympathy with and regard for thee, although our personal acquaintance has not been such as might induce a very free expression of it. But one of my chief joys in my debilitated state is, the hearing or seeing that the children of the elect lady (which the church of Christ may be stiled) walk in the Truth; and a principal evidence of my continuing a living member of that church, is my retaining a love to the brethren. Indeed, I hope that this love is increased in my state of weakness, and my desires are strong that the plantation of God may be so watered, weeded, pruned, and watched over, as that its plants may flourish and be fruitful, according to their kind,

and the uses he assigns them. That all the trees and plants in his extensive garden may rejoice together, because they experience the advantage arising from their sheltering each other from storms, and expediting each other's growth, although it may in some instances appear to diminish the spreading of some plants of large magnitude, and which also may be deeply rooted. Such must at times evince their humility and true greatness by a willingness to be lopped, that room be made for young valuable plants growing near them, to expand. Indeed, I see occasion for old trees, in the spiritual plantation, to be pruned, as well as young ones, if they continue fruitful in the different seasons of life; if they will not abide it, barrenness and a contemptible appearance awaits them in the closing stage of life, though they have been fruitful in the earlier periods of it. May all the Lord's plants desire that he may turn his hand upon them as often as he sees it needful for their preservation, that they may produce well flavoured fruit in that proportion which he knows their root can bear. Alas, what great occasion is there for this pruning work in our highly favoured Society. How many wild shoots have been suffered to remain and grow, even to the destruction of some promising trees; shoots which have plenteously produced the fruits of the first nature, although they may not have the appearance of the worst kind. How heavy laden with fruits of worldly mindedness are some, whose outward appearance is specious. Pretended self-denial is in many instances self-gratification, and their zeal is not according to knowledge. These masked characters among us, it appears to me, do more hurt than open libertines; they create a distrust of the whole body of our members, brand us with the stigma of hypocrisy, and sorely wound the living remnant, who mourn for offences they cannot remedy, and lament the discouragement administered by them to tender infant plants in our garden.

But what saith the divine inspector to those who see and lament the state of these burdensome members? "Take heed to yourselves," and when your hearts and hands are cleansed, arise and labour in my garden to remove such plants as will not be restored to beauty and fruitfulness; and wisely nurse and train up those who are willing to receive instruction; endeavour to support the weak, to comfort the feeble minded, reprove, exhort, rebuke with all long-suffering and meekness. Thus may you be instrumental to work a reformation, and your spirits will be replenished with divine peace and love, which will compensate for all labours, sufferings, and the loss of every temporal blessing wherewith you may be tried. It appears clear to me, that if our living bre-



thren and sisters who are not called to labour publicly in word and doctrine, solemnly attended to their share of this rectifying work, it would tend to an increase of true spiritual unity and sympathy amongst us. There are indeed but few experienced fathers whose minds are affectionately exercised for the children's growth and preservation, which is probably one cause why there are not more of the rebellious children turned to the wisdom of the just. Private judicious admonition and cautions are not duly administered, or endeavours used to gather the youthful stragglers under the sheltering wing of wise elders. I am thankfully sensible, notwithstanding, that the Lord is at work amongst us, and I believe he will work powerfully to the reducing of the wills of some who have been educated in the profession of the truth, to the obedience of sonship, and others who have wandered upon the mountains will become inhabitants of the valleys, and be settled under the government of Israel's Shepherd.

But even such as are seeking the way to Zion, and are earnestly desirous to be everlastingly united to the Lord and his people, need much attention and help; they have much to leave behind, and many discouragements to encounter; and I think I have seen that if Friends watched over such as are looking towards us in wisdom, with a desire to be helpers of their faith, and endeavoured by honest labour to rectify their errors and defects, more of these might be brought forward, and in time become an additional strength to us. I had no view of penning the foregoing sentiments when I began to write to thee, but finding an inclination to reply to thy acceptable letter of the 10th ult., I have ventured to communicate them, in hope that if they meet thy own, it may tend to strengthen thy resolution to attend to thy share of any part of the work divine wisdom may assign thee in his church. It has pleased him to deprive thee of one of his most valuable temporal blessings; may it tend to thy enlargement in spiritual gifts, and increase of the highest enjoyments.

I observe thy remark of the probability of this nation sharing in a greater degree than it has yet done, of the cup of trembling, of which a neighbouring one drinks so deeply. As a religious body called to peace, we should study to promote it, and how we may edify not only one another, but those also who may differ from us in religious profession; exempling them how they ought to demean themselves consistently with the gospel of the prince of Peace; and if suffering be our lot, either for our testimony of a good conscience, or in sharing the calamities wherewith the nation may be visited, to seek for strength to bear them consistently with the

dignity of our high, holy, and peaceable profession.

Had thy business led thee this way, I should have been pleased to have seen thee and conversed with thee in the love and freedom of Truth. I am visited by some valuable friends, yet at times conclude myself a solitary afflicted widow, 'increasing in bodily infirmities, and able to do but little to promote the cause of righteousness. He who judgeth righteously only knows the cause of my late great affliction, whereto my most affectionate friends were in a great measure blind. May the dispensation of his mercy and judgement be so sanctified to my spirit, as to prepare it for admittance into his kingdom when dislodged from this decrepid and much afflicted tabernacle.

Thy affectionate friend,

CATHARINE PHILLIPS.

*To ———, who had been long in a distressed state of mind, from some tenets esteemed religious.*

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—The sympathy I have repeatedly felt with thy exercised mind hath raised earnest desires in mine, that Divine goodness may vouchsafe more fully to open thy understanding into the "work of righteousness," and so enlarge thy experience therein, that thou mayest witness it to be "peace," and the effect of it "quietness and assurance for ever."

Many are the stratagems of the subtle adversary of our happiness to prevent our attaining to this desirable state, which are only manifested by the light of Truth; whereunto I have wished thy mind might be effectually turned, and thy dependence fixed solely upon the one sure everlasting Helper. For while thou art seeking after men for instruction, and a settlement in the true faith, thou wilt be liable to be tossed to and fro by the various and opposite doctrines preached; and though ever hearing, mayest never come to the knowledge of the Truth in its native simplicity. Permit me, therefore, in true love, to entreat thee to cease from them, and humbly to wait upon the unerring Teacher, who can and will "guide thee into all Truth," if thou art disposed implicitly to follow him.

It appears to me more necessary now for thee to seek after resignation to the Divine will, than to search into comments upon points of doctrine: for until we attain to that state, we are not likely to "receive the kingdom of God as little children;" who, knowing nothing, are to be instructed from one point of knowledge and duty to another, and are passive to the direction of their tutors. Those who are resigned

to the Father's will, are to know of the doctrines of the Son : unto these they are marvelously opened and sealed, so that they can say they believe, not because of the testimony of others, but have "the witness in themselves" that they are the doctrines of Truth; and thus believing, they enter into rest, being certain that they have acquired the knowledge of the Truth; and pressing forward under its influence, they experience a gradual advancing to the "stature of manhood in Christ."

It is this holy certainty I desire thou mayest be partaker of, with those who are building upon the ancient "foundation of the apostles and prophets;" for such there are in the present time as surely as there were in the primitive ages of the church; who know Jesus Christ to be the "chief corner stone," and build upon him, and rejoice in him, as their leader, feeder, and instructor; through whom they worship the Father in spirit and in truth; and look up to Him in all afflictions and exercises, in humble confidence, that as a tender father, he careth for them and will supply all their wants.

Thus it was, in the morning of our day as a people, that many sincere souls who had long wandered upon the mountains of profession, and been exercised in various forms of godliness, seeking rest, but not finding it therein, obtained a settlement in the Truth as it is now professed amongst us, which they possessed, and rejoiced therein. For although the public profession of it exposed them to many and grievous sufferings both in person and estate; as well as to the general contempt of the world, whose customs and manners they were constrained to contradict, by a conduct and behaviour directly opposite thereto; they being devoted to suffering for the testimony of a good conscience, were favoured with that true peace which the world cannot give; and in noisome prisons livingly praised Him who had called them, not only to believe in Christ and his doctrines, but to suffer for him. Many of these have left faithful records of their sufferings, exercises, and experiences of the merciful dealings of the Lord with their souls; which may be as marks in the way to those who are sincerely seeking the same city which was prepared for them, and tend to strengthen their resolution to walk as they did; in holy self-denial, in contempt of the world, and in reverence and fear of offending Him, who had graciously manifested himself to them as a God of infinite loving-kindness. His compassion, my friend, faileth not; but all who will come may come, and upon the terms of submission to his will, experience Him to blot out their

transgressions, and be a father unto them. In Him is no variableness, neither shadow of turning: and if we of the present generation cleave steadily to Him, and are willing to die that we may live, we may be witnesses in our day to his power and mercy, and have to tell unto others, what he has done for our souls.

I herewith send thee a collection of memoirs, &c. of one who had been under various forms and professions of religion; and was in no mean station in the several religious societies, which in quest of real peace he left; whereof I request thy candid perusal. I was induced to this freedom by frequently remembering thee, as I lately read some of them, which seemed adapted to an exercised mind; and hope thou wilt construe it as intended for a help to settle thine in a right engagement before the Lord; unto whose wisdom I commend thee, only desiring thou mayest be baptized into that state, wherein, with the Captain of our salvation, thou mayest be able to say, "Father, glorify thy name," by my entire submission to thy will.

I hope thou wilt not suppose from any of the foregoing observations, that I confine the peculiar favour of God, to the members of our Society, to the exclusion of others. No, I believe that amongst all sorts of people, "those who fear God and work righteousness, are accepted of Him:" but as faithfulness agreeable to knowledge is the terms of our acceptance, it behoves us to seek earnestly for strength to do, as well as to be desirous to know, the heavenly Father's will; and whoever is thus sincerely exercised is likely to attain to his salvation. I am sorrowfully sensible of the great declension there is amongst us as a religious Society, from primitive purity and love to God; nevertheless, the principle of light and life we profess, is unchangeably the same; and there are yet with us, who, moving under its influence, rejoice in the manifestation thereof to their souls. That others under the same profession should run counter thereto, is no more than may be expected, though much to be lamented; for as now many hold the profession from education, and are born with passions like other men, until those passions come under Divine restriction, they will produce their natural fruits.

I conclude with desiring, that "the God of all consolation, who raised from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, the great and true Shepherd of his own sheep," may so manifest him as such to thy soul, that, "hearing his voice, thou mayest follow Him," and arrive to such an establishment in righteousness as to be favoured with true peace, and sincerely subscribe myself thy friend,

CATHARINE PHILLIPS.



*A Testimony from the monthly meeting of Friends for the Western Division of Cornwall, held at Falmouth the 6th of the fourth month, 1795, concerning our late valued friend, Catharine Phillips, formerly Payton.*

It appears, from accounts received, that she was born at Dudley in Worcestershire, the 16th of the first month, 1726-7, old Stile. Her parents, Henry and Ann Payton were honourable Friends; and he an approved minister, who, when in health, was much from home in the discharge of his religious duties; but for many of the latter years of his life was confined to his chamber by a paralytic disorder: so that the care of a large young family devolved mostly upon his wife, a woman of eminent piety and prudence, whose anxious solicitude for, and watchful attention to, her children, they have often commemorated with filial tenderness. Thus instructed by example and precept, our beloved friend was early engaged "to seek the Lord for her portion, and to know the God of her fathers to be the lot of her inheritance." And being much the companion of her afflicted father, she was probably thereby preserved from many levities incident to youth, as well as edified by his innocent conversation and virtues. In this allotment she had also opportunity to cultivate a disposition for retirement, so favourable to the growth of that good seed which the heavenly Husbandman had sown in her heart. Nevertheless, as she advanced in years, she found the propensities of natural inclination and wisdom strongly opposed to the manifestation of Divine grace; and through the conversation of some whose minds were not sufficiently guarded by that fear "which preserveth from the snares of death;" together with the introduction of books inconsistent with the simplicity of Truth, her best interest was greatly endangered. But it pleased Him whose gracious purpose it was to separate her to his service, about the seventeenth year of her age, to renew the powerful visitation of his love; and being favoured to see the station designed for her in the church militant, she was made willing to endure the baptisms necessary to that end. Under this trying dispensation she experienced the enemy of her soul to be a subtle as well as an open enemy; and earnest were her petitions, that she might be enabled to centre so deep in the resignation of her own will, as clearly to distinguish his deceptive voice from that of the true Shepherd; and thus be preserved from stepping forth in her service, before the appointed time. And this petition was no doubt granted by Him who saw the integrity and dedication of her mind: for having, as we believe, passed

through this work of preparation, the fruit produced was correspondently mature; and her progress in religious experience and usefulness distinguishably eminent. Her first public appearance was in supplication at Dudley meeting, on the 10th of the second month, 1748, being then in the twenty-second year of her age; and in the following year she entered upon her travels in the ministry, which continued with little intermission until within about nine years of her decease; during which latter space she was mostly confined at home by indisposition of body. Besides repeatedly visiting most of the counties in England and Wales, her travels extended to Ireland, Scotland, Holland, and the continent of America: in the course of which, according to accounts received, her labours amongst Friends and others were blessed to the conviction, edification, and comfort of many. In the year 1772, she entered upon the marriage state with our late valued friend William Phillips, and removed into Cornwall; where she was much engaged in religious labour, as well for the spreading of the testimonies of Truth among strangers, as in repairing the waste places in the Society: being often zealously concerned for the support of our Christian discipline, that irremediable cases which had been too much neglected, and were as stumbling-blocks, might be removed out of the way of sober inquirers; and particularly for the right establishment of women's meetings, in which her service was considerable.

During her long confinement and illness, a little before which time her tenderly affectionate husband was suddenly removed from her by death, she was often deeply tried; yet had to testify that the Lord's hand was still at times revealed for her support and preservation, and that his "wisdom is stamped on every dispensation of his providence." And although it was not permitted her to behold much fruit of her many arduous labours and secret baptisms amongst us, we believe they have been blessed to some of us; and with regard to others, we have a hope, as the Lord often sees meet for wise ends to veil from the view of his faithful labourers the extent of their usefulness, that the good seed sown through the instrumentality of this highly favoured servant will not be lost; but in due season produce the desired increase to the praise of his own ever worthy Name.

Some time before her decease, she thus expressed herself; "I am going where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. Oh, these souls of ours! that we should be willing to run the risk of losing them for any of the enjoyments of this life. I may say to you, follow me as I have followed Christ. Beware of pride, and of the very ground of

pride." When under pressure of great bodily suffering, she said, "this is a trial; Lord God Almighty sanctify it to my soul." To one present she said, "My dear child, the Lord God Almighty bless thee in every respect; all things may be done, and all things may be borne, through faith and faithfulness to the Author of all good." A few days before her removal, being at dinner, one remarked how little she ate. She replied, "it will do its office as long as necessary; and I am thankful that I feel no cloud;" and, making a short pause, added, "I have received a recompense at the Lord's hand for sin:" soon after which, the fits which attended her in this illness returned, and continued till about half an hour before she expired, during which space she lay very quiet, and drew her breath shorter and shorter to the last. She died the 16th of the eighth month, 1794, in the sixty-eighth year of her age, and forty-sixth of her ministry; and, after a meeting of Friends and others of the neighbourhood held on the occasion, was decently interred at Kea.

*Read, and approved in said meeting, and signed by*

|                       |                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Thomas W. Fox,        | Catharine Fox,            |
| Benjamin Wilkey,      | Frances Fox,              |
| Richard Scantlebury,  | Mary Fox, Jr.             |
| William James,        | Grace Dennis,             |
| James Hamilton,       | Eliza C. Jennings,        |
| Samuel Tregelles,     | Elizabeth Hingston,       |
| Silvanus James,       | Hannah Fox,               |
| Joseph Honeychurch,   | Anna Fox,                 |
| Robert W. Fox,        | Anna Price,               |
| William Jenkin,       | Sarah James,              |
| Richard Fox,          | Rebecca Tregelles,        |
| George Fox,           | Eliza R. Fox,             |
| Samuel Tregelles, Jr. | Mary Hingston, Jr.        |
| John Hamilton,        | Mary J. Fox,              |
| David Richards,       | Catharine Richards,       |
| Tabitha Fox,          | Catharine Hamilton,       |
| Sarah Tregelles,      | Cath. Phillips Tregelles, |
| Eleanor Richards,     | Elizabeth Philp.          |

Read and approved in our quarterly meeting for Cornwall, held at Falmouth the 7th of the fourth month, 1795, and signed in and on behalf thereof, by

GEORGE FOX, Clerk.  
ANNA FOX, Clerk.

## POSTHUMA CHRISTIANA;

OR

## A COLLECTION OF SOME PAPERS

OF

## WILLIAM CROUCH:

BEING A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT, UNDER HIS OWN HAND, OF HIS CONVINCEMENT OF,  
AND EARLY SUFFERINGS FOR, THE TRUTH.

WITH REMARKS ON SUNDRY MEMORABLE TRANSACTIONS, RELATING TO THE  
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

One generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts.—Psalm cxlv. 4.  
He being dead yet speaketh.—Heb. xi. 4.

### SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR BY WAY OF PREFACE.

THE real happiness of man consists in being truly religious, or holy, in our measures, as God is holy; for holiness and happiness are so nearly related, that the one cannot be, or subsist, without the other. Holiness is happiness begun, and happiness is holiness in perfection. Religion, godliness or holiness, three names of one and the same thing, is the rule or standard, by which an estimate is to be made of man's real and intrinsic worth. It is a great mistake, notwithstanding its too general currency in the world, to value men according to their



extrinsic circumstances; whether learning, power, grandeur, riches, and the like outward transitory enjoyments. For every man's true worth in the sight of God, stands in his likeness to God; in his partaking of the Divine nature, according to the measure of the grace of God which bringeth salvation and hath appeared unto all men. The enquiry then, after a man's real worth and value, is to be resolved, not into his outward acquirements, but inward qualifications; not into his wealth or greatness, but into his holiness and goodness.

Seneca\* hath an excellent saying to this purpose. "We do not, saith he, account a ship good, because it is curiously painted and gilded, or carved, or inlaid, or richly laden; but because it is strong and well built, and fitted for all the ends of navigation: so concerning a man, it is nothing to the purpose to say, he possesseth so many manors, he hath so much money at interest, he hath so many to address or complement him; he lieth in a rich bed, or drinketh in the finest glasses; but the grand question is, about his virtue and goodness." For virtue, as Juvenal† saith, "is the true and only nobility." "The best man, saith Velleius Paterculus,‡ is the most noble." "To excel in virtue, saith Hierom, is in God's account the chiefest nobility." In comparison of which, all outward pomp and grandeur are insignificant, empty trifles.

Vice, on the other hand, is an ignoble thing, and so degrades a man, who was made to glorify his Creator, that it sinks him below his first and principal end, and ranks him among dogs, swine, and other filthy creatures. Hence saith Solomon: A wicked man is loathsome, and cometh to shame, Prov. xiii. 5. His very thoughts and sacrifice are an abomination to the Lord, Prov. xv. But good men are called, the excellent of the earth, Psal. xvi. A chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, 1 Pet. ii. 9. Jewels, Mal. iii. 17. Elect, Rom. viii. 33. Precious, Lam. iv. 2. Anointed ones, Psal. cv. 15. Sons of God, children of God, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ, Rom. viii. 14, 16, 17.

Though these many times suffer hunger and thirst, cold and nakedness, and are exposed to a variety of hardships; and are tried with cruel mockings and scourgings, bonds and imprisonment,—being destitute, afflicted, tormented, Heb. xi. 36, 37; yet even then they are the beloved of God, precious in his sight, and so highly esteemed and valued by him, that the Apostle expressly declareth to their everlasting consolation and honour, the world is not worthy of them, ver. 38. And as an addition to the value the great God sets upon them, he hath promised by his servants, that the wise,

that is, the godly, shall inherit glory, Prov. iii. 35, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever, Dan. xii. 3. The Holy Scriptures are full in setting forth the happiness of the righteous. I shall at present mention but these few passages more. Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, that delighteth greatly in his commandments.—His righteousness endureth for ever. Unto the upright there ariseth light in darkness.—The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, Psal. cxii. 1, 3, 4, 6. Blessings are upon the head of the just, and his memory is blessed, Prov. x. 6, 7. But the case is otherwise with the wicked; his way is as darkness, Prov. iv. 19. The curse of the Lord is in his house, Prov. iii. 33. His desire and expectation shall perish, Psalm cxii. 10. Prov. x. 28. His remembrance shall perish from the earth, Job. xviii. 17. And his name shall rot, Prov. x. 7. But a good man's name is as a precious ointment, and leaves a fragrant behind it; even as the wise man said of Josiah, His remembrance is like the composition of the perfume, that is made by the art of the apothecary; it is sweet as honey in all mouths, and as music at a banquet of wine, Ecclesiasticus xlix. 1. Therefore as wicked men leave an unsavouriness behind them; so good men transmit a sweet memorial of their virtues to posterity. Sin and wickedness fasten a perpetual ignominy upon the ungodly: but piety and virtue, stamp an immortal honour upon the righteous; for the righteous is an everlasting foundation, Prov. x. 25.

But to leave this general, and come to a particular consideration; we have an evident proof of the powerful operation and excellent effects of religion, in the person commemorated in this preface. As he was early convinced of, and received the Truth, as it is in Jesus, who is the Way, the Truth and the Life; so he was enabled by the grace of God to walk in it, and to keep up a faithful testimony to it in life and conversation, according to the measure of the gift bestowed upon him. In him, both the form and power of religion met together. Profession answered practice, and practice corresponded with profession. He knew the name Christian, though an honourable appellation, would stand him in little stead without being changed into the nature of it. For to be a Christian indeed, is to be in Christ; and to be in Christ, is to be a new creature. Therefore his main concern was, to witness Christ formed in his soul, the life of Jesus made manifest in his body; and to know himself a living branch of the true vine, a lively stone in the spiritual building, whereof Christ is both the foundation and chief corner stone. Not resting in the beginnings of regeneration, where too many content themselves; but through the assistances and

\* Epis. 76. † Lib. 2. ‡ Ep. ad Celantiam. Tom. 1.

influences of the Holy Spirit, waiting for and labouring after the gradual and progressive work of sanctification, till he might 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; not as though he had already attained, either was already perfect; but he followed after, if that he might apprehend that for which also he was apprehended of Christ Jesus; not counting himself to have apprehended; but this one thing he did, forgetting those things which were behind, and reaching forth unto those things which were before, he pressed toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

Such was the heavenly frame of his mind; such the spiritual travail of his soul. He had a state of perfection in his view, and believing it attainable by the grace of God, he desisted not the pursuit, till, through the same grace, we hope, he was made a partaker of it. He was an humble, self-denying man, and owned no state above a watchful one; nor did he assume to himself the attainment spoken of, but continued in faith, humility, watchfulness and prayer; looking unto Jesus, that he who had begun the good work in him, would confirm it unto the end; relying always upon the grace of God, and not upon any duties or performances of his own. His desire was to be found in Christ, not having his own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith; and to know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means he might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. That being risen with Christ, and having his affections set on things above, he might live as a pilgrim and stranger here, as to the things of this world, and as a fellow-citizen with the saints, and of the household of God.

I had some knowledge of him for several years, before Divine Providence cast my lot to live so near him in the country; where I came to be more intimately acquainted with him, and to have frequent opportunities of receiving from, and returning Christian visits to, him, during the last four years of his life. I found him grown in years and grace together, and like ripe and weighty corn, ready to be gathered into the heavenly granary. His bodily strength was much impaired, through age and infirmities, usually attending that scene of life; but this affected not his better part. His soul was strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might; his understanding bright, his judgment sound, and his discourse seasoned with grace, and was of the things pertaining to the

kingdom of God. I was always glad when I could enjoy his company; for I still received some benefit by it. Though he was unacquainted with human arts and languages; which is a poor empty knowledge in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, yet having learnt that wisdom which is from above, and maketh wise unto salvation, he was enabled to speak many things, to the comfort and edification of me, and others that heard him. In the lips of him, saith Solomon, that hath understanding, wisdom is found,—the lips of the righteous feed many. Prov. x. 13, 21, and know what is acceptable, ver. 32. In the heart of the righteous is much treasure,—and the lips of the wise disperse knowledge. Prov. xv. 6, 7. Again, the wise in heart shall be called prudent, and the sweetness of the lips increaseth learning. Prov. xvi. 21. The sense of which passages, as it is plain, so the application is obvious. Our deceased friend was one of the wise in heart, where the heavenly treasure lay, from whence his lips dispersed knowledge, and fed many with that which was acceptable. Yea, such a sweetness accompanied his words, that his lips dropt as a honeycomb. Song iv. 11. And conveyed not doctrine only, but a fragrancy also with it to the hearers. Indeed, so far as my observation could furnish me, I think I may say, his whole conversation was full of sweetness and kindness. I never heard him speak diminutively of other men, nor in praise of himself; such was his love to his neighbour, and such the modest and humble thoughts he had of himself. A hearty zeal he had for God and his Truth, but it was not hot or fiery, but cool, meek and temperate. When any disputes or differences happened among his neighbours and acquaintance, or among relations, he endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reconcile them, and to quench those heats, which otherwise might have broken out into a flame. He loved all men, but especially those in whom he saw love towards God appearing; and these, were nearer to, or farther from him, as he saw them more or less impressed with the image and superscription of Christ. The sincere and upright hearted were very near him; and though he could have no unity with hypocrites, formalists, and loose walkers, yet such he pitied, and as opportunity presented, he reproved and exhorted them, praying for their recovery and amendment.

As to the things of this world, he esteemed them as they are in themselves, perishing enjoyments; and therefore placed not his affections upon them. As it was his duty to provide for himself and family, so he was diligent and industrious in his calling, in order to that end; and not to that end only, but that he might also have wherewith to minister to the necessities



of others according to his ability. The household of faith partook largely of his charity; but others came in for a share, as he saw occasion. He did not confine his bounty within the limits of his own persuasion, but was a benefactor to many others, how different soever in opinion from him. That person was his neighbour who stood in need of his help, and he in a capacity of helping him.

He looked upon himself, not so much a proprietor as a steward, and having received a stewardship, expected to give an account to the great Lord and Master of the universe. And therefore his desire and endeavour were to be found faithful, in discharging the trust committed to him.

The love of money, which is declared by the apostle, to be the root of all evil. 1 Tim. vi. 10. being the foundation of uncharitableness, he had such an aversion to, that he emitted a treatise under this title, *The enormous sin of covetousness detected*; informing the reader in his preface thereto, that it was not ambition to appear in print, that moved him to that undertaking; but a sincere and just abhorrence of that crying sin. The book treats of a subject which wise men in all ages have condemned, and yet most men are or have been more or less in love with it. That covetousness is a sin, yea, a grievous sin, who is there that denies? But then the distinctions about it, the apologies and excuses made for it, are so many, and so subtly contrived; that though no sin is so general and apparent, yet there are very few among the vast number of delinquents, that will acknowledge themselves guilty. Our worthy friend hath made such a detection of it, that notwithstanding all the cunning of its advocates and abettors, and the various fair colours they put upon it, it is still what it ever was, an odious monster in the sight of God and good men; a complicated evil, that carries in it the seed of all iniquity. I have given a recommendation of the book already in an epistle prefixed to it; and I adventure once more to recommend it, as a means, through the blessing of God, to cure the malady of past and present avarice; and an antidote to it for the future. It was a notable observation, which one made concerning covetous persons; \* "We read not, saith he, of any good man, in all the history of the Scriptures, or of the primitive times, that was covetous; and it is a shame, that any that do now pretend to the Christian religion, should degenerate."

But to return from this, if it may be called a digression; as to our friend's clearness in this matter, we have beside his own testimony

against covetousness in that book, the testimonies of several credible persons, that had knowledge of him for several years, who unanimously agree, That his treasure was in heaven; and for the treasures of this world, he put no value upon them any further, than to be his servants for necessary uses, and to do charitable acts therewith towards others.

His charity was large, and in many ways; being ready to assist such as were in trouble, or under affliction of any sort, where either his advice or purse was wanting. For he spared neither purse nor pains, when he was called to serve others who needed them. He practised the pure religion and undefiled before God, and the Father; that is, he frequently visited the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and kept himself unspotted from the world. He was in particular a great support to the poor of the neighbourhood where he lived in the country, often distributing, by other hands, largely of his charity to them. Nor did the strangers in distress, go empty handed away from his gates.

As he was exemplary in showing mercy to the poor, and in helping and supporting the weak and afflicted; so was he no less remarkable, in doing justice towards all men. It is one of the first lessons that Truth teaches her disciples, to do justly. I, saith Wisdom, lead in the way of righteousness, in the midst of the paths of judgment. Prov. viii. 20. and plainly; justice is a virtue of so large extent, that a heathen man said,\* It is the complex of all other virtues; and that every good man is a just man. He that makes a show of religion, without doing justly to his neighbour, is a hypocrite; and does but mock God, whilst he pretends to honour him. To be truly religious, is to be truly just. This is positively asserted by the apostle, in his caution against those deceivers, who spread this poisonous doctrine among the people, that men might live as they listed, provided they believed aright. Little children, saith he, let no man deceive you; he that doeth righteousness is righteous:—He that commiteth sin is of the devil. 1 John iii. 7, 8. He that doeth righteousness: the intentment of which expression, is not to be limited to one, or a few good or righteous actions; for a wicked man may go so far; but doing righteousness, imports as much as doing justly; and denotes a constant course of well-doing, derived from a divine principle of righteousness planted in the soul; which the apostle expresseth by the word seed; from which springs the immortal birth, called a being born of God, ver. 9. For every one that doeth righteousness, is born of him. 1 John ii. 29; or, as he elsewhere declareth, he that doeth good, is of God. 3 John ver. 11.

\* Samuel Fairclough, in *Clark's Lives of sundry Eminent persons*.

\* Theognis ver. 147, 148.

Now as doing righteousness, or doing good, according to the apostle, is a certain proof of being born of God; so is it vain for any man to conceit he is so born, in whom the fruits of righteousness are not. But where we see those fruits apparent, there we have good grounds to infer, the person is born of God. Whosoever acts from this principle, acts as a new creature; and feels a necessity upon him to keep his word, perform his lawful contracts, pay his just debts, and do to all men, as he would have others do to him. That this was the rule our friend walked by, I have heard him often declare; and have also seen several testimonies from those, who knew his dealings for many years, in confirmation of the truth of it.

In his family, whether considered as a husband, father or master; his children and servants, who were immediately under his care, give an ample testimony of him, as a singular pattern of piety and virtue, in the discharge of all those relations, and worthy to be recommended to imitation. And because a good example is an excellent thing in every station, wherein our lot is cast by divine Providence, I shall speak a little to that subject. A good example hath a great influence upon those amongst whom we are; and is of more efficacy many times than precept. For this only layeth down rules, and giveth directions about the way of virtue; but the other goeth before, and showeth it, saying as it were, this is the way, walk in it. Therefore the apostle propounds his own example to the Corinthians, Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ. 1 Cor. xi. 1. And to the Philippians, Be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so, as ye have us for an ensample. Phil. iii. 17. For though he was an eminent apostle, and minister of Christ; yet he thought it not enough to deliver sound doctrine, unless he also lived up to the truths he taught, exemplifying in his own practice, the duties he recommended unto others. Of the same import are those words of Christ, Follow me, so often mentioned by the evangelists; and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. Mat. xi. 29. Leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps; who did no sin, neither was guile found in his lips. 1 Pet. ii. 21, 22. Again, when he had washed his disciples feet, and instructed them in the mystery of it, he added, I have given you an example, that ye should do, as I have done to you. John xiii. 15. That ye should, in imitation of me, exercise humility, condescension, and brotherly love to one another. He that saith he abideth in him, ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked. 1 John ii. 6. His example ought to be a rule to us in our walking; for he was not a legislator only, but a

pattern; he not only delivered most excellent precepts, but most exactly also practised them; and thereby showed us the possibility and practicableness of that holy religion which he taught.

When he said to his disciples, Ye are the salt of the earth. Mat. v. 13, and the light of the world; a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid, ver. 14; it is as much, as though he should have said, ye are to season the earth, and enlighten the world, both with your doctrine and example. Therefore, let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven, ver. 16. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid: your examples will be as visible as your persons: men's eyes will be upon you, and observe you; and if your lives and doctrines agree, you will be as salt to preserve the world from putrefaction, and as lights to scatter the gross darkness, that hath covered the people.

The plainest proof that we can give to men of our sincerity in religion, is a demonstration by the good effects it produces. A good life is more convincing than any verbal declaration; because men come to see then with their eyes, what they heard with their ears; see those virtuous actions performed, which they heard recommended. And certainly, though religion is a very beautiful thing, even in its description or portraiture; yet it is set forth or expressed most to the life, in the person that is truly religious and shows his faith by his works.

O the excellency of that faith which keeps the commandments of God! It was this that rendered the holy patriarchs, prophets and apostles so famous, not only in their day, but throughout all after generations. Nay, if I should say, well-doing is the life and soul of religion; I have the apostle James to justify the expression, who saith, As the body without the Spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also. Jam. ii. 26. The improvement that we ought to make of this discourse, is to apply it impartially to ourselves, and see that we be holy livers, as well as sound and orthodox believers; that we not only have the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, but adorn it also by a godly conversation.

"Let us consider,\* saith one, whether or no this religion doth govern our lives; which we must learn, not by our acquaintance with systems and models of divinity, but by our keeping its commandments; for unless Christ be inwardly found in our hearts, the notions of religion can save us no more than arts and sciences, whilst they lie only in books and papers without us, can make us learned. For Christ Jesus did not undergo a reproachful life and

\* Hartcliffe's Preface to his *Treatise of Moral and Intellectual Virtues*. p. 28, 29.



death, merely to bring in a notion into the world, without changing, mending and reforming it; so that men might be as wicked as they were before, and as much under the power of the prince of darkness. Indeed, Christ came to expiate and atone for our sins; but the end of this was, that we might forsake all ungodliness and worldly lusts.

"It is true, there be some that dishearten us in this spiritual warfare, and bring an ill report upon that land, which we are to conquer, telling of nothing but giants that we shall never be able to subdue: others would suggest, that it is enough for us, if we be but once in a state of grace, we need not take so great pains to travel any further; or, that Christ hath done all for us already without us, and nothing more need to be done within us. Hearken not to them, I beseech you, but hear what Caleb and Joshua say; Let us go up at once and possess it; for we are able to overcome them, the huge armies of lusts, not by our own strength, but by the power of the Lord of hosts. Hear also the wholesome words of St. Peter; Give all diligence, to add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity: for if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." For holiness hath something of God in it, and therefore it must needs be a victorious and triumphant thing.

And as our friend had been a good example in his family, both to children and servants, so his care was for the welfare of them all. He wrote a paper of Christian advice to his children, the year before his death, which might remain as a testimony of his dear love to, and affectionate concern for, them, and is as followeth.

The 7th of the Second month, 1709.

You, my children all, I charge you love God above all. Love one another, live in peace one with another: avoid all appearances of discord: remember you are brethren; see that you fall not out by the way in your travel and pilgrimage. Seek not a rest here, but pass on to that city of rest, which God hath prepared for his people: be exemplary in your lives and conversations; keep Truth, and it will keep you, and give you an inheritance with the saints in light: be watchful over one another for good; and as much as in you is, endeavour to live peaceably with all men. And the God of peace bless you, and prosper you, and make you a comfort to yourselves, and one to another, which is the earnest prayer and cry of my soul to God; your loving father,

WILLIAM CROUCH.

The things here given in charge are few, but very comprehensive; short and plain, but weighty and sententious; and I pray God, that not only they to whom they were directed, but all others, whether parents or children, that shall read them, may take so much notice thereof, as to transcribe them into their practice.

He was enriched with a large stock of experimental knowledge, which he had been gathering and treasuring up for many years. And though he lived not upon his former experiences, but upon Christ the living bread, and only nourishment of the immortal soul; yet those experiences of the loving kindness of God, were comfortable to him to remember, and helpful to him in giving advice and counsel to others. His old age being an age of great experience, wisdom, counsel, judgment and understanding in the things of God, I may apply those words of the son of Sirach, and say with him; Oh, how comely a thing is judgment for gray hairs, and for ancient men to know counsel! Oh, how comely is the wisdom of old men, and understanding and counsel to men of honour! Much experience is the crown of old men; and the fear of God is their glory. Ecclesiasticus xxv. 4, 5, 6. For the hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness. Prov. xvi. 31.

There is an honour due to the very age of old men; Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God. I am the Lord. Lev. xix. 32. i. e. saith a late annotator.\* Show all manner of respect to them; for God requires this reverence, and has bestowed this old age as a singular blessing. The glory of young men is their strength: and the beauty of old men is the gray head. Prov. xx. 29. "Every age, saith the same author, has its peculiar ornament and advantage, for which it ought to be respected." Whereas it is said, The sinner being an hundred years old, shall be accursed. Isa. lxv. 20, we must distinguish between the sinner and the old age; the curse being threatened to the former, not to the latter; for it is the person that is culpable, not the age. But though there is an honour due to the age of old men; yet when they are not only laden with years, but enriched with religion and virtue, which is, to be found in the way of righteousness, then their honour is much greater; then it is, as the wise man saith, a crown of glory; and to allude to the apostle's expression. 1. Tim. v. 17, They are elders, that are worthy of double honour. For them that honour me, saith the Lord, I will honour. 1. Sam. ii. 30. And if God will honour them, who is he that

\* Clark's Annotations upon the place.

shall presume to reproach them? For the righteous live for evermore, their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them is with the most High. Wisd. v. 15.

It is a great fault, and yet grown too common, to be ripping up the former weaknesses and failings of men, which through the grace of God they have repented of, and forsaken. This practice is contrary to the method of Divine mercy and goodness: for when God is graciously pleased to pardon sin for the sake of Christ, upon true repentance, he is said to blot it out, and to remember it no more. Isa. xlii. 25. and xlii. 22. Jer. xxxi. 34. Heb. viii. 12. So is it repugnant to all the rules of justice and charity among men. Thou wouldest think it hard and unkind, to be so upbraided by another; see then that thou art not guilty of the same fault.

Again, there is another error that should be cautioned against, and that is, when some men are not so good as they should be, to catch at any story, though ever so groundless, that reflects upon those who are better than themselves; and thereby endeavour, as archbishop Tillotson\* observes, "to bring men to a level, hoping it will be some justification of them, if they can but render others as bad as themselves."

Add to this another passage of his, "Men look with an evil eye upon the good that is in others, and think that their reputation obscures them, and that their commendable qualities do stand in their light; and therefore they do what they can to cast a cloud over them, that the bright shining of their virtues may not scorch them."

And because evil speaking is become almost an epidemical fault, take these rules and directions which he hath laid down for the prevention and cure of it.

1. "Never say any evil of man, but what you certainly know.—He that easily credits an ill report, is almost as faulty as the first inventor of it: for though you do not make, yet you commonly propagate, a lie. Therefore never speak evil of any upon common fame, which for the most part is false; but almost always uncertain whether it be true or not.

2. "Before you speak evil of any man, consider whether he hath not obliged you by some real kindness, and then it is a bad return to speak ill of him, who hath done us good.

3. "Let us accustom ourselves to pity the faults of men, and to be truly sorry for them, and then we shall take no pleasure in publishing them. This, common humanity requires of us, considering the great infirmities of human nature, and that we ourselves also are liable to be tempted.

4. "Whenever we hear any man evilly spoken of, if we know any good of him, let us say that. It is always the more humane and the more honourable part, to stand up in the defence and vindication of others, than to accuse and bespatter them.

— "They that will observe nothing in a wise man, but his oversights and follies; nothing in a good man, but his failings and infirmities; may make a shift to render a very wise and good man very despicable. If one should heap together all the passionate speeches, all the forward and imprudent actions of the best man; all that he had said or done amiss in his whole life, and present it all at one view, concealing his wisdom and virtue; the man in this disguise would look like a madman or a fury: and yet if his life were fairly reported, and just in the same manner as it was led, and his many and great virtues set over against his failings and infirmities, he would appear to all the world to be an admirable and excellent person.

5. "That you may not speak ill of any, do not delight to hear ill of them. Give no countenance to busy bodies, and those that love to talk of other men's faults.

6. "Let every man mind himself, and his own duty and concernment. Do but endeavour in good earnest to mend thyself, and it will be work enough for one man, and leave thee but little time to talk of others.

7. "And lastly, let us set a watch before the door of our lips, and not speak but upon consideration: I do not mean to speak finely, but fitly; especially when thou speakest of others, consider of whom, and what thou art going to speak: use great caution and circumspection in this matter; look well about thee; before thy words slip from thee; which when they are once out of thy lips, are for ever out of thy power."

The reducing of these rules to practice, would be an especial means to purge out that leaven which sours conversation; and renders it so dangerous and unsociable.

I should have had no occasion to mention them here, but because the tongues of some men run into that unbridled liberty, as to spare neither the living, nor the dead.

Our friend showed us a better example; he knew a bridle to his tongue, and set a watch before the door of his lips, remembering, that if any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man. Jam. iii. 2. but if any man seem to be religious, and bridled not his tongue, he deceiveth his own heart, and his religion is vain. Jam. i. 26.

In his illness, which sometimes was severe upon him, being sorely afflicted about the space of two years before it pleased the Lord to remove him hence, he bore it with much patience,

\* Sermon against Evil speaking, p. 14. Edit. 4to, 1694.



meekly submitting himself to the will of God. He was still, and opened not his mouth in murmuring or complaining, because he knew it was the Lord's doing. About nine months before his departure, and at a time when his distemper was sharp upon him, a great trial befell him. His second wife, whose name was Ruth, a woman of singular piety and virtue, with whom he had lived for fifty years and upwards, in the fear of God and true affection, was by death removed from him. The parting with so near and dear a relation, of whom he left this testimony, that she would deny herself to a very great degree to serve him, beyond what he could ask or expect from her; could not but make a deep impression upon him. But such was his resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, that he possessed his soul in patience, acknowledging with holy Job, that the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord. Job i. 21.

Now drew on the time of his own dissolution, which the Lord had graciously prepared him for, and which he patiently waited the accomplishment of. He often admired the goodness of God to him, in inclining his mind to seek after good from his youth, and in preserving him through the whole course of his life to old age; he also often retired in prayer, and waited upon the Lord for support under his daily exercise. He had attained, through Divine grace, to that inward peace and satisfaction of mind, that he declared, he had now nothing to do but to die. When he saw his children concerned for him, he often exhorted them, not to desire his life, for he was through age and weakness incapable of being serviceable according to his desire; and that he had done his day's work in

his day. The day before he died, a Friend who had made him several visits in his illness, went to see him. He found him very weak, and sitting some time with him waiting upon the Lord, he was moved to supplicate the Lord on his behalf, who was pleased to answer the cry of his servant, and they were greatly comforted together, in a sense of the Lord's presence and goodness. After prayer, he expressed his great satisfaction in that heavenly visit, and said as before, he had now nothing to do but to die, and waited for the time when it should please God to call him out of this miserable world, and take him to his eternal rest. The night following he took his solemn leave of his children who were then present, telling them, he now thought he had but a little time, and the time which he so greatly desired and waited for was near at hand; which was matter of joy to his soul, desiring the Lord to make his change easy, that so his patience might hold out to the end. And the Lord granted him his request.

Thus died he in a good old age, an old man and full of years, rich in faith, fruitful in good works, and replenished with hopes of enjoying a blessed eternity.

William Crouch departed this life the 13th of eleventh month, 1710, aged eighty years. Ruth Crouch departed this life the 20th of second month, 1710, aged seventy-two years.

Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in, in his season. Job v. 26.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace. Psalm xxxvii. 37.

RICHARD CLARIDGE.

## THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

FRIENDLY reader, having in the time of my pilgrimage in this world, had some knowledge and inward observation of the two mystical kingdoms of light and darkness; in which all the sons and daughters of men are comprehended, and will be eternally concluded as subjects of one or the other; I am drawn forth in the love of God, according to my measure, to give some hints, by way of description of them both; having for some time had my conversation amongst the subjects of the kingdom of light, peace and consolation; as in times past I had amongst those in the kingdom of darkness, where sin and iniquity bear rule.

In these kingdoms are two capital cities, the one Jerusalem, a city that is compact together.

Psalm cxxii. 3. They shall call it the throne of the Lord. Jer. iii. 17. A city of our solemnities, and a quiet habitation. Isai. xxxiii. 20. The other is of Babylon, or confusion, the city of desolation and astonishment. Jer. lx. 13, 15.

These kingdoms are in continual opposition one to the other, even as light and darkness. In the one there shall be no night, they need no candle; for the Lord God giveth them light. Rev. xxii. 5. The other is the seat of the beast, and his kingdom is full of darkness. Rev. xvi. 10.

Of the original of these kingdoms and cities there are records in sacred history, a history of undoubted verity: the city Jerusalem hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God,

which Abraham looked for. Heb. xi. 10. And unto this city the faithful in all ages have their eye, and they desire to be made citizens of it.

The other city of Babylon, or confusion in the type, was begun and carried on by Nimrod, the rebel and tyrant of the race of cursed Ham. Gen. x. 6, 8. 1 Chron. i. 10.

Between these two kingdoms, there is always war, and continual enmity in one against the other, which proceedeth from the contrariety of the natures of the seeds which govern their inclinations. Gen. iii. 15. Rom. viii. 7. Jam. iv. 4. And as they are under distinct kings, so their government is distinct.

The one is governed by just and righteous laws, ordained and established by the Great Lawgiver; even God Almighty: the other by corrupt will and power, which naturally tend to oppression and cruelty.

The general and universal law of the kingdom and city of light and peace, is love, and the fruits and effects thereof are manifold.

The laws of the kingdom of darkness, are altogether arbitrary, and the effects are answerable thereunto.

The subjects and inhabitants of Jerusalem, delight in acts of justice, mercy, charity, and they do good to all; they love enemies, and pray for them that misuse them, or spitefully treat them: they render not evil for evil, but overcome evil with good, according to the command of Christ Jesus their king and governor. Mat. v. 44. Luke vi. 35. Rom. xii. 21.

The subjects and inhabitants of the other kingdom and city Babylon, act quite contrary; they render evil for good, hatred for love, envy, malice and bitterness, for good-will and kindness.

What I here present thee with, respecting these kingdoms and cities, is not merely what I have heard by the hearing of the ear, nor is it a draught from the copy of any who have pretended to describe them, perhaps from the copy of another, and so by tradition: but what in measure I know from experience, having, with some application, sought to know, and be acquainted with the nature, laws, discipline, and government of the city New Jerusalem; as I was in some degree unwarily subjected to the laws and customs of the opposite city of darkness and confusion.

In the city of Jerusalem, there is one only Judge and Lawgiver, His laws most just and equal; they are not couched in ambiguous terms and sentences, but plain and legible to every understanding, being written in the fleshly table of the heart, so that the way-faring man, though a fool, shall not err. Isaiah xxxv. 8.

An interpreter is also always near at hand. Job xxxiii. 23. None need to spend their money for counsel, or fee advocates: the Lord of the

country hath given and appointed a free advocate. 1 John ii. 1, who pleads our cause, and maketh intercession freely. Rom. viii. 27 and 34. Heb. vii. 25.

And as there is but one principal Judge, so in all causes there is but one chief witness to give evidence; which witness is always present, and beholds all actions; yea, the very thoughts. 1 Sam. ii. 3. Rom. ii. 15. So that there can be no hiding, or covering, nor pretending for an appeal to any other judgment-seat; behold the Judge standeth before the door. James v. 9. There can be no going in or out; no escaping or avoiding this Judge; no bribe, or gift can blind the eye of this Judge; but before him all things are naked, and opened unto the eyes of him, with whom we have to do. Heb. iv. 13. It is in confessing and forsaking our sins, that we obtain forgiveness and cleansing. 1 John i. 9. Here is opportunity for Christ the Advocate to appear, and to intercede with the Judge, the Father, who heareth and accepteth the Son. John xi. 41, 42. And him that cometh to me, saith Christ, I will in no wise cast out. John vi. 37. And this is the will of Him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son and believeth on him, may have everlasting life, ver. 40.

After this manner, is the order and government of this kingdom, universally over all the sons and daughters of men, upon the face of the whole earth.

I shall now take some notice of the travel and progress, made by the subjects of this kingdom, towards the city of rest and peace; and of the treatment, interruptions and discouragements, which they have met with from the inhabitants and subjects of the other kingdom of darkness and confusion: which for thy observation and information, I refer thee to those few remarks I have gathered, for the most part, from my own knowledge and experience, and are as follows.

The discouragements we met withal in our progress and travels, were not only from open enemies; but from some who pretended to be travelling to the same country and city, as the spies did in the days of old, when the Israelites were travelling under the conduct of Moses their leader, who sent out spies to discover the country. Num. xiii. 16, 17. Now of twelve that were sent, only two brought a good report, two honest men, Caleb and Joshua, men of another spirit than the rest: these encouraged the people, whereas the greatest number discouraged them, by telling them the inhabitants of the country were giants, the sons of Anak, and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight, ver. 33. We be not able to go up against the people, for they are stronger than we, ver. 31. The cities are



walled and very great, ver. 28. And thus being betrayed and overcome with unbelief, a fear entered them : and these evil spies discouraged the people, and caused them to murmur against the Lord, and against Moses their leader. Num. xiv. 2, 3. But Caleb and Joshua, not being overawed with slavish fear of the sons of Anak, stilled the people, chap. xiii. 30, and encouraged them, saying, Let us go up at once and possess it, for we are well able to overcome it. Only rebel not ye against the Lord, neither fear ye the people of the land : for they are bread for us, their defence is departed from them, and the Lord is with us ; fear them not, chap. xiv. 9. But those ten unbelievers, although they were made to confess, that the land flowed with milk and honey, chap. xiii. 27, yet having begot unbelief in the people, they were all set against Caleb and Joshua, and bade stone them with stones, chap. xiv. 10.

Now to bring this relation as a comparison home to our times, and our own native country, the nation of England : will it not run parallel with the practice in our remembrance, of the unfaithfulness of some, who pretended to some interest in spiritual Canaan, the land of rest and peace, promised to spiritual Israel, under the conduct of our spiritual Moses, Christ Jesus, who have brought an ill report upon that good land, through their unbelief, and their being over-awed by slavish fear ?

But the matter will differ here ; those spies which brought an evil report upon the good land of Canaan outward, were yet sent by Moses ; as were Caleb and Joshua : but these in our days that have brought an evil report, and endeavoured to discourage spiritual Israel in their travel, have taken upon them to go, but were never sent ; and although they undertake to tell that the land is good, and that it flowed with milk and honey, as the unbelieving spies of old did ; yet there is just cause to suspect they cannot give a description from any true knowledge of the country, having, it may be thought, never travelled one day's journey in it, nor gathered one cluster of grapes from the true and living vine, Christ Jesus.

But as in the days of old, the unbelieving spies discouraged the people, by representing to them, that the inhabitants of the land were giants, the sons of Anak, men great of stature, we are in our own sight but as grasshoppers, &c. So these pretending spies in our days being overawed with slavish fear, tell of the the sons of Anak : this and the other tall sin of lust and evil concupiscence, inhabitants of the land, who dwell in the heart and body of the country, and are great of stature : it is true the land is good, say they, and floweth with milk and honey ; but the inhabitants of sin and iniquity that dwell in it, are stronger than we,

and the cities are great and walled with custom and long continuance ; and moreover, we see there those mighty giants of pride, ambition, vain glory, love to the world, honour, riches, preferment, self-love, self-preservation, and self-interest ; favour and friendship of great men, &c. We cannot engage with these sons of Anak ; alas ! we are in our own sight but as grasshoppers.

These have been, and are the false treacherous spies, who have withstood the valiant and true hearted in the spirit of Caleb and Joshua in our days, and who being overawed by unbelief and slavish fear in their own hearts, by this their evil report, have discouraged, and do discourage the people, and cause them to murmur and rebel against our spiritual Moses, Christ Jesus, who appears in the hearts of the sons of men in these days, to lead them out of spiritual Egypt, the land of bondage in sin and iniquity, into spiritual Canaan, the land of freedom, rest and peace.

And when at any time the courageous spirit which dwelt in Caleb and Joshua, hath arisen in any in our days, to encourage the people to engage and overcome their enemies, saying, the land is an exceeding good land, and if the Lord delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it us : only rebel not ye against the Lord, neither fear ye the people of the land ; their defence is departed from them, and the Lord is with us, fear them not. Num. xiv. 7, 8, 9. Hath not this been the language of the honest in the spirit of Caleb and Joshua in our day ? But as then they bade stone them with stones, so in like manner have these, like Caleb and Joshua, been treated in our time.

And the glory of the Lord appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation, before all the children of Israel, and the Lord said unto Moses, how long will this people provoke me ? I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, ver. 10, 11, 12. who can but say these things have been brought to pass in our days ? But meek Moses besought the Lord, and pleaded with him, saying, the Lord is long suffering, and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, pardon I beseech thee the iniquity of this people, ver. 18, 19. And in like manner our spiritual Moses, Christ Jesus, hath moved in the hearts of his suffering servants and children to pray for the forgiveness of their enemies ; but the Lord said, those men which have seen my glory, and my miracles, &c. and have tempted me, and have not hearkened to my voice, surely they shall not see the land, neither shall any of them that provoked me, see it. Numb. xiv. 22, 23, 24. But my servant Caleb, who had another spirit, and Joshua the son of Nun, ver 30.

I would to God that the example and pun-

ishment which followed upon the Israelites of old, as the consequence of their murmuring and rebelling against God, may be weightily considered by all in this and succeeding generations, lest they be cut off as those Israelites were, and never suffered to enter the good land of promise, of peace and rest, under the conduct of our spiritual Moses, Christ Jesus, the light of the world, given for salvation to the very ends of the earth.

And I pray God, the consideration of the rewards which attended faithful Caleb and Joshua, and the particular regard God had unto them, and how he signalized his favour in sparing them, when the carcasses of so great a multitude fell in the wilderness, and none suffered to enter the land of promise, save Caleb and Joshua, of those that were numbered, from twenty years old and upward; may be as a motive to encourage the faithful to perseverance in their faithfulness to the end.

And now reflecting upon the various exercises, tribulations and afflictions which have at-

tended us in our travail; and remembering also, the manifold deliverances, which God hath mercifully wrought for us—I have made some short collections of both; and also taken notice, how from a small beginning, God hath enlarged his sanctuary, and carried on his own work, through great opposition, by his own secret arm of power, to his own praise for ever. The remembrance of which, being at this time fresh upon my mind, I cannot but recommend the same to the serious consideration of the reader: and with an earnest breathing to God, that he will be pleased, through his own divine Grace and Spirit, to incline many more, to seek him, as he hath done my soul; blessed be his name and power for ever, and to love his appearance above all external objects, of what nature or kind soever, and that in simplicity of heart, they may give and ascribe all glory, honour, and praise to Him over all, as my soul doth,

WILLIAM CROUCH.

## A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT, &c.

### CHAPTER I.

#### *Of my birth, parentage, and convincemet of Truth.*

I WAS born, according to my best calculation, the 5th day of the second month, called April, 1628, in a small village called Penton, by Weyhill, near Andover in Hampshire; my father was a substantial yeoman, of good repute in the country, and well beloved of his neighbours. My mother was a religious woman, and had conversation amongst the people in that day called Puritans; she was very watchful over her children, to preserve us from committing any evil, either in word or action, and would often get us together, and be with us on our knees in prayer to God, sometimes in the day time, and sometimes in the night season, as she had opportunity: my father was taken from us in the prime of his years, leaving his children young. And by reason of the wars which happened in England, with the unsettledness of our family by frequent removings, I was deprived of a great part of what fell to my share, by the will of my father; and by sundry interruptions was prevented of that education in grammar learning, which otherwise I might have enjoyed.

In the year 1646, I came to London, and bound myself apprentice in Cornhill, near the

Old Exchange; and my time being out, I seated myself, after some time, in Spread-Eagle-Court in Finch-Lane, near Cornhill aforesaid.

And now to speak something particularly, with respect to my own state and condition from my childhood. God was pleased in his abundant grace and favour, to place his witness near, even in my heart and conscience; so that when I was a child, I was preserved from many evils incident to youth, and an awe continued with me as I grew up; and God did often visit me in mercy, and preserved and delivered me from many great temptations and evils; for which my soul gives thanks and praise to his excellent name, in the continued remembrance thereof.

And as I increased in years, the Lord's care was over me, so that I did not accompany myself with the rude and extravagant youth of the times; but rather took pleasure in a sober sort of company, and such as were religiously inclined, and my desire and endeavours led me to hear such public preachers as were most esteemed and followed by the most religious, as I apprehended. I often wrote the sermons, and was sometimes greatly affected, and would return home in the time of my apprenticeship and retire myself, and offer up my prayers to God. But, alas! I did not know and consider that the Lord was so near to me, and that these his



visitations were as a hand held forth, or as the star, which the wise men followed, until they came where the child Jesus, given for the Saviour was, whom they fell down before and worshipped. But I being ignorant, and not bowing to, and worshipping God in that appearance, or manifestation so near unto me, as I ought to have done; I knew little growth or increase of grace in my heart, or power over my affections and lusts. In this time of my ignorance of God being so near, I was sometimes overcome with sinful temptations, and vain objects too often prevailed upon me, which afterwards proved to be a burden and load upon my soul. Yet God in his great mercy did not cast me off, blessed be his name for ever! He with much long suffering and patience followed me with conviction and reproof.

In the year 1656, I came to be in some measure convinced of the everlasting Truth of God, revealed and made known to a despised people called Quakers; my mother and sisters having been before convinced in Gloucestershire, near to Bristol. For by a good hand of Providence, I was brought to some meetings of the said people in London: concerning whom I had heard various reports; but when I heard for myself the testimony of Truth declared, it was to my outward ear as a very lovely song. Ezek. xxxiii. 32. But I felt not the power working in my heart, until it pleased the Almighty to touch it therewith; who did thereby open my heart, and set my sins in order before me. Then, Oh then! I saw my woful state and condition, although I was in a profession and form of religion, as aforesaid; and that salvation is only in and through Christ Jesus, the gift of God and light of the world, given of the Father for a Saviour unto the ends of the earth. Acts xiii. 47. Now I found him a God nigh at hand, a discoverer of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Heb. iv. 12; a Judge standing before the door. Jam. v. 9; a reprover in secret, before whom I was made to bow and bend. He in mercy discovered my state and condition, and through the manifestation of his light and truth in my heart and conscience, showed unto me the way to escape the many snares and temptations, wherein I had been overtaken and captivated. Now did sin appear exceeding sinful, and the fire of God's jealousy was kindled in my soul, in the sense and feeling of which, I travailed day and night, for months and years, and sometimes in the bitterness of my soul cried out, hath God forsaken me? is there no pardon or mercy for me? hath God forgotten to be gracious? hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies? Psal. lxxvii. 9.

In this travail, I was often assaulted by enemies within and without. I was sometimes exercised with fastings, and with watchings, my

sleep being taken from me; my bread I eat with trembling, and my drink with complainings. Now was my wandering mind called home, and bounds set to that nature which had transgressed the righteous law of God; and when the floods compassed me about, and the depths closed me round, Jonah ii. 3. 5, yet from thence did I cry, and the Lord heard me, and delivered me. Then I was made sometimes in the sense and feeling of the mercies of the Lord and his goodness, to say, righteous art thou, O God! and thy judgements are true! and further cried, O Lord, search me thoroughly; try my heart, and if iniquity be found therein, let the fire of thy jealousy burn up and consume every thing that is contrary to thy holy will: let not thine eye pity, nor thy hand spare, but in and through Christ Jesus, the only Mediator and Saviour, give me favour with thee, and life eternal, whatever it cost. The Lord would sometimes visit me with his thunders, and earthquakes, and his judgements burning like fire in my soul, I have been made to cry out in the words of the prophet, Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? who amongst us shall dwell with everlasting burnings? Isai. xxxiii. 14. The answer in my soul was, he that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, &c. He shall dwell on high; his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks: bread shall be given him; his waters shall be sure, ver. 15, 16.

But the end of my journey to the land of rest was not here. I found a necessity to continue my travel, and get forward, for I saw that a distance is set between seed-time and harvest. The considerate husbandman doth not expect to reap so soon as the seed is sown; but he waits the appointed seasons, through many storms and tempests, until the blade appears, and then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear, Mark iv. 28, according to the will of God. Even so the seed of the kingdom is sown in the good ground, Luke viii. 8, the honest and good heart, which having heard the word, keep it, and bringeth forth fruit with patience, ver. 15; he that believeth, shall not make haste. Isai. xxviii. 16. Patience is a grace of a most excellent quality and extent; it gives a man power, or by and through it he obtains power to possess or enjoy his own soul in peace. Luke xxi. 19. And although it is wrought by or through tribulation; yet it is followed or accompanied with experience, and that with hope, which maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us. Rome v. 4, 5. Here is encouragement to press forward, although we are assaulted with temptations and sufferings, on the right hand,

and on the left. Having put our hands to the plow, let us not look back, our happiness and everlasting enjoyments in the kingdom of God, depend upon our perseverance; he that holds out to the end shall be saved. Matth. x. 22.

What though persecution; and affliction of divers sorts and kinds, with the frowns of men, their contempt, disdain and reproach; and though imprisonments, with many other sufferings and exercises may attend us, and all manner of evil be spoken against us, for the sake of Christ and the gospel, we ought not to despair, or grow faint because of these things; for the crown of life everlasting will be the reward of all who hold their confidence unto the end, such are made partakers of Christ's power and kingdom.

And now this I declare in sincerity of heart, the things I here write are not the effects of what I have read, of the exercises and experience of others, mentioned and recorded in Scripture; but from the knowledge and experience of the power and operation of the same Spirit of Truth in my own soul, according to the measure given me of God, that I may encourage others, who may read these lines, to know and believe, that the Lord's arm is not shortened that he cannot save, nor his ear heavy that he cannot hear in this our day, even as in the days of old; but that he is the same through all generations. He is one, his name one, his spirit, his power, and his work one: his design is the same to all the sons and daughters of men; blessed be his holy arm of power over all for ever.

As there were inwardly fiery trials,—so the Lord permitted outward exercises to attend, such as imprisonments for not swearing, scoffs and revilings of men, loss of goods by distresses, for a good conscience towards God, for not paying to the hireling priesthood; and for meeting with the people of God to worship him, &c. Of all which it is in my mind to give some particular instances of what was inflicted upon me, for the testimony of a good conscience, and obeying the Truth. Through all the Lord supported me, and bore up my head, so that the storms and tempestuous floods of persecution prevailed not over me: God gave me power, strength and courage, to undergo with joy and gladness whatever he was pleased to permit and suffer to come upon me. He preserved me from murmuring at his providence, or repining at the losses which evil-minded men, through envy and rage brought upon me, for my testimony to the Truth in that day. And although one suffering was added after another; yet God of his infinite mercy and favour, to whom be praises and thanksgiving for ever, took from me all care and fear of what man could do unto me: but instead

thereof he begat a cry in my soul, O Lord! preserve me near unto thyself—let me never forsake thee, nor turn my back from thy law; let me never bring dishonour upon thy holy name and truth, nor suffer the same to be reproached through me, by my backsliding from thee, or through an evil conversation of any sort or kind whatever. The Lord hath mercifully had regard to my prayers, and hitherto hath kept me. To him let my soul for ever give praise, honour and glory.

After the death of my first wife, by whom I had two children, a son and a daughter, I took to wife, in the year 1659, Ruth Brown, daughter of John Brown, and Ruth his wife, of Wood street, London: we first published our intentions of marriage at a meeting of the people called Quakers, in Tower street, London, to wit: at the house of Humphrey Bache; and sometime after at a solemn meeting of a few Friends for that purpose, at my house in Finch-Lane, aforesaid, we took each other as husband and wife, by whom I had two sons and three daughters.

## CHAPTER II.

*A narrative of the beginnings and progress of Truth, among us in this nation, and about the city of London: and whom God made use of, as instruments in those early days;—the care and good order the believers in the Truth were led and directed into, both men and women—and how they answered their particular service in the Church.*

THE first whom it pleased God to raise up in this latter age, as a chosen instrument in his hand, to bear witness to the spiritual appearance of Christ Jesus, the true Light, who lighteth every man coming into the world, was George Fox, who was like Ezekiel among the captives of Israel, who saw the visions of God. Ezek. i. 2, 3, 4. And lo! a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud and a fire unfolding itself, and a brightness was about it. God sent him to a rebellious nation, imprudent and stiff-hearted, and like briars and thorns, or as scorpions; yet God gave him courage, and he was not daunted at their words, nor dismayed at their looks; he was not rebellious like them, but opened his mouth, and eat that which God gave him; and he did eat the roll, and his bowels were filled therewith, and the Spirit lifted him up, and he went in bitterness in the heat of his spirit, but the hand of the Lord was strong upon him: and though God sent him not to a people of a strange speech, yet they would not hearken unto him; but evilly entreated him, as their fathers did the prophets of old.



As to the place of his birth, and outward abode, and his conversation in the days of his youth, together with the dealings of the Lord, in preparing him for the work and service of his day; and also the progress he made, the power and Spirit of God assisting him, in turning many sons and daughters from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan, to the living God: and farther, also of the hard treatment and usage he had, and met withal from the hands of wicked men, both magistrates and rulers, priests and people; for the account of these, I refer the reader to the journal of his life.

As the Lord had bowed his heart and spirit into a submissive frame, ready to obey his requirings; he was made willing to travel from one place to another, and from one country to another, where the Spirit of the Lord directed him. He preached repentance and salvation in and through Christ Jesus alone, the true light, and the Lord prospered the work he gave him to do, so that many were convinced, and turned to Christ Jesus the true light, made manifest in their own hearts and consciences, and were made ministers thereof unto others. Which testimony they published and declared in great fear and power, in cities, towns and counties of this nation, in markets, streets, and public places, in the concourse of the people, and in steeple-houses, or parish-churches so called; where they bore testimony against the hireling priests, and formal professors of religion, who were in an outward form, but knew not the power of God to make clean the inside of the cup and platter. And now was a time of great trouble, and some who were asleep came to be awakened, and according to the promise to the prophet Daniel of old, chap. xii. many were made to run to and fro, and knowledge was and is increased, blessed be the Lord for ever.

A particular account of each messenger and servant, whom it pleased God by his own immediate arm and power, to raise up, and send forth to publish this his gospel day to them, dawned, and shining forth upon the nations, I cannot undertake to give, the task being beyond my talent or capacity to perform: but as it pleased the great Disposer of all things, according to his own good will and pleasure, to order his servants and hand-maids into divers parts of this nation, so according to his own secret will and counsel, he moved in the hearts of many of his servants to visit foreign nations, as Holland and Germany, and other of those Eastern countries, and also the English colonies and plantations abroad. For particular accounts of all which, and of the services, labours, and travels they had, and underwent, and what progress Truth made by the minis-

tration of the Spirit in and through them, and how they were received and treated, as also of the great sufferings and hardships they endured; more especially in New England, I refer the reader to a book entitled *New England Judged*, &c. as also of the sufferings and travels of two of the Lord's hand-maids, to wit, Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, in the Isle of Malta.

About the beginning of the year 1654, some workings of the power of Truth came to be felt amongst some tender people in and about the city of London, and some few were convinced, and turned to the Lord. About this time, two women coming out of the north to the city, London, viz. Isabel Buttery and her companion, who (by what Providence I cannot tell) became acquainted with Amos Stoddard, sometime a captain in the Parliament army, who when convinced of Truth had left his command, and Simon Dring of Moorfields. These women had an epistle or testimony given forth by George Fox, directed to all that would know the way to the kingdom, whether they be in forms, without forms, or got above forms, to direct people to turn their minds within, where the voice of God is to be heard. Which epistle being printed, they dispersed abroad to such as would receive it. Isabel Buttery, and the other woman, being in company with Amos Stoddard and Simon Dring, walking in the fields towards Stepney, were overtaken by Ruth Brown, then about sixteen years of age, who afterwards became my wife, whom Isabel Buttery stedfastly looked on, and gave her one of the said printed epistles, in the reading whereof she was convinced of the Truth, and added to the small number who did then believe. After this these women had private meetings at Robert Dring's house in Watling street, and at Simon Dring's in Moorfields, where they did now and then speak a few words. To these places my wife went with great expectation, and there met with Ann Downer, afterwards Ann Whitehead, a worthy young woman, who grew in Truth, and became an eminent instrument in the Lord's hand in her day, as doth appear by divers testimonies given of her by sundry men and women Friends after her decease, who were witnesses of her faith towards God, and service in his church.

In the fifth month of this year, 1654, it pleased God to send two of his faithful messengers and able ministers to the city of London, viz. Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who were the first that declared Truth publicly there, whom he made instruments in his hand for the gathering many, who like good old Simeon, were waiting for the consolation of Israel. Upon hearing the glad tidings of the gospel, the babe of life sprang in these, Luke i.

41, and they rejoiced even as by a measure of the same power and spirit, which moved the babe to spring in the womb of Elizabeth, upon the salutation of Mary, ver. 44. These could say, we have waited for him and we will be glad; and with good old Simeon, who when the child Jesus was brought into the temple, took him in his arms, and blessed God, saying, Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation: a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. Luke ii. 28.

The Lord was pleased to visit a tender seed in and about the city of London, by these his chosen instruments; and as he opened the hearts of a remnant to receive the word of Life, and believe in it; such opened their doors for meetings in their houses, and for sometime it so continued, that they met from house to house.

And now having sounded an alarm, and proclaimed the great and notable day of the Lord, in the city and parts adjacent, the Lord moved them to visit the nation of Ireland, and the time being come for their departure, and leaving the city, a meeting was appointed at Robert Dring's in Watling street, there to take their leave of their friends and brethren; at which time there was great brokenness of heart, and the melting power of God was amongst them, which caused great sorrow, and abundance of tears to flow from the eyes of many tender plants. There are yet living at the penning hereof, who were present, and in a fresh remembrance thereof, give thanks and praise to God, with a single and upright heart.

In the time of their absence and stay in Ireland, the Lord was pleased to send others of his messengers and servants to the city of London, viz: Thomas Aldam, Christopher Atkinson, Richard Hubberthorn, George Fox, Alexander Parker, John Stubbs, Thomas Salthouse and some others, who published and declared the Word of the Lord freely. The meetings now continuing as before, and for sometime the meeting was held on the first-day of the week in the fore part, at the house of Sarah Mathews, a widow in White Cross street, and in the after part at Simon Dring's in Moorfields, and sometimes at Glaziers' Hall, and at the house of Sarah Yates a widow, in a court in Aldersgate street, where a meeting doth continue to this day.

The Lord having increased the number of his people, about this time, in the year, 1655, some part of an ancient great house, or building within Aldersgate, was taken for a meeting place, the other part of it, with a yard, &c., being before made a public inn for carriages and travellers: which having for a sign the Bull and Mouth, occasioned the meeting held there, to be known and distinguished by the

name of Bull and Mouth, or bull-meeting, which was the first public meeting place taken and set a part for that service; where meetings were held on every first-day of the week, and on the fourth-day of the week, in the fore part of the day, and so continued until the dreadful burning of the city, when the same was laid in ashes.

Being now come to time, in some degree within my own knowledge and remembrance, to wit, the year 1656, when I find the two aforementioned Friends, to wit, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough returned from Ireland, and frequenting the meetings in and about the city of London, where their service was very great. They were the apostles of this city in their day, by whom many were gathered, both sons and daughters, and were settled through the grace of God in the faith of the gospel, by the effectual working of the word of Life through their ministry, and of others, the servants of the Lord, as aforesaid. And the Lord opened the mouths of some of the inhabitants of this city, to bear witness to the Truth now made known. The first of which that had a public testimony to bear, was Ann Downer aforesaid, who was followed by Richard Greenway, John Giles, Sarah Blackberry, Ann Gold, Rebecca Travers, Richard Davies, William Baily, Mary Booth, and some others.

Those meetings which I found and frequented at my first conviction, were at the Bull and Mouth, at Sarah Yates's in Aldersgate street, at Humphrey Bache's, a goldsmith in Tower street, held on the first, and on the sixth-days of the week, both in the afternoon: and at the house of Gerard Roberts, in a street called Thomas Apostles; where sometimes resorted travelling Friends, who came out of the country upon the service of Truth, and there was also a meeting on the first-day of the week, in the afternoon; and for some time at the house of Samuel Vaus in Basinghall street, was a meeting on first-day, in the after part of the day, and at the house of William Woodcock in the Savoy, was a meeting on the first-day, and on the fifth-day of the week, at which place meetings are continued unto this day. About this time also a meeting in the afternoon was set up at Horsleydown, in the house of a widow there; and the number of Friends increasing, a piece of ground was procured to build a meeting house upon, and accordingly a meeting house was built, and since enlarged, and is the same which continues there. There was also a meeting at Stepney, at the house of one called captain Brock, which continued there until about the year 1665, or 66, in the stead of which a meeting was settled at Ratcliff, and a meeting-house there built, and since enlarged, as it is at this day.

We had also meetings on the first-day of the



week at Worcester House in the Strand; where one Nicholas Bond had lodgings, who had some place at, or did belong to the court: he afterwards taking lodgings at the great house at Greenwich, called the Palace; we had meetings there for some time. We had also some meetings at the house of Gobert Sikes in Hackney; and for sometime we had meetings in the Pall Mall near James's, at the house of Elizabeth Trott a widow: we had meetings also in the Palace yard, Westminster, at the house of Stephen Hart, both which last mentioned were discontinued, and an house was taken at Westminster for a meeting place, and so continues to this day.

In this year, 1656, or near that time, a meeting was set up in John's street, called the Peel meeting, which still continues there, and the meeting in Westbury street, bearing the name of Wheeler street meeting, which first began in the house of John Oakly, in an upper room; and being increased in number, another room was added; but the meeting still increasing, and both rooms being too strait, the meeting was sometimes without doors, and afterwards a tent covered with canvas, or sail cloth, was set up in the garden, where the meeting was kept for some small time, till a meeting house was there erected, which hath been since enlarged for the conveniency of the meeting.

About this time also, meetings were set up at Hammersmith, Hendon, Kingston, Wansworth, Barking, Ham, since at Plaistow, and at Waltham Abbey.

During which time and season, the Lord in a plentiful manner did shower down his blessings and favours upon his heritage, in and about the city of London, and places adjacent, by sending many of his messengers and servants to visit them, to water and refresh his plantation, that they may grow and flourish, and bring forth fruit to his praise, viz: George Whitehead, William Dewsbury, Stephen Crisp, John Crook, Josiah Coal, Samuel Fisher, John Whitehead, Richard Farnsworth, George Fox the younger, and many others, whom he fitted and prepared for his work and service in their day. These published deliverance by and through repentance to poor captive souls enslaved in sin, through the lusts of the flesh reigning in their mortal bodies, through the temptations of satan.

Now the many meetings which were set up and added in these years, and about this time, are sufficient testimonies to the progress Truth made, by the messengers and servants of the Most High, and how it pleased the Great God to prosper his own work, through such, whom he had chosen, and made faithful labourers and ministers, in the word and doctrine of the Gospel, whereby many more were brought to be-

lieve in, and return to the Great Bishop and Shepherd of their souls, Christ Jesus the true Light. And although with great love and good will to their countrymen and neighbours, they did thus labour and travel in divers parts of this nation, as well as the city of London, and parts adjacent, and were gladly received by many well disposed people; yet they were often evil entreated by the wicked, and as the primitive Christians were of old, sometimes beaten, stoned and imprisoned, and every where evilly spoken of, and the people often in uproars and tumults, when the servants or messengers of God were sent amongst them. Even like the Jews of Thessalonica, who when Paul preached to them, and reasoned with them out of the Holy Scriptures, of the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus, and that he was the Christ: and as it was then, even so now, those that believed not, Acts xvii. 5, lewd fellows of the baser sort, did gather together and assault houses, and bring Friends there met before the rulers, crying, These that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also, verse 6. Whom many of the priests and hireling teachers did often incense, for fear their craft, by which they get their wealth, should be set at naught.

From the year 1654, in the time of Oliver Cromwell, who died, 1658, and from thence to 1660, the sufferings and exercises of many of the people of God called Quakers, were great and manifold, although no law was enacted against us in that time; yet besides the sufferings inflicted by the rude people, we were made great sufferers by the magistrates and rulers, and that only for the sake of a good conscience towards God. Some were imprisoned for refusing to swear; some for using the plain and proper language of *thee* and *thou* to a single person; and others for wearing their hats, and not putting them off when brought before magistrates, or in courts of judicature, have been both fined and imprisoned: some for not paying tithes to the hireling priests, have been imprisoned and made great sufferers; and for testifying against them, and their formal worship; and others for publishing and declaring the day of the Lord in steeple houses, markets, &c.

And although the enemy of our peace and prosperity did prevail over some particular persons, who made some show for a time amongst us; yet the Lord was pleased to preserve a remnant steadfast in the Truth, and who turned not either to the right hand, or the left, but their minds and hearts were kept upright to the Lord, over all the devices of satan within, and the malice of enemies without.

After the taking of the house, called the Bull and Mouth for a meeting place, as aforesaid, the ancient men Friends about the city did

sometimes meet together, to the number of eight or ten, sometimes a few more were added, in an upper room belonging to the place, there to consult about and consider of the affairs of Truth, and to communicate to each other what the Lord opened in them, for the promotion thereof; and also to make such provision to supply all necessary occasions which the service of the church might require.

And now also some ancient women Friends did meet together, to consider of what appertained to them, as their most immediate care and concern, to inspect the circumstances and conditions of such who were imprisoned upon Truth's account, and to provide things needful to supply their wants: and what did or might more immediately concern men Friends, the women would acquaint them therewith; and all was done in great love and unity, no jar or discord amongst them, no repining or murmuring; but a sweet harmony and agreement was preserved in all things. These women did also enquire into, and inspect the wants and necessities of the poor, who were convinced of the Truth; and they sat not still until the cry of the poor came to their houses: but where they did suppose or discover a want of help, their charity led them to enquire into their conditions, and to minister to their necessities.

And thus things were carried on with cheerfulness and brotherly kindness, in the infancy of the church: all whisperings and backbitings were shut out, and love and good will to all were promoted and cherished.

And afterwards as Truth grew and prospered, and many came to be added to the faith, the meetings came, through the providence of God, to be settled in that order and method as at this day.

### CHAPTER III.

*Of the coming in of King Charles II. and what ensued thereupon.—Of the Act for banishment, and great imprisonments; with something concerning Edward Burrough.—Some account of my early sufferings for the Truth, in refusing to swear, and to pay the hireling priests, &c. with certain Queries upon each, and the priest's replies to both.*

In the year 1660, in the third month, king Charles II. returned to England; at which time the waters swelled mightily, and overflowed the banks, the winds blew, and the sea raged; for the people were in uproars and disorders, and had great expectations, that now they should have opportunity to destroy and lay waste the whole heritage of God. The roaring, swearing, drinking, revelling, debauchery, and extra-

vagancy of that time I cannot forget, with the menacings and threats of the rabble against all sobriety, and against religious people and their meetings, which they expected should be now totally suppress and brought to nothing. Soon after the king's return, he was visited by sundry epistles, written in great love and good will to him, and his council, from several servants of the Lord, of the people called Quakers, who were moved thereto through the spirit of his Son, to admonish and counsel him in the fear of the Lord, to avoid those judgements which had fallen upon those princes, who following the advice of evil counsellors, had persecuted the people of God: which wholesome counsel had little or no place in his heart; although upon Richard Hubberthorn's delivering the epistle written by George Fox the younger unto him, called "*A noble salutation, and a faithful greeting, unto thee Charles Stuart, now proclaimed king, &c.*" he did promise that none should be molested, or called in question for their opinions in religion, who did not disturb the peace of the kingdom: yet he had little or no regard to his promise; for although not one of the people called Quakers, was at any time found in any plot, or contrivance against the king and government; nor could in any wise be suspected in the least of any confederacy, or combination of evil against him or the government: yet in a little time a law was made to banish us out of our native country, for the exercise of a good conscience towards God, and meeting together to worship Him, according to our persuasions.

And so very severe and cruel was the prosecution of this law, that many were taken up at our peaceable religious meetings in and about the city of London, and elsewhere, and actually banished, and sent out of their native country; husbands from their wives, fathers from their children, and house-keepers from their habitations and families, for no other cause than as aforesaid: and thus the king did violate his promise.

During this persecution, great were the sufferings of the Lord's people in this city, and elsewhere in the nation. In many places the gaols were filled with the innocent; but the Lord was always near to preserve them, and to keep up their heads, so that the water floods did not overwhelm them; he supported them with strength, he opened the springs of Life, he made them to drink of the brook by the way, and refreshed their weary souls; so that they fainted not, nor were dismayed. Everlasting honour and praise be given to His excellent name for ever.

Amongst the many others, who were at this time shut up in nasty holes and prisons, in this city, was that eminent and worthy servant of



the Lord, Edward Burrough; of whom I think myself obliged to say something in particular, with respect to that spiritual relation in which I stood to him, even as a child to a father; upon which account he was very dear to me. I loved and honoured him in the Lord, and for the Truth's sake: I had many times an opportunity of conversing with him, and wrote several things from him, as he dictated them, which were since printed in the collection of his works. He was a man, though but young, of undaunted courage, the Lord set him above the fear of his enemies, and I have beheld him filled with power by the Spirit of the Lord: for instance, at the Bull and Mouth, when the room, which was very large, hath been filled with people, many of whom have been in uproars, contending one with another, some exclaiming against the Quakers, accusing and charging them with heresy, blasphemy, sedition, and what not; that they were deceivers, and deluded the people; that they denied the Holy Scriptures, and the resurrection. Others endeavouring to vindicate them, and speaking of them more favourably. In the midst of all which noise and contention, this servant of the Lord hath stood upon a bench, with his bible in his hand, for he generally carried one about him, speaking to the people with great authority from the words of John vii. 12, And there was much murmuring among the people concerning him, to wit, Jesus, for some said, he is a good man; others said, nay, but he deceiveth the people. And so suitable to the present debate amongst them, that the whole multitude were overcome thereby, and became exceeding calm and attentive, and departed peaceably, and with seeming satisfaction.

As his service was great in this city, so he had a share in suffering also. In the year 1662, he was taken from a meeting at the Bull and Mouth aforesaid, and committed to Newgate, where after sometime he fell sick, and in a few months finished his course, being gathered to his fathers, the generation of the just.

When God sent the prophet Ezekiel against the rebellious house of Israel, he fitted and prepared him for the work and service he sent him to do, Ezek. iii. 8, 9. Behold I have made thy face strong against their faces, and thy forehead strong against their foreheads, as an adamant, harder than flint, have I made thy forehead; fear them not, neither be dismayed at their looks, though they be a rebellious house.

Even so it pleased Almighty God, to fit and prepare this his servant, and many others in that day, and to give them boldness and courage, that they feared not the face of man, nor were dismayed at their looks; but the cause of God was more to them than all the world, and the glory thereof. The truth of which doth

manifestly appear from what is here related; and that the cause in which they were engaged, was the cause of God, is evident from that special assistance of his Spirit and power which did accompany them.

The first distress that was made upon my goods, was on the 19th of the fourth month, 1660, for repair of the parish church of St. Bennet Fink, so called, by John Steeventon, Joseph Munday, Leonard Doe, who took from me a tapistry carpet, cost three pounds and ten shillings; they demanded thirty four shillings, and about half a year after they returned eighteen shillings: so they detained beyond their demand eighteen shillings.

About the same time I was cited by virtue of a process to appear at Christ church, so called, to answer to the presentments of the church wardens; and for not appearing was excommunicated, as I was informed, but no further proceedings then against me.

But not long after, in the year 1661, I was chosen a scavenger by the neighbourhood in Broad street ward, and being summoned to Guild Hall amongst other ward officers, an oath was tendered me, and I refusing to swear, was committed to the Poultry compter, where I remained a prisoner about eight days. And for refusing to pay prison fees, and garnish money, as the prisoners called it, I was shut up in the hole amongst the common poor prisoners, where I had no lodging; nor but very little room to walk, when the prisoners were locked up in the night season, who lay many of them on the floor, with a piece of timber under their heads for their pillow. Upon application to the then mayor, by name John Frederick, I was set at liberty: and then had a roll delivered to me, to collect the money rated upon housekeepers, in order to keep the streets clean, and carry the soil away, and was persuaded to give my bond to collect the same, which was an imposition, it not being customary, and to pay the raker, who carried away the soil.

But to my great surprise, I was about three months after arrested at the suit of the parish called St. Bennet Fink, who had without precedent, I think, obtained my bond to collect the scavengers' roll, as I was told, for tithes, or hire for their priest, named Samuel Clark, and was then a second time made prisoner in the Poultry compter, under which confinement I continued about one year and three quarters: but through favour of the gaoler, I had some liberty to be at home to look after my business, after two months, or thereabouts, from my first commitment, paying only my chamber rent, which was three pence a night.

Whilst I was thus confined I wrote to the priest Samuel Clark, and charged him with the

cause of my imprisonment, or that at least it was for his sake I was committed, and I sent him the queries following :

“*Query I.* Seeing tithes were commanded by God, and due to the Levitical priesthood only, and intending the fatherless, widow and strangers then should have a share therein, why have they not? Or, how dare you, the priests, persecute and sue at the law for tithes, and yet not give or distribute to others, who have by the same law a share therein, as well as the priests had? And is not the offence as great in you, in that you detain the share from the fatherless, widow and strangers, as in those who detain tithes from you, and if they are worthy imprisonment, are not you by the same rule worthy thereof also?

“*II.* Whether or no tithes, being proper and appertaining to the tribe of Levi only, &c. have you any right, or can you lay claim thereto, by, or according to a lineal succession; or if not so, have you then any interest at all therein?

“*III.* Whether or no tithes, being by Divine institution originally, and appointed for a certain use; if they are by corrupt men converted to other uses, than they were at first appointed, is it lawful to pay them; or at most, is it an offence to forbear? Or in whom is the offence greater, in those that forbear to pay them, or in those who do, without right, receive them, and convert them to a wrong use?

“*IV.* Seeing tithes were appointed to men performing such services as were under the law; have they who perform not the service any right thereto? Or if that service be at an end, ought not the pay for that service be at an end also? Or how dare any to receive pay, appointed for work, and not perform the work for which the pay was appointed?

“*V.* Whether or no, is not their offence greater who do not perform the work, and yet persecute for the pay, than theirs, who knowing that both the work and also the pay are brought to an end, by the same power which first constituted it, and therefore refuse to pay it? Or in whom is the offence greater, in those that deny the pay attending the work, or in those that deny the work, attending the pay?

“*VI.* Whether or no, the whole work at first appointed ought not to be performed, if any part thereof ought? Or how comes a part thereof to be laid aside, and the rest retained? And how can the wages be retained, or due, when the work is ceased.

“*VII.* Whether, if it be in one man's power to pick the work, or perform but a part, or none at all, it may not be in another man's power to withhold the pay, pay but a part or none at all: or is non-performance in one, no offence,

and yet non-payment in the other, an offence worthy a prison?

“*VIII.* And if it can be proved, that the law which commanded tithes, and under which it was an offence to withhold them, was by Christ Jesus ended, before ever tithes were paid in England, can then a proof remain, or ground for argument be, that they are lawfully paid, or honestly or reasonably demanded in this nation?

“*IX.* And if it be proved, they are at this day of human invention, and by corrupt tradition required and made payable in this nation; and that they are of the pope's ordaining, erecting and constituting, is it not high time they were totally cast off in England, where the pope is protested against to be anti-christian, and his doctrines erroneous?”

“The 26th of the fifth month, 1662.”

After he had received my letter and queries, he replied as follows, and with his answer he sent me a printed sheet, called *An Item against Sacrilege, or sundry Queries concerning Tithes.*

FRIEND CROUCH,—You suffer as an evil doer, and therefore can have little comfort in it. The money demanded of you is not due to me, but to the parish, who bought and paid for it: and therefore if it be unjust for a tenant to withhold his rent, then it is unjust in you to deny the payment of this to the church warden, who is but the parish's steward, to receive and dispose of it according to their appointment. If they give it me; why should your eye be evil, because theirs is good? You wrong me, by charging me with your imprisonment, I had no hand in it; neither is it in me to release you. All that you say about tithes is nothing to this business; though if I were the rector, and had right to these rates long since set upon houses, I doubt not but I could prove my right to them, both by the law of God and man! But why should I enter upon a question which neither concerns you nor me? You blame me for not coming to you: but seeing you never owned me for your minister, why should I own you as one of my flock? If you had scrupled any thing, why came you not to me for satisfaction, according to God's command? *Mal. ii. 7.* Though you would not own me as a minister, much less as your pastor; yet you might have advised with me as a friend and neighbour; and at least have tried what satisfaction you could have received from me. The Lord open your eyes, and show you your error in this, and the danger of the ways wherein you walk; and if you belong to His election of grace, bring you out of your straggling ways, unto the



Great Shepherd, and Bishop of souls, Christ Jesus, which is the prayer of

Your friend, SAMUEL CLARK.

July 26th, 1662.

To which reply of his, I returned an answer as follows :

FRIEND,—I received thy paper, which seems to be written in haste, and that thou didst not consider, thou wert writing to one that would peruse it, and return thee an answer.

All coverings, but that of God's pure Spirit of Life, will be too short in the day approaching. I can tell thee truly, fig-leaf excuses will not cover now from the Searcher of hearts, any more than in the days of old it did him who said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave it me, and I did eat; and as thou hast said, the parish gave it me, and I received it.

The first sentence in thy paper manifests thy haste; to wit, Friend Crouch, you suffer as an evil doer.

I query of thee, what evil have I done for which I now suffer? Or whether my suffering is not for forbearing to do that which I believe is evil? And if I suffer for that I forbear to do, because I believe it is evil; how then do I suffer as an evil doer?

Thou sayest, the money demanded is not due to me, but to the parish, and if it be unjust in a tenant to withhold his rent; then is it unjust in you to deny the payment of this to the church warden, who is but the parish's steward, &c.

I answer, this comparison is very improper, and not at all to the business: I know how and for what the rent of my house becomes due, and because I pay my rent for my house, I have my house: besides my house is mine, paying my rent, having bargained, contracted, and entered into covenants therefor: and a bargain or contract gives an interest, and covenants fence that interest. And that which makes a man a debtor, is either by contract, promise, or engagement, or for something received; none of all which have I done to, or with the parish; nor received any thing from them, nor from any other appointed by them, whereby to become their debtor.

All things have their roots, from which they spring, or foundation on which they stand: and all things in which men have interest, become so, either by nature, or consequently by gift or purchase: neither the parish nor thou can claim an interest in this by nature; because it is an oppression, and nature doth not give to men power to oppress one another, though to beasts of prey it doth: but this being an oppression in the foundation, therefore the other two ought

to cease, and the intent of the law is to preserve from oppression, and not to oppress: neither can that be called truly a civil right, which doth oppress.

And what though provision be made to pass over the waters by a ship or vessel, why should any be compelled to use that vessel when it becomes leaky, and they have found a safer and better passage: and although impositions have been laid on people to maintain that ship or vessel, yet when the waters are dried up, and the vessel becomes useless, ought not those impositions to cease?

But the time is come and approaching, wherein there shall be no more sea, for the waters shall be dried up, and the trade and traffic by ships cease: and the merchants of the earth, who have grown rich thereby, shall mourn, because no man buyeth their merchandise any more; and their great city Babylon must be laid waste.

Thou sayest, if they give it me, why should your eye be evil, because theirs is good?

I answer, that eye which covets another's is not good: what is mine lawfully, my interest therein ought to defend me, and nothing becomes a debt, but by contract, bargain, promise or consent; and none of all these having passed, what is taken from me to the contrary, is by violence, and they who give it thee, and thou who dost receive it are alike: and it is not the good, but the evil eye which doth desire it, nor the honest hand which doth take it, or receive it, either in thee or them; and this you shall assuredly know in the day of the Lord, when all these coverings will not hide you.

Thou sayest, you wrong me with charging me with your imprisonment, I had no hand in it; neither is it in me to release you.

I answer, I did not charge thee to have a hand in it; but I said, it was done for thy sake, and I knew no other: and I say further, if there were none to receive the wages of unrighteousness, there would be no need to pay it; and if there were not a Balaam, there would be no need of a gift, or reward.

Thou sayest, all you say about tithes is nothing to this business; though if I were the rector, and had right to those rates long since set upon houses, I doubt not but I could prove my right to them, both by the law of God and man: but why should I enter upon a question, which neither concerns you nor me.

I answer, it is not true, that this question concerns not me, or thee, for it concerns us both; and for my concernment, I have been more than twelve weeks since imprisoned, and it being for thy sake, thou art concerned also: and the demand of me was tithes, and the statute calls it tithes, and it was intended to satisfy a hireling priesthood in this city, as

tithes do in the country, and they coveting maintenance, and here being not to pay tithes in kind, a rate being set on houses, they receive it to answer the same end with. But if thou wilt confess, that tithes, which were once commanded of God, are now put to an end, and ought not to be paid, nor received: then much less ought such gifts and rewards be received, which were never commanded by him.

Thou sayest, thou doubtst not but to prove thy right, &c.

I answer, I have and do doubt it, and therefore I did send to thee to prove it, and although thou art not the rector, and so hast no right to the rates, as thou hast said, why dost thou receive that which thou hast no right to? Or however, thou being but the receiver, art liable to an account; and it is but reason, that thou shouldst either vindicate their right who give it thee; or if upon examination it appear, that they have no right to give it, then thou oughtest to forbear to receive it: and to this intent was my sending to thee, and in love, that neither thou, nor the parish, might do that which Truth cannot justify.

Thou sayest, you blame me for not coming to you; but seeing you never owned me for your minister, why should I own you as one of my flock?

I answer, thou dost not behave thyself as a neighbour, much less like a minister of Christ, in that thou dost not visit the prisoners; and to this purpose I said before. And now suffer me to return thy own argument; and do not give what thou wilt not receive. Seeing thou dost not own me as one of thy flock, why shouldst thou receive my fleece? but thou hast said the parish gives it thee: Didst thou ever know the sheep of one flock, contend with, or rob the sheep of another flock, and give the fleece to the shepherd of their own flock? but if it be contrary to the nature of sheep to do thus, then thy flock are not sheep.

Thou sayest, if you had scrupled any thing, why came you not to me for satisfaction, according to Mal. ii. 7, though you would not own me as a minister, much less as your pastor; yet you might have advised with me as a friend or neighbour, and at least have tried what satisfaction you could have, &c.

I answer, whilst I did not scruple any thing, within thy power to resolve, I did not offend in that I forbore to come: but now when I do come, thou evadest to resolve me by general terms, which prove nothing, nor am I satisfied thereby. And whereas thou citest Mal. ii. 7, which signifies what should have been the priest's office, and the people's duty, read Mal. ii. 8, 9, 10, which shows that the priests were departed out of the way, and had caused many to stumble at the law: and so although the law

was delivered to the priests, and the people were to receive it from them; yet if the priests were departed out of the way, and had forsaken the law of the Lord, then according to Ezek. vii. 26, the law shall perish from the priest, and although a vision be sought of the prophet, yet an answer in truth cannot be obtained, the priests who should preserve the people's knowledge, did not, but went astray, and err'd from the law; the people who did hang on their lips for knowledge, were led astray also; there was like people, like priests, according to Hos. iv. 9; but saith the Lord, I will punish them for their ways, and reward them for their doings: and because the people were scattered and led astray by the priests, who sought themselves, and not the flock; but looking to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter, and they eat the fat, and clothed themselves with the wool; but suffered the flock to go astray in the wilderness, and to wander on the barren hills, and had driven them away, and not visited them: all which doth manifestly appear to be fulfilled, and fulfilling in this day in this nation, therefore the Lord threatened and pronounced woes against them, and promised to gather the remnant of his flock, and set up shepherds over them, which should feed them, and they should not be dismayed, nor be lacking, and that he would require his flock at the hands of the careless shepherds, and deliver it from their mouths; and that he would search out his sheep, and deliver them, and feed them in a fat pasture, and cause them to lie in a good fold; and that he would bind up the broken, and strengthen the sick, but destroy the fat, and the strong; and would judge between cattle and cattle, and the diseased and weak preserve from the horns of the strong, and no more to be a prey unto them: but said, he would judge between cattle and cattle, and set up one shepherd over them, to feed them, and would raise up for them a plant of renown, and they should no more be consumed with hunger. Ezek. xxxiv.

This promise is the Lord making good in this day, and the work is his own, and he will accomplish it: and many are already brought to receive their knowledge at the lips of the one everlasting and unchangeable priest, Christ Jesus, with whom their knowledge is preserved untainted, and without mixture; and their bread given them, and their waters fail not: so that refreshment in time of need shall not be to seek! and they need not buy their knowledge with silver, nor such corruptible things; neither spend their money for that which is not bread, and as many as Christ Jesus hath redeemed and purchased to himself, they are brought from straggling, and he is become their great Shepherd and Bishop.

Well friend, the Lord is judge of all, and



nothing is hid from him; and whoever walks with a stiff neck, and stout heart, such will he abase; they that walk in the strength of their own wills, and bow not to the manifestation of the Spirit of life in themselves, which God hath given to every man to profit with; such walk in rebellion against God, and woe and sorrow will be to all such: wherefore it is good for all men to consider their foundation, and upon what they build, and also what their works are, for profession will not cover; it is the Spirit of God, and the Lamb's life which will find acceptance, and be justified in his sight.

Seems it a small thing in thy eyes, that thy neighbour, who owes thee nothing, should be cast into prison for a small parcel of the unrighteous mammon? read the 18th of Matthew, from verse 23, to the end, and examine thine own conscience! The just, holy and meek spirit of Jesus will plead with thee on my behalf. He is my friend, and He it is that I would make my friend in all men; and with Him I have unity in myself and in all men; the Lord's purpose is to exalt Him to rule over all, and the kingdoms of the world, and all men therein must become subject thereunto. The Lord God, who is mighty and terrible, will arise, and the nations shall know his covenant is with Him, and his purpose is to exalt Him. I would to God thou wert truly sensible hereof, that thou mayest not be found to oppose him, whom thou pretendest to serve; as in the days of old, there were those who called themselves the children of Abraham, but were found to be of their father the devil, doing his works, persecuting and imprisoning the messengers and servants of God, and also putting to death the Lord of life and glory.

I am truly thy friend, and have unfeigned love towards thee, and all men, whose welfare is desired by me,

WILLIAM CROUCH.

Poultry-Compter, the 3rd of the sixth month, 1662.

The foregoing letter I delivered into the hands of William Wickens, called the minister, or chaplain to the Poultry-Compter, who promised to deliver it, but I received no answer to it.

Having received no answer, I again visited him in a few lines, written from my own house, having by favour of the prison keeper, liberty to look after my business. Dated the 25th of the sixth month, 1662.

And with this letter I sent him two small books in print, one the Great Tale of Tithes, by Anthony Pearson, the other A Touch Stone, by John Crook: all which were delivered into the hands of his servant, by a servant of mine. The letter was as followeth:

FRIEND,—This is now the third time, I desired thou wilt clear thyself of my suffering, by confessing to the Truth. Seems it a light thing with thee, that I so often desire thee to be informed for thy good, or else for my benefit, to convince me? We both ought to seek the advancement of Truth in each other; or else we are not clear of the law, nor can come to know him who is the end thereof, to wit, Christ Jesus the light of the world.

It is now come to pass, that thou, and many more, must either deny what you have lately owned and preached, and own and preach what you have formerly denied, or else you must forgive your gifts and rewards, your tithes and great benefices, and the large incomes of gain by your trade and craft.

Wherefore it will not be thy advantage to vindicate his cause, who is like to undermine thee, or to justify him, in receiving what thou didst formerly receive, whom thou must either count in error, or else give the lie to thyself and brethren.

If thou confess to Truth, and stand for it, the advantage will be thy own; if thou oppose it, or slight it in greater or lesser appearances, thou shalt suffer for it. God sees not as man sees, it is to Truth and righteousness only that he hath a regard.

Truth in few ages of the world hath been free from aspersions and calumnies, cast upon it; yet it hath always kept its integrity; it is no new thing to brand the children of Truth, with the nick names of, heretics and deceivers: hath any in any age suffered as any other? or, hath it not been under this, that all the saints and martyrs of Jesus have suffered? When will the time be, that you will come to see and distinguish between the mystery of godliness, and the mystery of iniquity? From whence is persecution? Answer me, after due pondering, with the meek principle of Truth in thy own conscience: I appeal to God's witness there. If thou art my friend, why contemnest thou my good will and kindness? If thou art my enemy, behold I have sought reconciliation with thee; and now if thou dost refuse, the wrong intended me will fall on thee, to the full measure of thy knowledge and concernment to me ward. I am thy friend, and do expect to hear from thee, that Truth may be cleared, and people informed concerning thee, and concerning me, and the cause for which I suffer for thy sake.

To which I received no answer.

WILLIAM CROUCH.

On each first-day of the week William Wickens aforesaid, being priest or chaplain to the prison, preached to the prisoners, taking for his text the words of the prophet Jeremiah,

chap. iv. 2, And thou shall swear the Lord liveth in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness, and the nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory. From which text of Scripture, this chaplain offered to prove the lawfulness of swearing. But after some time I bore witness against him in the prison.

After I had continued a prisoner near two years, the parish chose me constable; to be excused of which I paid, and they accepted a moderate fine, and so discharged me of the office, and also of my imprisonment.

But the adversary did not cease here, neither was this an end of my trials, exercises and sufferings for the Truth's sake. And although I had some respite, with respect to my own particular; yet I suffered with them that were in sufferings of another nature and kind.

About this time was made the act for banishment of the Quakers to the English plantations for seven years; which I shall take more particular notice of hereafter.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*A further account of the act for banishment, and the proceedings thereupon, with what followed.*

AND now the enemies and adversaries of the church, were in deep consultations, utterly to root the Quakers out of England, by banishing them into foreign plantations; and a law being made, the magistrates and rulers, many of them, were very intent upon prosecuting it; and many Friends were taken up at our religious meetings and imprisoned, and at the courts of assize and sessions were sentenced to banishment, and put on ship-board to be sent away; and some were actually carried to the plantations abroad! But others who were put on ship-board, were afterwards set on shore in England, by the masters of the ships, &c.

It was not long, before the Lord was pleased to manifest his displeasure, and to put a stop to these unrighteous, and inhuman actions, by those severe strokes of his hand upon the nation in the years 1665, and 1666. First the great plague, which swept away great numbers of the inhabitants, and that followed by that dreadful fire, which reduced to ashes so great a part of the city of London; and also the wars with the Dutch at that time. And although like the Egyptians of old, they pursued the Lord's chosen Israel; yet God took off the chariot wheels, and they drave heavily; for the work prospered not in their hands.

The first proceedings, as I remember, upon this act, were upon the 12th and 13th days of the month called August, 1664, at the assize at Hartford, where eight of the people called Quakers received sentence of banishment, by Orlando Bridgman, judge of the court; seven

of whom were brought up to London by William Edmonds, keeper of the gaol at Hartford; and were put on board the ship called the Ann of London, Thomas May commander, in order to their transportation to Jamaica; but after they had been sometime on board, the said master or commander set them on shore again, refusing to carry them, and gave them a certificate as followeth:

Whereas there are seven men, called Quakers, brought on board my ship, called the Ann of London, by William Edmonds, gaoler of Hartford, viz. Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feast, Henry Marshall, Francis Pryor, John Blindel, Jeremiah Hearn and Samuel Trahern, all of whom have continued waiting upon my ship from London to Deal, from the 14th of September last, until this day: and I seeing Providence hath much crossed me hitherto, whereby I perceive that the hand of the Lord is against me, that I dare not proceed on my voyage to carry them, they being innocent persons, and no crime signified against them, worthy of banishment; and that there is a law in force, that no Englishman shall be carried out of his native country against his will: and also my men do refuse to go the voyage, if I carry them, which will be much to my hindrance; men being very scarce, by reason of the long continued press: for these reasons therefore, and many more, I will not carry them.

These are therefore to certify any person or persons that shall question them, or any of them, that they did not make an escape, but I put them on shore again, to go whither they please.

All this is certified under my own hand, the 10th day of November, 1664.

THOMAS MAY.

*Witnesses hereunto,*

John Clement, Humphrey Bidleson,  
John Banks, Thomas Holliman.

Three of the said people called Quakers, to wit, Connanwel Britton, Bartholomew Croker, and Lewis Rogers, were by John Towgood, water bailiff, put on board the ship Mary Fortune of Bristol, John Lloyd master, bound for Barbadoes; and he also refusing to carry them, set them on shore, giving a certificate as follows:

These are to certify all and every person, unto whom this present writing may or shall come, that there were three persons called Quakers, viz. Connanwel Britton, Bartholomew Croker and Lewis Rogers, brought on board our ship, called Mary Fortune of Bristol, the 16th of December, 1664, and continued waiting on our ship until the 23rd day of the same



month, then there came a stay for all ships; so we put them on shore again: and on the 31st of the same month we received a pass from his royal highness the duke of York, to proceed on our voyage; and then they were brought on board again, by John Towgood water bailiff, and have continued on board our ship until this present day; and then by reason of the long continued press, we could in no wise deny the taking of them on board: but now going to depart, their cry, and the cry of their families and friends are entered into the ears of the Lord God, and he hath smitten us, even unto the very heart, saying, Cursed is he that oppress man and wife: and moreover, they that oppress his people, his plagues shall follow them, wheresoever they go; and assuredly, we do in part partake of them already; for our consciences will in no wise let us rest, or be in quiet, for the Lord hath smitten us with a terrible fear, so that we can in no wise proceed to carry them. And moreover we do wholly believe, that our most gracious sovereign doth not intend in the least to destroy his subjects, because he hath not made void that law of the nation which saith, that no Englishman shall be carried out of his native country against his will; and he or they that doth so carry them, shall forfeit great penalties.

And further, we know there is a law in Barbadoes, that whosoever doth bring any person or persons into the aforesaid island against their wills, and not being bound by indentures, shall be under such penalties as the law doth inflict upon them; and also be enforced to bring them back unto their habitations again.

And we all know that they are innocent persons, and do desire to walk in the fear of the Lord, and that they are put on board our ship against their wills; neither are they bound by any indenture, nor hath any one agreed for their passage: and we find that our master hath no order under any one's hand to save him and us from coming under such penalties, that the law may inflict upon us, for carrying them in this nature.

For these reasons, and many more, we have put them on shore; not that they have made an escape, but that we set them at liberty, to go whither they will; as witness our hands, the 7th of January, 1664. John Lloyd, master, Thomas Hughes, master's mate, Richard Love, William Smith, Thomas Saunders, Philip Phillips, William W. I. Jones, his mark.

Many others were sentenced to banishment, at the sessions at Hicks's-hall, and the Old Bailey; particular accounts whereof, and the proceedings of the courts against them, being extant in print, I refer the reader to them for further satisfaction, taking notice of what hath

occurred to my knowledge and remembrance, of those impediments and obstructions which hindered the progress of this inhuman and unchristian law, and the proceedings thereupon.

And having met with the copy of a warrant from the king and council, to the governor of Jamaica; I will give it as follows:

At the court at Whitehall, the 13th of March, 1664,—present, the King's most excellent majesty, his royal highness the Duke of York, Duke of Ormond, Marquess of Dorchester, Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of St. Albans, Earl of Bath, Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Lauderdale, Earl of Middleton, Earl of Carberry, Lord Bp. of London, Lord Berkley, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Morrice, Mr. Secretary Bennet.

Whereas there are several Quakers adjudged to be transported to his majesty's plantations; of which, three are by his majesty's command put on board the Jamaica Merchant, William Gaimford master, bound for Jamaica, and he having given bond for the safe delivery of them into your custody, it was ordered by his majesty in council, that you be required, and you are hereby required to receive the said Quakers into your charge; and for such of them as shall defray the cost of their own transportation, that you permit them to remain there, and not to return for England, within the space of seven years: but for such as his majesty shall be at the charge of transporting, you are to cause them to be employed, and kept as servants in that plantation for the term of seven years; and this his majesty's command you are to see punctually performed.

JOHN NICOLAS.

To our very loving friend, }  
the governor of Jamaica. }

The three Quakers in this warrant expressed, were, Edward Brush, an elderly man of good repute, an inhabitant and housekeeper in Bearbinder Lane near Lombard street, London, and James Harding, a young man well reputed, and one other whose name I have forgotten; but he died in his passage thither, as I remember.

Edward Brush and James Harding arrived upon the Island in safety, and were not confined by the governor. After they had remained there sometime, they both returned home to England; Edward Brush to his wife and family, and James Harding whilst he abode there, took to wife a young woman.

And before I leave this, I must take some farther notice of the observations, made by many sober considerate persons, who were greatly affected with these proceedings in gene-

ral, and more particularly how immediately the just hand of God followed upon this persecution and banishment.

The king's warrant bears date the 13th of March, 1664, and the next month following, called April, 1665, the great sickness or plague broke out, which was followed by the dreadful burning of the city of London, and wars with the Dutch at the same time: three great judgments, viz. pestilence, fire and sword. Oh nation of England! be awakened by these judgments, to cease henceforth to provoke the Lord to anger against thee; by such unrighteous laws and decrees against his people and heritages, who are as the apple of his eye.

In the time of this great persecution and exercise, which attended Friends and their families by separating husbands from their wives, fathers from their children, masters from their families, children from their parents; for no other cause but meeting together to worship God, as they were persuaded in their consciences; no crime being laid to their charge, nor doing evil to any man: the Lord was at this time very near to support them, and by fresh visitations of his Spirit, to quicken them, and to encourage each other to a stedfast and constant perseverance in their testimony for God, and the cause in which they were engaged. This may appear by the epistle following, a copy of which having been preserved by me, I have thought fit to insert in this place, and remembering when Christ Jesus fed the multitude, he gave directions to gather the fragments, that nothing be lost. The tender care of the Lord's provident hand, is comfortable to my soul, at this very instant to remember and think upon.

My dear friends and brethren, children of the most High God, whom he hath counted worthy to suffer for his name and truth, in that pure life and power received, hold forth your testimony, and in the innocency and authority of the righteous seed, stand over your enemies, and the dark wrath of man, and all the wicked devices and snares, which are devised against the upright. For the Lord our God will break them in his time, when his end is effected, through the trial that he suffers his lambs to be exercised with. And blessed are ye that give up in his will, and stand your ground in the power and authority of his eternal Spirit, in which the righteous seed lives, over all the deceits of men; you having a true respect to the testimony and cause of your God; choosing rather to suffer, and to be trodden upon, than that his testimony should suffer, or be dishonoured; and herein you will daily feel unspeakable joy and peace, in the midst of all your sufferings: and be able to sing a new song, as those that

follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, who are redeemed from the earth.

So all Friends, feel your habitation in the power of the living God, waiting in his blessed seed, in which life, redemption, and the blessings are felt, that keep above all temptations within, and sufferings without, and make dear to the Lord, and precious in his eye, who hears the cry of his elect, and the supplications of his chosen ones. He regardeth the sighings of his prisoners, that are in the interceding spirit, which reacheth the God of our life, and in which the upright have access unto him in all their tribulations. So that the seed of Jacob, whom God loves, need not fear; nor Israel, which prevails with him, be dismayed at the swelling waves of the sea, nor at the rising of the floods, nor distrust the Lord, because of the greatness or height of the mountains, which would stand in their way; for the Lord is with us, who is mighty to save, and you have no cause to faint, as you trust in his name, which is a strong tower, unto which the righteous flee and are kept safe. There is nothing too dear to give up to him, nor nothing too hard to undergo for his name and testimony, in respect to that unspeakable love which he hath manifested and extended unto us: in him is our refuge and stay, in whatsoever trials, and how great soever they be that he suffers to come upon us, who hitherto hath not been wanting unto us; for his own seed's sake, by his commanding power, which accompanies his own, he will drive the waters on heaps, and in his own due time stop the floods, and debase and beat the mountains to dust, that his kingdom and government may prosper.

So the Lord God of glory keep you all in the faith and patience of his own seed, therein to be armed and given up in his will, in all your tribulations, and crown you all with life, dominion and glory, to his eternal praise, and your joy and satisfaction.

Your dear brother in the faith, and fellow-sufferer for the testimony of God,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

White-Lyon prison in Southwark, }  
the 30th of the fifth mo. 1664. }

I shall next observe to the reader, the exercises and hardships, with which some were attended, who were under sentence of banishment to Jamaica, to the number of fifty-five persons, thirty-seven men, and eighteen women, all put on board one ship; and for a particular account I refer to the following relation, which I received from Degory Marshall, under his own hand, who was of that number.

“In the year 1664, we were sentenced for ban-



ishment to Jamaica, at Hicks's-hall, by judges Hyde and Twisden, and our number was fifty-five, thirty-seven men, and eighteen women; I think all single, but one widow woman, who left two children: we were put on board the ship the 4th of the sixth month, 1665, all except four, who were put on board the 20th of the fifth month. We were kept prisoners in Newgate, before and after we were sentenced, about thirteen months before we went on board the ship. The ship was called the Black Eagle, and lay at anchor in Bugby's hole, the master's name was Fudge, by some called lying Fudge. Our guard on board the ship were red coat soldiers from the tower; we lay in the river Thames about seven weeks before we got to the Downs, in which time there died of our number twenty-seven, many of which were buried in the marshes below Gravesend; twenty-seven survived, and remained on board the ship; and there was one other person of whom no certain account could be given.

"Fudge did not himself proceed the voyage, but, as I am informed, went afterwards in a fire-ship, which foundered in the sea, and he and all the company were drowned.

"We were taken by a Dutch privateer, about three leagues to the westward off Scilly, and some of us were put on board the privateer, the rest remained on board the prize ship. Our treatment was exceedingly bad the first night after we were taken, which can hardly be expressed by reason of our women: but the Lord was pleased to preserve us out of all their wicked attempts, which must still be acknowledged with thankfulness to God, to be more than an ordinary mercy. But in all other respects as well as could be expected.

"I think we all met in Holland, but how long we stayed there, I cannot exactly remember; and I think all came to England, except John Claus, who stayed at Amsterdam. The Friends of Amsterdam hired a vessel, which brought us to Middleburg in Flanders, whence we travelled to Ostend on foot, not questioned by the magistrates. The master of the ship that brought us from Ostend, was put to some trouble, as I was informed; but Friends stood by him, and assured him, that what damage he sustained upon our account, should be made good to him. DEGORY MARSHALL."

The reason why this person expresseth himself with so much caution, as to his remembrance, and as he thinketh, &c. is, because he made no collection of what passed in their peregrination, until many years after, when I desired it of him.

I have been informed that sundry ship masters were treated with, who refused to take them on board, choosing rather to lay up their

ships; but Fudge being asked, he readily consented to receive them, and having contracted great debts to victual and fit the ship, was afterwards arrested and cast into prison, and Peter Love was made master; but the seamen leaving the ship, a warrant was obtained to impress men, who after they were on board would leave the ship also. But it being a time of war with the Dutch, and there being some Dutch seamen prisoners, some of them were agreed with to go with the ship, in company with some English. John Claus before mentioned, being a German born, but for some time had dwelt in London, and being convinced of the Truth revealed and made known to and amongst the Quakers, and by believing in Christ Jesus the true Light, made manifest in his own heart and conscience, he received and professed it; and being taken at Friends meetings, was imprisoned among others; and upon his trial, although he informed the court that he was not a subject of England, yet he was sentenced to banishment with the rest: he returned not to England, but settled in Amsterdam, where he continues to this day a witness for that one everlasting and unchangeable Truth, unto which he bore a faithful testimony in that day by suffering.

Next follows a copy of a letter, written by Laurence Fullove, to his uncle Amos Stoddard from Amsterdam; he was one of the banished number that remained on board the English ship, which copy coming providentially to my hands soon after it came to England, I shall here present the reader with it.

"UNCLE AMOS,—my endeared love to thee in the Truth which changeth not, but is in itself everlasting, and every particular that hath his abiding in it, is established upon a Rock that is not to be shaken. Such is the wisdom, knowledge, might, and power of Him that brought it to us, and maintains it alive in us, that his glorious name may be had in everlasting remembrance by all that fear before him; for most true it is, there is no God like to our God, who is come nigh unto us in a needful time, and is present in us, to refresh and warm our hearts with a measure of his heavenly virtue, which is sweet, and nourishes every part of his body or church, to keep it fresh and amiable to God's everlasting glory: for by his great power it is that we stand approved in his sight, who exalts the arm of his salvation over all, in the covenant of life and peace, which is matter of great concernment to the birth, which is raised in the faith, and makes its abode in the light, and is led into the heavenly, which is far exceeding in glory the fading earthly.

"I know thou art satisfied in thy purchase, and so am I; for being in the exercise of that which the blessing is to, and feeling it in its purity and dominion, I have my end over all sufferings: so good is the Lord, and good is the word of his grace which he ministers.

"I am satisfied by Friends, that thou hast heard of our being arrived at Norway; but I shall inform thee more fully, how that after the great tempest at sea, the two ships that Friends were in lost one another. The ship we were in kept the sea four or five days before we saw any land, and then came in sight of Norway, and had a day or two of calm weather, where we hovered to and again, endeavouring what we could for Holland; but the wind coming against us, we concluded to put into Norway, and sailed to Bergen, where we lay in the harbour about twenty days: when we came first thither many came to see us, and to them that could understand English we gave books, inasmuch that many being given out, the raters of the place took notice of it, and sent orders that no more should be given. The town's people did importune us pretty much to come on shore to refresh ourselves, but the magistrates would not suffer any of the men Friends to go on shore, but the women Friends might, they said; but they had not freedom so to do. So we were not any of us ashore in that country. After we came from thence, we were more than two weeks before we came to Holland: we were in all two months in the Hollanders' custody, before we arrived at home; but were set at liberty out of the ship called the Black Eagle, the next day after we came thither, and we passed that night for Amsterdam. Our usage, considering what men's hands we were fallen into, as to necessary food, was pretty well, and bedding we had to lie on, but left somewhat thin of clothes, considering the time of the year, and the country we were cast into; but we were generally preserved in health over all.

"There are three gone to Rotterdam, and I with the rest of Friends are in Amsterdam; and after a little while spent with Friends here, and that we are a little furnished with some necessary things, it is with us to return to England. Feeling Him nigh that justifies, we have boldness, and the simplicity of our hearts this day is known to the Lord alone, how innocently we suffer; and in a measure of that life which is without guile, are enabled to do and suffer his will, who sanctifies and keeps clean the heart, that it may not be defiled with that which is corruptible and fading.

"So with my love to Friends, I remain thy affectionate relation,

"LAURENCE FULLOVE.

"From Amsterdam, the 27th of }  
the second month, 1666." }  
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## CHAPTER V.

*Meetings molested, and meeting-houses seized by the magistrates for the king, and afterwards, guards of soldiers placed in the meeting-houses to keep us out, and what ensued thereupon.*

Now ceased the prosecution of the Act for banishment; but during the great plague or sickness, in the year 1665, which raged in the city of London, and suburbs, and other parts of the nation, persecution ceased not, but the gaols in and about the city, were filled with the innocent servants of the Lord, and for no other cause, but meeting to worship him in spirit and in truth. Yet by the providence of God, meetings were in that time continued and upheld, though by small numbers that were at liberty, but frequently interrupted by soldiers; and some Friends were imprisoned. Amongst whom it fell to my lot to be one, being at the Peel meeting in John's street, on the third-day of the week, according to our usual manner, where about the number of sixteen were assembled; and one Friend being upon his knees in prayer to God, a company of soldiers of the trained bands, came in upon us, and baled the Friend from his duty of prayer, and took us all that were met together, and had us to the king's guard, over against White-hall, and there left us, where we were kept all that night. The guards were civil to us, but in the morning we being all brought out into the yard, and placed under a guard of musketeers, an officer came to us, as he said, from the lord general, George Monk, the duke of Albemarle, and told us, if we would each pay forty shillings to the poor of the parish, we might have our liberty; otherwise we were to be committed to the gate-house prison for three months. And accordingly upon our refusal to pay the said demand of forty shillings each, we were all put into the gate-house prison, Westminster, where were sundry other Friends prisoners, committed before us. In the time of our imprisonment, many prisoners died of the sickness, four or five in one night, as I have been told; yet it pleased God of his infinite mercy to spare us; so that not one Friend died there, during the whole time.

The next year, 1666, happened the dreadful fire of London. These great and notable judgments, did impede and obstruct the persecution intended, and the design aimed at by the banishing Act.

The dreadful burning of the city of London, was a great unsettlement to the multitude of inhabitants; and though for some time, such as had no houses, were eased from sufferings by the hireling priests; yet sufferings of other kinds did attend us.



The meeting house, called the Bull and Mouth, being burnt down, and Friends having taken part of a great house without Bishopsgate, called Devonshire house; a meeting was there held on the first-days, &c. instead of the Bull and Mouth; and the elder men Friends, had sometimes a meeting in an upper room, as formerly they had at the Bull and Mouth, to consider of the affairs of the church, and to order things for the good government thereof. But the restless adversaries of our prosperity, still pursued us, molesting and disquieting our peaceable assemblies. One of the sheriffs of the city, came to the said meeting place, pretending to seize it for the king, and having shut the door, and set the broad arrow, he hung a padlock on the door, which was soon taken off; and Friends held their meetings as at other times.

In the time when the city was rebuilding, a piece of ground being offered in White-hart court in Gracious street, and approved for convenience of situation, to build upon; it was taken by Friends, and a meeting house was there built, as at this day.

In some little time after, the meeting house was finished, and Friends held meetings there: the officers came thither also, pretending to seize it for the king; after which, a priest with a guard of constables and watchmen, came there to read common prayer, &c. according to the form of the national church; but this held not long, for the priest's work did not prosper, and he soon grew weary of it.

After this, the enemy of all good put them upon taking other measures, and that was sometimes by guards of soldiers, who keeping guard in our meeting houses, would keep us out in the streets; other times, we were kept out by constables and watchmen, whereupon Friends would gather together in the streets, as near to the meeting houses, as the guards would suffer them to come; and so were we exposed to the seasons of heat and cold, wet and dry. And if the Lord opened the mouth of any of his servants to speak of the things of the kingdom of God, to exhort to patience, perseverance, and steadfastness in the faith, such were often immediately taken away, with whom else they pleased, and secured by the guard, until the meeting broke up; and then being carried before the mayor, or some other magistrate, were committed to prison until sessions, and then were indited for riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies, met with force and arms, to the terror of the people, &c. Sometimes they have taken to the number of twenty or thirty, and had them before the mayor; who not intending severity, hath fined them at five shillings each; some of which fines have been paid by spectators, who waiting to see the issue of such proceedings, have followed the Friends to the mayor's;

and as the serpent or dragon cast out of his mouth, water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away; these like the earth, have helped the woman, and swallowed up the flood: Rev. xii. 16. Some of these spectators would pay as many five shillings, as they had money in their pockets to answer; and as many as they thus paid for, were discharged, and the rest committed and tried as aforesaid. For a particular instance of the proceedings of this court in this case, I refer the reader to the printed trials of William Penn and William Mead, and others, at the sessions at the Old Bailey, in the year 1670.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Of the beginning and progress of the Conventicle Act, with the form of a convicting warrant, and what ensued thereupon.*

THE rigorous and severe proceedings upon the Act of banishment, having met with eminent rebukes, as the plague, fire, and wars with the Dutch, with other clogs and obstructions which happened; and the persecution upon that Act ceasing, though during the sickness, persecutions of other kinds ceased not, as hath been already hinted. Yet as Pharaoh of old, would not let Israel go, so this generation, would not let the people go, to offer the sacrifice of a broken heart to God, and to worship him in his own free spirit as he required them. Therefore another law was made, called the Conventicle Act, wherein it was provided, "that wherever any meeting or conventicle was held, under the colour or pretence of religious worship, contrary to the liturgy of the church of England, where were assembled to the number of five persons, more or over, and besides those of the family or household; and should there take upon them to teach or preach, &c.,—the teacher or preacher to incur the penalty of twenty pounds; and in case of his poverty or being a stranger, the sum inflicted was charged on the hearers; so as no hearer be charged above ten pounds for his own offence; and that of the preacher, one half to the king, and the other half to the informers, each hearer might be charged five shillings for his own offence, but not less; and for the poverty of others, or an unknown preacher, together with his own, ten pounds, and not more."

This Act was put into the hands and power of informers, who being a wicked, profane, loose sort of people, both men and women, what woful work they made, and what encouragement they had from some men in authority, cannot easily be forgotten, by such as suffered by their irregular, unwarrantable, and fallacious proceedings. Sometimes they forswore them-

selves, giving informations against persons that were absent, mistaking in their informations, the days and times of the meetings, swearing to convict a preacher, although the meeting was held in silence, and not a word spoken, except by one of their own company, taking upon him to utter a confused sentence or two, to give occasion to levy twenty pounds upon the meeting, for a fine of a preacher. Accordingly these wicked persons, void of all fear of God, or regard to man as they ought, having thus contrived matter for an information, they go to a justice of peace, and there give evidence upon oath, which was a conviction.

I have read that Tacitus complained, "that his time afforded nothing notable for history, besides the corruptions of judges, the encouragements of informers and malicious prosecutions, and the laws made for the people's security, turned into snares and gins, to catch and destroy the brave and virtuous." Of all this our late times have afforded instances more than enough; upon which conviction, execution issued, without hearing the party, and a warrant forthwith was granted for a distress. The law allowed an appeal, but little relief could be had by it, especially in the city of London, where Thomas Jenner was then recorder, and a notorious encourager of the informers, and into whose hands the effects of distresses came, and also the money upon appeals was paid to him; and he being also sole judge of the appeals, upon trial of undue convictions by false swearing, he would find ways to baffle the appeal. After this manner he dealt with me; the informers having sworn to a wrong day, upon which I was convicted for ten pounds, which I deposited, and entered my appeal, which came in course to a trial, where I had retained counsel to plead. A jury being sworn, my cause was called among others, and witnesses were examined; after which the jury going forth to agree upon their verdict, Thomas Jenner goes from the bench, and in some small time returns. The jury coming in with their verdicts, and having dropt my cause, it was called over again, in order to a new trial; Thomas Jenner, saying, a slip in the record should not serve turn; whereupon I made application to my counsel, who advised me to withdraw my appeal, to prevent a worse consequence; for says he, they are resolved to carry it: so I suffered the loss of my money and all the charges.

I have been the more particular in this relation of fact, that the reader may take notice of the combination of wicked men, who joined hand in hand to drive on oppression; and according to Isa. lix. 13, 14, 15; conceiving and uttering from the heart, words of falsehood; and judgment is turned backward, and justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the street,

and equity cannot enter. Yea truth faileth, and he that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey, and the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no judgment.

The Lord is the same for ever, through all generations; his hand is not shortened that it cannot save, neither is his ear heavy that it cannot hear: Isa. l. 2. And although his long-suffering and patience are very great, yet the wicked shall not go unpunished, for God shall wound the head of his enemies, and the hairy scalp of such an one as goeth on still in his trespasses. He is a God of justice as well as of mercy; he will in no wise acquit the wicked, except they repent and return unto him with their whole heart.

Here followeth the form of a convicting warrant.

*London, ss. — To all constables, headboroughs, church-wardens, tithing-men, overseers of the poor, bailiffs, and all other his majesty's officers, within the said city, whatsoever :*

WHEREAS by the oaths of two credible witnesses, before me sir Jonathan Raymond, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the city aforesaid. There was a conventicle or unlawful assembly, held the 13th day of this instant June, in a certain meeting in Whitehart court by Grace-church street, in the aforesaid city, in the forenoon; wherein were a company of persons, all above the age of sixteen years, and subjects of this realm, to the number of above sixteen more than those of the family or household, contrary to the Act of Parliament in that case made and provided; amongst whom was William Crouch, upholsterer, in Grace-church street, in the aforesaid city. In which conventicle or unlawful assembly, to these deponents was a person unknown, who did take upon him to teach and preach under colour or pretence of exercise of religion, in other manner and form, than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England; whereby the penalty of twenty pounds was forfeited by the preacher or teacher, as aforesaid; who being unknown, as aforesaid, the penalty by him forfeited, ought of consequence to be levied by the said Act, upon the hearers and persons there present, and convicted thereof, so as not above ten pounds be levied on any one person, for any one offence; for which cause, I have imposed the fine of ten pounds for his own offence, and part of the preacher's offence.

These are therefore in his majesty's name, and by virtue of the said Act, to command you or some of you, to levy the said sum of ten pounds, by way of distress and sale of the said offender's goods above mentioned; and if you are refused entrance into the house, or any part



of the house or houses in possession or occupation of the said William Crouch, after you have declared your business in his majesty's name, you are hereby required to break open all and every the doors, barricadoes, &c. belonging to any part of the house or houses as aforesaid; and to enter and levy the full contents of what you can find towards all and every the warrants that you shall be charged with, during the time you shall be in possession of such premises in pursuance of the said statute; and that you return the same to me, to be distributed according to the said act; and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal, this 23rd day of June, anno regni regis caroli secundi, 35. &c. annoque domini, 1683.

Another warrant of the like contents, bearing date 21st of April, 1684, was made against me by Thomas Jenner, recorder, to levy ten pounds upon my goods by way of distress, for a meeting in Gracious street; upon which I entered my appeal, and the proceedings thereupon were as aforesaid.

Thus were we exposed and laid open by a law, to be devoured by beasts of prey; and neither our own innocency, nor our own houses could defend us, or preserve us from being ruined by unreasonable and wicked men; making void the ancient privilege of an Englishman, and the old maxim, that a man's house is his castle: we had no other help or dependence but on the Providence of God, through which only we were preserved from utter destruction. These things were sometimes brought to my consideration, as I was going to my bed, not knowing, but that night might be the last night I might have a bed to lie on; for I knew not how many informations were sworn against me, nor what warrants were issued out for distresses. But blessed be the Lord, all anxious care was taken from me, and I was not thoughtful, nor over careful what might befall on the morrow, but was resigned to the will of God. The remembrance of his tender love and compassion remains fresh upon my soul to this very day, and my spirit magnifies him, saying, He is the same that ever he was through all generations, to all that love and fear him.

#### CHAPTER VII.

*The answer of the Bishop of Canterbury, to George Whitehead and myself, upon our application to him, and signifying the perjury and false evidence of the informers, &c. with some commentaries thereupon.*

It may not be improper in this place to take notice, that upon the proceedings against us,

George Whitehead, and I with him, went to the Bishop of Canterbury, (Doctor Sandcroft, as I take it he was called) at his house at Lambeth, to complain of the irregular proceedings against us, the Quakers, upon the Conventicle Act by informers, who swore falsely, by which many were convicted, and distresses made accordingly, which we informed him of; and that it was a dishonour to their church. To which he replied, with great unconcernedness of mind, and without much regard, that a ship could not be built without some crooked timber. But is it not great pity, and cause of sorrow, that this metropolitan bishop, and so called overseer of the church, should be so manifestly wrong as thus to reply? For is it possible that men and women, who are altogether immoral in their actions, and in their nature and practice not only inconsistent with, but destructive to human society, can be useful or serviceable in the church; or contribute to the well being of any thing that is good, by such unwarrantable practices? Wherefore these are no necessary members in a true Christian church, but in the church of anti-Christ only. Perhaps it will be granted, that deformed members may be useful or beneficial to a natural body; but men who are corrupt in principle, and vicious in conversation, cannot be useful or serviceable in the church of Christ. This I think is a proper comparison, and full refutation of the bishop's answer, and a clear proof or evidence of his being mistaken in his reply, respecting the usefulness of crooked timber in the building of a ship, to which he compared the church; which although called a Christian church, yet so qualified cannot be the church of Christ, whereof he is head, and all the members of him are fitly framed, not crooked or perverse; and no member in that body can say to another, I have no need of thee; but they are made to serve one another in love, not to betray or ensnare one another.

But may not this answer of the bishop bespeak, or some may suppose at least, the bishop to be a merchant trafficking to sea, and dwelling in the city or suburbs of mystical Babylon, by his sudden and sharp reply in the comparison of a ship, in the building of which crooked timber is of that use and service, that a ship cannot be built without it. But although crooked timber may be useful in building a ship, how will the comparison hold, that crooked, perverse, scandalous, perjured persons, can or may be useful to uphold the church? May it not from hence be concluded, or what else may be the consequences of his reply, but that their church is this ship? It was to the church we referred the dishonour by false evidences, and it was to that reference the bishop made answer, where crooked timber, it seems, is so

useful; crooked, because contrary to strait, not upright, not to be squared by an equal rule, but bending and warping from it, false to truth, liars, and forswearing themselves; yet useful in the bishop's sense for the church, the ship, to which belongs store of mariners to sail her upon the waters, which are peoples and multitudes, nations and tongues; these are the waters where their ship sails, and where the great city mystery Babylon, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants, he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, Rev. i. 1; and he being carried away by the spirit into the wilderness, there he saw a woman sitting upon a scarlet coloured beast, &c. And he describes how she was arrayed and decked with gold, &c. And having a golden cup in her hand,—a form of religion—and upon her forehead, was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and abomination of the earth. This woman, this mystery Babylon, he saw drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: Rev. xvii. 3, 4, 5, 6.

The city Babel, Gen. x. which was locally situated in the land of Shinar, whose foundations were laid soon after the flood, in the third generation from Noah; by Nimrod, who began to be a mighty one in the earth, he was a mighty hunter before the Lord; he wanted greatness and grandeur in the earth, and hunted for power to oppress. His name is rendered to signify a rebel, or rebellion; a sinner or transgressor; a tyrant, the son of Cush, and grandson of cursed Ham: the beginning of his figurative kingdom was there, and is relative to this city mystery Babylon, as the figure to the signification, the beginning of pride, ambition, and open rebellion against God, under the countenance of a king was there; and the progress of this kingdom, was, and is suitable to its institution; it was begun in wickedness, and produced confusion. And as then, they in the strength and power of their own wills which prompted them to attempt the knowledge of the hidden mysteries of God, by earthly policy and contrivance, and by materials formed of the earth, brick and mortar, compacted and bound together by art and skill, and work of men's hands, to erect and set up a building, by which to peep into heaven, and make themselves masters and judges of the secrets of the most High. So the mystery of iniquity hath continued through ages; and proud, ambitious, vain men, have, and still do aspire and contrive by human study, art and school learning, formed of earthly wisdom, and comprehension; compact-

ed and bound together, are building a city and a tower, whose top may reach to heaven, thereby attempting and presuming to make themselves masters and dispensers of the mysteries of the kingdom of God; but God hath taken notice thereof, and is come down to confound their language, yea, and they are confounded: confusion is over them and upon them. The mystery of iniquity, which began with Babel, and hath continued through ages and generations, shall come to an end, in this the day of the Lord, which is now dawned. I do not pretend to know or foretell the hour, the day or the year, according to the common calculation of time, but it shall be fulfilled in the day of the Lord, with whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day:—2 Peter iii. 8.

That time is approaching and drawing near, blessed be the Lord for ever: rejoice ye mourners in Zion, sing aloud for joy of heart, for the hour of your deliverance draweth near. For thus saith the Lord by his prophet, I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand; thou didst show them no mercy; upon the ancient hast thou very heavily laid thy yoke; and thou saidst I shall be a lady for ever; I am, and there is none else, beside me. I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children. But these two things shall come to thee in a moment in one day, the loss of children and widowhood, they shall come upon thee in their perfection, for the multitude of thy sorceries, and for the great abundance of thine enchantments, for thou hast trusted in thy wickedness, therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it ariseth, &c. Isa. xlvii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Babylon's destruction is further declared by the prophet Jeremiah; Because ye were glad, because ye rejoiced, O ye destroyers of mine heritage, because ye are grown fat as the heifer at grass, and bellow as bulls, your mother shall be sore confound, &c. Every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished and hiss at her plagues: Jer. l. 11, 12, 13. O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures, thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness: Jer. li. 13.

So Jeremiah wrote in a book all the evil that should come upon Babylon, and that it shall be desolate forever; to which book, the prophet was commanded to bind a stone, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates; and thou shalt say, thus shall Babylon sink: Jer. li. 60, 62, 63, 64. And now by comparing the prophecy of John, with what is above taken notice of, we may observe the harmony and agreeing testimonies of the spirit of prophecy in all, to whom God is pleased to reveal and make known his will,



and the mysteries of his determination and counsel.

And a mighty angel took up a stone, like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all: Rev. xviii. 21. The merchants of this great city who have had ships at sea, have been made rich by the abundance of her merchandise, which are enumerated and reckoned up, amongst which are mentioned slaves and souls of men, ver. 13. These they have and do traffick for, and set to sale to be ransomed, purchased, redeemed, and saved from purgatory, &c. By ways and means she hath at her dispose, she hath pardons, indulgences, dignities, creations, promotions, ordinations, and benefices to bestow for money: she hath also sacraments to sell; as sprinkling with water, calling it baptism, and pretending to make persons members of Christ thereby; and consecrated bread and wine, which she miscalls the body and blood of Christ. Here is the mystery of iniquity; these are the intoxicating wines drunk out of her cup, which have made the kings of the earth and nations drunk, reeling and staggering: they have pretended to have that to sell for money, which God by his prophet offered freely, wine and milk without money and without price: Isa. lv. 1.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

*Shows the sharp and watchful eye of the priests, after their gain from their quarter, upon rebuilding the city after the fire.*

My dwelling-house in Finch-Lane, in the parish of Bennet-fink, so called, being amongst others burned, and the parish church, so called, also, I was for sometime free from the covetous priests, who seek their gain from their quarter; and Friends, called Quakers, having taken a part of Devonshire house without Bishopsgate, for a meeting place, instead of the Bull and Mouth, which was burnt down in the great conflagration; I had my dwelling there in that part, during which time the parish priest was paid by the landlord.

After the city was rebuilt, and inhabited, I returned into it again, and seated myself in Gracious street, where the parish church, so called, being erected and finished and the priests hungry and greedy for hire, they soon obtained power to shear the fleece without taking care of the flock, or to know them, otherwise than to shear them; some of them perhaps dwelling many miles distant, and deputing journeymen for hire to appear in the public house twice or thrice in a week.

The first priest that encountered me after I

returned into the city, and came into Gracious street, was John Cliffe, called rector of St. Bennet Grace-church, London, in the year 1675, who by a warrant from Robert Viner, mayor, for three quarters of a year tithes, reckoned one pound nineteen shillings, seized two pieces of white serge, value three pounds ten shillings, and brought in for charges of distraining, fifteen shillings and seven pence; and some months after he returned fifteen shillings and five pence sealed up in a paper, with the account, which when I had opened and read I returned the money, with the following lines.

November, 1675.

JOHN CLIFFE,—Some few days since I suppose by thy appointment, was put into my hands a sealed paper, in which, when I opened it, I perceived thy unreasonable proceedings, the money therein sent I shall not receive in satisfaction for my two serges, but hope for a better account when thy conscience is awakened. The ministers of the gospel seek not to live by oppression, nor clothe they themselves with wool, exacted from sheep they do not feed.

I receive not aught from thee, nor do I want any thing which thou sellest. I never made bargain with thee for aught, nor ever consented to pay thee any thing, how then canst thou intend me thy debtor? I live not upon the labours of others, but with honest industry provide for myself and family; I covet not my neighbour's house, nor his goods, nor aught that is his: but he that doth is a transgressor of the righteous law of God Almighty.

I herewith return thy paper of account, with what I received in it, being resolved to make no peace with him that takes my goods by violence, without restitution. I rest in that which loves enemies, thy friend,

WILLIAM CROUCH.

What became of this priest, John Cliffe, I know not, whether he did remove to some other place, or died, I cannot tell, but I had no more to do with him.

However he was soon followed, not any time lost, by another, in no respect better than I know, or have heard, no place being left long vacant, where money can be gained by the covetous clergy.

The priest that succeeded John Cliffe went by the name of Henry Halstead; where his outward habitation was, I believe few of the parishoners knew, and perhaps as few his person when they saw him: but he failed not to to shear the fleece as fast as it grew, according to his own calculation.

When he first obtained the privilege to stile himself rector of St. Bennet Grace-church, he made me a short visit, and some discourse pass-

ed betwixt him and me, in the which he reflected upon us as a people holding strange opinions, or of strange notions; and he instanced among the rest that we believed revelation: to which I made answer, that thereby we came to the knowledge of God, none knowing the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son doth reveal him: Matt. xi. 27. Upon which he grew into passion, saying, he came for his tithes, and not to dispute; and forthwith he withdrew from me. Since which I have seldom seen him to my knowledge; but though he came not so near that we might hear him once or twice a week, if we should have desired; yet he hath a way to make us hear from him once a year, and by his agents to obtain warrants from the mayors of the city successively one after another, whereby distresses were and are made upon our goods, most times double or treble to his demands, rarely returning any thing, selling what was taken away much under the true value, and adding great charges for distraining, and other expences. And thus this priest hath proceeded from year to year, from 1676, to the year 1705, without the least reluctance, but as hard as the nether mill-stone.

Judge ye sons of men! Ye that are inhabitants of Great Britain, under a profession of Christianity, judge and consider. Are these practices consonant or agreeable to the ministers of Christ Jesus; or the apostles who preached the gospel freely, according to the command of their Lord and Master, freely ye have received, freely give? Matt. x. 8.

O Lord God of Israel! Hasten the day of deliverance to thy oppressed suffering flock, who are driven away by the idle shepherds, who according to Ezek. xxxiv. 3, eat the fat, and clothe with the wool, but feed not the flock. O Lord! do thou become the alone Shepherd of thy sheep, make them to hear thy voice, and to follow thee! Gather them to their folds, make them fruitful, and to increase according to thy promise of old: Jer. xxiii. 3.

To instance the particulars of each distress made as aforesaid, with the accounts of the loss sustained, is not what I herein intended; but having signified the sufferings in general, I shall proceed to give some account of matters of another nature and kind.

## CHAPTER IX.

### *A caution to Magistrates.*

WHEN magistrates are assembled in courts of judicature, and shall overlook justice and equity, and the ancient liberties of the people, and prefer their own arbitrary wills; can any thing bespeak a design to enslave their neigh-

bours beyond such a proceeding? And such men as will suffer themselves to be swayed by interest, passion or prejudice, and to pervert justice, or to countenance or encourage the doing of it: these very men, when by a turn of Providence they become liable to the judgment of others in authority, are the readiest to exclaim against, and accuse the proceedings of others, especially if they apprehend any injustice to themselves, whatever they might do to others when in power. This is a manifest and evident token of a corrupt and wicked heart; such men are not fit to be magistrates in a Christian nation.

A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches: Prov. xxii. 1. And the value and esteem that some have had for a good name, hath animated them to perform just and good actions, out of a desire to leave a good name behind them. Now to purchase a good name to leave behind us, will be to do our duty conscientiously in that state, or condition of life, in which by Providence we are or may be placed. The steadfast holding, or keeping a good conscience, is, and ought to be the indispensable duty and qualification of a magistrate, because the sword of justice is placed in his hand, that he may be a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well. Wherefore it is a violation of his trust, an obscuring of his power, and blasting of his reputation, either to protect or connive at the guilty, or oppress and discountenance the innocent. But such a conversation and behaviour, whether in private or public, whether in his chamber, or in courts of judicature, as to deal fairly between party and party, to consider and defend the poor man's cause, and take care that that may have as just and equal an hearing and determination as that of the rich, will commend a magistrate, and gain him that good name which is better than great riches. And such as have the sword of justice committed to them, being ordained of God, they ought therefore in their office and places to imitate his just and righteous administration, viz: to protect, defend, and succour the innocent, and to punish evil-doers only.

It was an excellent caution, wholesome advice and counsel, which Jehoshaphat gave to the judges, whom he set over the land, and in every city of Judah. And he said to the judges, Take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment; the margin reads, in the matter of judgment; wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you, take heed and do it, for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts: 2 Chron. xix. 5, 6, 7.

Had this seasonable caution and advice been considered by the judges in our days, so



much injustice, and wrong judgment would not have taken effect, which woful experience doth testify and bear evidence hath been done in our time, by not being guided by the fear of the Lord, as all judges ought to be.

The true way to fence out all injustice and wrong-doing, is, for all men in their present capacities, whether in authority, or otherwise, to oppose and withstand all injustice in themselves. The rule which our Saviour Christ hath laid down, Matt. vii. 12, whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, will allow room enough for a Christian magistrate, if he will rightly and truly apply his power. None, who are not wilfully or maliciously ignorant, can pretend to construe this text, that the magistrate may forbear to punish an evil doer, because he would not be punished himself. But no magistrate would be wronged, but would enjoy his own right and property; and as he accounts it his just right and privilege to be so preserved, he doth not err from the rule of doing to another, what is due to himself if he transgress; but to execute his power upon such as do transgress that rule, perhaps his interest may excite him to do it; or however his duty require him. Though men's circumstances cannot set them above doing to others as they would be done to, with respect to justice; yet their innocency, and other their circumstances, may qualify them to execute punishment upon evil doers, and be a praise to them that do well.

The law is good if a man use it lawfully, knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, for man slayers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind; for men stealers, for liars, for perjured persons; and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine: 1 Tim. i. 8, 9, 10. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: Matt. vii. 12.

That magistrate who doth conscientiously believe it is his duty to use the law upon such offenders and evil doers, cannot but think it his duty also to defend, and be a praise to them that do well.

The apostle saith, Rom. xiii. 3, rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil; and ver. 4, but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Mark, it is upon him that doeth evil, by punishment suitable to the merit, and a praise to them that do well, by defending them in all their civil and religious rights. This is a most excellent rule, an un-

erring guide, the only rule for Christian magistrates to govern themselves by.

If men in authority were but as inclinable to encourage doing well, as they are to punish some evil, though not all, the more the pity, they would thereby promote the Christian religion, in opposition to all immorality and profaneness. But alas! such evils as they indulge in themselves, how can they be zealous to punish in others?

To do well, is to do justly, to walk inoffensively, to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us, to render to Cæsar the things that are his, and to God the things that are his; to love God with all the heart, and our neighbour as ourself. Such who regulate their lives and conversations in this manner, give no cause of disquiet or trouble to the magistrate; why then, or how can the magistrate disquiet or give trouble to such, without abusing the power wherewith he is intrusted? Mark, it is but a trust, for he is the minister of God, not for himself, to satisfy his own lust, ambition, pride, or an exalted mind, nor his greedy covetous desire after gain or honour, nor to gratify himself or others, in any unlawful thing whatever; but to be a terror to evil-doers. But when the sword is put into the hands of persons of evil inclinations, such will not consider how to use it as they ought, but will overlook the evil-doer, and turn their power upon such as do well: our experience hath told us thus much.

But however, notwithstanding the magistrate hath abused his power, and turned judgment backward, by afflicting the innocent, and encouraging the guilty; yet, blessed be the Lord, who furnished us with patience to bear their injustice and wrong doing, and with resolution to persevere in the way of the Lord, according as he hath persuaded our hearts, maugre all their force and violence; and our God did, and hath still kept us to a strict observation of conformity to that most excellent rule before-mentioned, of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, viz: To do unto all men, what we would they should do unto us. We have not rendered evil for evil; but on the contrary, good for evil, loving our enemies, and praying for them that have used despite against us. We have not withheld from Cæsar the things which are his; and according to our understanding and knowledge, in our measure, have rendered to God the things that are his, and all by the Divine assistance of his grace in our hearts, which he in great loving kindness and favour, did, and still doth, plentifully bestow upon us, by which we have been made willing to obey his commandments, and they are not grievous unto us; blessed be his everlasting name and power forever.

It hath been always the practice of mere

pretenders to religion, being settled in an external form, without the living power, to persecute every appearance of light and truth differing from their form, to rage, hate and persecute, and as much as in them lies, to hinder and obstruct the work of God; and as in the days of old, when Jerusalem was trodden down by the uncircumcised, who knew not God nor were in covenant with him, but in enmity against him and his people, and the walls thereof were broken down, God gave them courage and strength to repair their walls. So now in a wonderful manner God's chosen Israel, have been assisted with his power in their return to spiritual Jerusalem, to repair her walls and mend the breaches even in troublesome times. And Sanballat and Tobiah, with others, have laughed at the work, and with scorn mocked these inward Jews, saying, will they fortify themselves? will they continue to meet together to worship their God? will they sacrifice to him? will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish? Neh. ii. 10, and iv. 1, 7. We esteem their labour of no greater force, or strength, than what shall be broken down if a fox go up: Neh. iv. 3. The fox-like informers will soon overturn their work, and break down their walls. But yet notwithstanding, the work hath been carried on, and the walls are built and joined together; for as the prophet Nehemiah observed concerning the outward Jews, the people had a mind to work, ver. 6, and God hath encouraged them; the work hath prospered, and they have witnessed the Lord to be their wall, and strong tower of defence; so that no assaults from the enemy have prevailed against them, but we are yet a people to his praise.

#### THE CONCLUSION.

THE preceding history, or relation of sufferings and persecution for good conscience sake, which are referred to as matters of fact within my own knowledge and memory, contains passages of what was acted upon the public stage of the world, from the year 1656, until the death of king Charles the second: but as to the great violence and oppression of divers kinds, which where inflicted upon Friends in the time of Oliver Cromwell, &c. being related by other hands, I therefore have omitted them, and taken

notice of no more than my own observation furnished me with.

After king James came to the crown, he put forth a declaration for liberty of conscience, whereby the proceedings upon the Conventicle Act, and other prosecutions, except for tithes, &c. did abate; and the Quakers, amongst other dissenters from the church, had some ease and liberty, which was a time of refreshment unto us.

And in the first year of king William and queen Mary, an act was made for exempting their majesties Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws. About this time also some ease was given in the case of oaths and swearing, being thereunto required by authority: but this not fully answering the doubts and scruples of many tender consciences in that case, it is hoped that some further ease may yet be obtained.

And since the accession of queen Anne to the crown, we have enjoyed our liberty, according to the act of toleration, which she hath with great zeal, indulgence and care preserved from violation.

And now that which further remains upon my spirit from the Lord, is, to caution, forewarn, and advise all persons, of all degress and ranks, who are come to years of understanding, that they do make a right use of this great favour, which God hath by his Providence inclined the government to grant and establish. And I pray God that we, who are made partakers thereof, may walk in all humility of mind and heart before the Lord, and in due subjection to the government, as becomes the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; that men seeing our good works, may glorify God on our behalf. I also hope, that the government may, from the good effects which have followed the toleration, be encouraged not only to continue it, but further to confirm and enlarge it; and that they may, through the good providence of God, be made sensible, that favour and indulgence on the one hand, and duty and subjection on the other, are stronger obligations for uniting the kingdom, than impositions upon tender consciences, enforced by severe penalties, let the pretence be what it will, or by what instrument soever promoted or attempted.



# LETTERS, &c., OF EARLY FRIENDS;

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

## HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY,

FROM NEARLY ITS ORIGIN, TO ABOUT THE PERIOD OF GEORGE FOX'S DECEASE;

WITH DOCUMENTS RESPECTING ITS EARLY DISCIPLINE:

ALSO EPISTLES OF COUNSEL AND EXHORTATION, ETC.

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THE GREATER PORTION TAKEN FROM ORIGINAL OR ANCIENT SOURCES, AND HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

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“If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick;—then the waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our soul.—Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.”—PSALM CXXIV. 2. &c.

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### INTRODUCTION.

In presenting to the reader this volume of Letters and other Documents of our Early Friends, the greater part of which, it is believed, have never been in print, it may be proper for the Editor to state, that they are mostly taken from originals or ancient copies, contained in various collections, as well private, as those in the possession of the Society in London and in the country. The principal collection of manuscripts from which they have been selected, is that which is denominated by the Editor, the *Swarthmore Collection*: it formerly contained a very large number of original letters of the Early Friends, mostly addressed to Margaret Fell, before her marriage with George Fox in 1669, but some few subsequently, and others to George Fox himself. These manuscripts were probably kept together at Swarthmore Hall in Lancashire for many years, or at least till the decease of Margaret Fox in 1702; but in the course of the last century, the collection became divided, and eventually a large portion of it was presented to the Society in London. The letters of this collection are mostly endorsed by George Fox,—as any other mass of papers might be for convenience of reference,—with the name of the writer and the date; and occasionally a brief memorandum has been added by him, respecting the writer or the chief subject of the letter. They record the earliest Gospel services of Friends

in various parts of this country and in foreign lands; and it is probable that they were referred to by George Fox, in the following passage of his will:—“All the *passages*, and travels, and sufferings of Friends, in the beginning of the spreading of the Truth, which I have kept together, will make a fine history; and they may be had at Swarthmore, with my other books: for it is a fine thing to know the beginning of the spreading of the Gospel, after so long a night of apostacy since the Apostles’ days;—that now Christ reigns, as he did, in the hearts of his people; glory to the Lord for ever! Amen.”—(*Will, dated eighth month, 1688.*)

In the arrangement of this volume, the Editor has adopted the following divisions, under which it was found that the Letters and Documents might be suitably classed; viz:—

Part I.—HISTORICAL,—OR LETTERS which illustrate the History of the Society of Friends, as regards events, services, or sufferings, *in London, and in the country*,—with some few relating to *Ireland*.

Part II.—DOCUMENTS illustrative of the EARLY DISCIPLINE and Testimonies of the Society.

Part III.—EPISTLES OF COUNSEL and Exhortation to the Churches, &c.

The Letters under the first division of the work, and more especially those relating to

London, the seat of government, will be often found to possess much interest, both as regards the history of our own Society,—in its earliest periods especially,—also the state of the religiously professing part of the community, and as regards the passing events of the day, so far as they concerned Friends. As these letters are of the character of private or intimate correspondence, due allowance should be made for the introduction of other matters, which may be deemed of trivial importance; yet with some readers, this description of familiar correspondence possesses attraction, from the vivid glimpses sometimes presented by a writer *on the spot* or at the time, of circumstances, and of character, not always noticed by the general historian. At the same time the remarks and peculiarities of style of writers in a distant period, will sometimes call for careful attention fully to appreciate them; as they may refer to events or circumstances deemed to be well known in their day, though at the first not so obvious to us: also, expressions may be met with, peculiar to the times, which may seem somewhat strange to our modern ear.

The Editor has endeavoured to elucidate these Historical Letters by notes from other public sources;\* also by occasional quotations from our own authors: but the reader will probably find much more in the early writers of the Society, to which he might refer with interest, in connexion with these letters, and *vice versa*:—the order of dates in which they are placed, will facilitate such reference.

The reader, in passing through these Historical Letters, can scarcely regret more than the Editor has done, the want of similar correspondence, during some, and more especially the latter periods embraced in this volume, and respecting remarkable events in our history of that time, which are not to be found alluded to in this collection. In setting on foot a search—however diligent and extensive—for ancient manuscripts in this day,—like casting a net into the sea of distant ages,—we must be content with what we may be able to bring up. Should, however, this publication remind Friends of any manuscripts of the kind, yet laying dormant in their possession, a communication with the Editor thereon would be very acceptable.†

\* Those sources of information, viz., the public Histories, Memoirs, or Chronicles of that day, prove very scanty in notices respecting Friends:—as a body they seem in general to have been little understood or even regarded by the writers of those works; who, more frequently than otherwise perhaps, introduce erroneous statements, or remarks founded on prejudice or ignorance respecting the Society.

† *Fac-similies* of some of the signatures to the Letters are introduced; they may assist in identifying originals,—which when accomplished, is always satisfactory.

The Documents introduced under the **SECOND** division of the volume, respecting the **EARLY DISCIPLINE** of the Society, are both curious and valuable;—curious, as being nearly all of them of dates antecedent to the existing records of the established meetings of the Society in London;—and valuable, as setting forth the care and concern of our Early Friends, under the direction and help of the great Head of the church, in the first institution of our discipline; the principles and objects of which, continue to a great degree remarkably preserved to this day, for our edification and the Christian welfare of the body.

From the great rarity of our *London* records previous to the year 1666, there is little doubt but that they were all destroyed by the great fire of London;—for “the great meeting-house” at the Bull and Mouth, was burnt down at that time. Alexander Parker, in a letter to George Fox, dated London, 27th of ninth month, 1676—inserted in this volume—states: “At Robert Dring’s, I inquired for Friends’ letters and papers, which were written in the beginning of the spreading of Truth; but I could find none,—they being burnt in the firing of London, as Dorothy did say.”

The accounts of Sufferings, commenced by Ellis Hookes, appear to be the earliest records relating to the Society at large, now preserved in London;—they go back as far as 1654. The minutes of a meeting called the Six Weeks’ Meeting, which is continued to this day, and has the care of the London meeting-house property, &c., commence in 1671:—those of the Meeting for Sufferings in 1675,—fifth month;—those of the Morning Meeting of Ministers and Elders, in the seventh month, 1673:—those of the Yearly meeting commence in 1672; and of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland, in 1671.

**THE EPISTLES OF COUNSEL**, &c. in Part III. are not so numerous, perhaps, as might be desired; for such was the diligence and the zeal of our forefathers, that they were not disposed to allow what appeared to them to have a service in it for the cause of Truth, to lie dormant: thus a very large portion of writings of this description were in that day published abroad, for the encouragement and consolation of the churches and of individuals. Here, therefore, the limits of search were rather restricted; yet it is hoped, that some of these selected epistles—believed to be now for the first time printed,—will be truly acceptable to not a few readers in this day. The letters and epistles of Alexander Parker, have been more largely taken, as but few of the writings of that eminent Friend have come down to us in print.

The Editor, in conclusion, may observe, that



he has abstained in general from giving his own reflections upon the remarkable events and circumstances affecting our Society, brought forward in these Letters; being desirous that the mind of the reader should be left at liberty, to draw his own conclusions and reflections upon what is contained therein. The extraordinary patience of these our Early Friends, under the cruel sufferings to which they were subjected,—their exemplary faithfulness to the cause of Truth and righteousness,—and the earnestness they evinced by their repeated warnings to the rulers of this country, that the wrath of heaven might be averted from the nation, by their ceasing from such wicked acts of persecution and cruelty,—and remarkably displayed in the early history of our Society. “All the powers of the nation seemed banded together” to crush this people;—the legislature itself taking that object most resolutely in hand: but they were not permitted to prevail over them. How truly then might they reverently and gratefully adopt the language of Israel formerly;—“If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us: then the waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our soul:—Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth. —Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.” May it be the earnest concern of us, the too much degenerated successors—must it not be said—of these sons of the morning—these patient sufferers for the cause of Christ,—to walk also as good soldiers

and faithful followers of the Captain of our salvation: then may we not humbly trust, that the Lord, in his abundant mercy, would show himself to be on our side also;—would be our strength, help, refuge and glory, as He was theirs;—and there would be no lack to us of any good thing; neither would any thing be able to pluck us out of His preserving hand of power, or to separate us from His love in Christ Jesus our Lord.

A. R. BARCLAY.

Leytonstone, near London, }  
Eleventh month, 1840. }

#### EXPLANATION OF THE TEXT.

WORDS in the text, printed in *Italics*,—excepting in the case of titles of works, and of remarkable expressions, &c.—denote, that they are taken to be phrases, probably, then in common use, or peculiar to the times.

Large brackets, thus [ ], are used to denote introductory remarks or quotations by the Editor: smaller brackets, thus [ ], occurring in a letter or document, show the addition by him of words, in explanation of the text;—if followed by a (!), it implies uncertainty as to the correct deciphering of the original manuscript, or, as to the word or name added by the Editor, or, that there is presumptive evidence or probability for the same.

A long dash, implies an omission; a short one,—as now used,—a rest in punctuation, or to connect parts of long sentences, &c.

In using the phrase at the end of a letter, &c., [*From the original*,] it is of course intended that the manuscript letter is pronounced to be such, on the usual presumptive evidence of comparison, or repeated view, of other letters of the same writer, also from other obvious marks of originality, as post marks, seals, &c.

## LETTERS, &c. OF EARLY FRIENDS.

### PART I.

*Historical, concerning Events, Services, &c.  
in London.*

#### No. 1.

[ALTHOUGH our early Friends had sprung up and were known as a distinct religious profession in some parts of the North of England, previous to the year 1654, it does not appear from our historians, that they had much, if any, appearance in the metropolis, prior to that year. William Crouch, who resided in London at this period, informs us in his memoirs, that “about the beginning of the year 1654, some workings of the power of Truth came to be felt amongst some tender people in and about the city of

London; and some few were convinced, and turned to the Lord.”

The following letter, dated the 29th of eleventh month, 1653, is the earliest which the Editor has met with, dated from London. The writer, Gervase Benson, as appears from George Fox’s Journal, was once a colonel in the army, he was also a justice of the peace; but in 1652, he was convinced at Lancaster, on the occasion of George Fox’s attending the sessions there, and clearing himself of the false accusations laid to his charge. (*See Journal under 1652.*) Gervase Benson, with Anthony Pearson (who also was a justice,) interested themselves on behalf of George Fox, when suffering imprisonment in the filthy gaol of Carlisle, in 1653. Gervase Benson is also men-

tioned in George Fox's Journal, as a visitor at Judge Fell's at Swarthmore. He died in 1679, as appears by the Westmoreland burial register of Friends, in which he is described to be 'of Kendal.'

Gervase Benson and Anthony Pearson being justices, sat as magistrates "at the Sessions at Appleby, January 1652," when James Nayler was examined on his indictment (with George Fox and Francis Howgill) upon a charge of blasphemy. On which occasion Justice Pearson ordered their hats to be put off, and then proceeded to question James Nayler; it is stated "that Justice Pearson was convinced at this Sessions by James Nayler, *as he sat on the bench, as one of his judges.*" It is well known Anthony Pearson became the author of that approved work, "The Great Case of Tithes."—*James Nayler's Works*, p. 11—16.]

GERVASE BENSON TO GEORGE FOX AND JAMES NAYLER.

London, 29th of 9 bre [11th month] (53.)

To my dearly beloved in the Lord.—My love in the Lord salutes you, and all Friends with you. [I am] by the love of God brought to this great city; and by his power am kept here to wait upon him, and to do whatsoever he shall call me forth unto; that he alone may be glorified in me and by me. Pray to the Lord for me, that I may be kept in all faithfulness; with boldness to bear witness to the Truth, against all deceits as they are made manifest in me, to the praise of his free grace and love to me, which I find daily flowing into my soul, to the refreshing thereof.

Dear Friends, I find nothing here that I can have any fellowship with: only the Lord is raising up a light in many,—both priests and people,—that discovers the carnal actings both of magistrates and ministers so called; and they are carried forth publicly to declare against them. I was lately at a meeting with some of them, at which were some Parliament men, ministers, and others: but I was made to declare against their practices at such meetings, and to show them their meetings were not for the better, but for the worse;—they spending their time in putting questions one to another, and jangling about things they could not witness. After we parted, I had no freedom to go to any such meetings; but was made to write a few proposals to some members of Parliament, which by the goodness of the Lord were finished this morning: a copy of the heads of them I have enclosed, not having time to write over the whole at present.

As for the Friend's enlargement at Kendal, George Taylor, I hope, hath or will give you an account.

Seeing nothing at present to the contrary, but that I shall shortly see you in the country, I conclude.

GERVASE BENSON.

[P. S.] There are many hereaways inquiring after Friends in the North and the Truth made manifest in you, and much writing for and against the priests.

*Written from London, 29th of 9 bre (53.) [Date corresponds with the 29th of Eleventh month, 1653.\*]*

Addressed "for my dear Friends,  
George Fox and James Nayler."

[From the original apparently.]

No. II.

[WILLIAM CROUCH, after mentioning that about the beginning of the year 1654, some few tender people in and about the city of London were convinced, proceeds to inform us; "about this time, two women came out of the North to the city, viz. Isabel Buttery and her companion; who became acquainted with Amos Stoddard,—sometimes a captain in the Parliament army, but who, when convinced of Truth, left his command,—and Simon Dring of Moorfields. These woman having an Epistle or Testimony given forth by George Fox, viz. the first inserted in the volume of his *Doctrinal Books*, directed '*To all that would know the way to the kingdom,*' &c. and this Epistle or Testimony being printed, they delivered or dispersed [the same] abroad to such as would receive it.—These women had private meetings at Robert Dring's house in Watling-street, and at Samuel Dring's in Moorfields; where they did now and then speak a few words."—*William Crouch's works*, p. 12, 13.

This quotation may serve as an introduction to the letter following; which, although subscribed with two names, is expressed as coming from one person, probably from the first named, Alexander Delamain, for the sheet is endorsed (in George Fox's handwriting) "*A. delamane 1654.*" The letter is much tattered, and is thus addressed:]

\* The mode of reckoning the months according to the old style, is followed throughout all these letters. On the alteration being made by act of Parliament in 1752, the Society also adopted a change in the mode of reckoning the months, which is explained at large in the Book of Discipline, page 73. Every month, therefore, quoted in these Letters, is to be reckoned two months later, to make it correspond with our present mode of computation, as well as with the public style of naming the months. Thus, for example, in a subsequent letter, the 29th of third month 1660, is mentioned as the day of king Charles's return to London, which corresponds with the 29th of fifth month by our present reckoning and the 29th of May by the public style; and vice versa.



TO MY DEAR FRIEND THOMAS WILLAN, OF  
KENDAL, WESTMORELAND.

London, 27th of Fourth month [sixth mo.] 1654.

DEAR FRIEND,—I received thy letter. The expectations of our Friends here—who are faithful,—have been and are very great, to have seen some Friends out of the North to come to abide here; and they are daily looking for some one or other, though we bless the Lord we do not so much look upon any creature: but where there is but childishness, there can be nothing but stammerings. The Lord still continues two of his handmaids with us, who are moved to speak sometimes; who, aiming at their souls' good, are often evilly entreated by them [the people;] but they are supported by the Lord, which makes them courageous among ravenous wolves. Others, whose hearts are not so flinty, do embrace the Truth in the love of it; so that our number increases. The harvest is great, the labourers few: if it be the Lord's will to send labourers, we know they must come, and none can hinder.

Our present condition and temptations are exceeding strange and great, which require the more strict watching, and your continually praying to the Lord for us. Sometimes the Lord moves us to speak to those that are over us in the flesh; and though we have been as the aspen leaves, trembling at the wind before them, yet praises be to the Lord, he gives us hearts as bold as a lion. As it hath pleased the Lord to draw us from the wicked delusions of the priests, so likewise from those heathenish forms, which were and are still used in the families where we live. And though to the grief of our souls, we cannot as yet live up in such a way as the Lord requires, yet we are endeavouring and struggling to get mastery over the deceit that hath so long reigned in us.

The 17th day of this month, my master in the flesh would know of me the reason why I absented myself from his holy duties, as he calls them. I told him, that I had heard him in his prayers bless the Lord for his vocation, election, redemption, and sanctification; but that he did not live up to such a life, as those whom Christ hath redeemed; neither was the Truth, as it is in Jesus, in him; and that the prayers of the wicked are an abomination before the Lord; and he that regards iniquity in his heart, the Lord will not hear his prayers. When I had spoken these words to him, his face waxed pale, and he immediately burst forth in a passion, uttering these words to me: 'Thou wretch, thou makes me tremble—thou wicked wretch—thou rogue;' and so flying at me with his bended fists, he smites me on the face and eyes, very often as hard as he could

strike. I not stirring hand or foot, immediately remembered the command, "If thou art smitten on the one cheek, turn the other,"—so I was made to do. When he had so done, I asked him whether what he had done, were of God; his answer was, No. So presently he commanded me to write down under my hand what I had spoken, which I did, being scarce able to see what I wrote for the blows he had given me. But I was made to write that which to him seemed an aggravation to what I had spoken. As soon as I had so done, in comes a priest, whom my master took presently to hear this business, and to read my writing. As soon as he had read it, saith he, 'This assertion is very dubious, and I might draw from hence divers questions'; and thus he began, 'Do you hold perfection?' 'Yes;—dost thou deny it?' Priest, 'Yes.' 'Then,' said I, 'thou art no minister of God.' It would be too tedious and too large to declare to you the whole discourse between him and me; for the promise of the Lord was made good to me at that very instant of time; it was not I that spoke, but the Spirit of God, who was my teacher and my remembrancer. And I declared many things to his face, how that he was no minister of God, one who was conforming to the world in his fashions [ (?) *word not clear* ] and customs: another was, that he was a hireling, and much more which I have not time to declare now. — [ *torn.* ] came in another manner;—the 19th day, my master came alluring me, and crying with tears running from a broken cistern. On the 23rd day, he sent me to one, to whom he had spoken to confer with me, with whom I was most part of that day; and [my master] did tell him, that if he could not draw me from my delusions and errors, that he would have me before the Chamberlain of London, and there my indentures should be burnt or torn; and I, for the scandal cast upon him under my hand, to be sent to the House of Correction, and to lose the freedom of the city of London.—Lose my name and credit!—poor, empty, base, beggarly things, which are not worth my thought: if it were to lose ten thousand freedoms, I would lose them willingly upon this account; and for witnessing the Truth—welcome House of Correction, or any other punishment!—and for Christ—farewell name, credit and reputation!

He [his master] hath drawn up a charge of five particulars against me:—

1st.—That I had slanderously accused him by word of mouth, [as stated above.]

2nd.—That I frequented a meeting in Moorfields, where there is none but two women that are preachers.

3rd.—That I will not join with him in family duties, viz. sometimes twice a-day prayer; and

every Lord's day two prayers, a chapter or a Psalm, and commonly one sung; and the like singing and prayer at night.

4th.—That when customers come for goods, my not speaking to them, as to tell them of what they ask me, or bidding them welcome, &c., I have driven away his customers.

5th.—Being asked by him whether I would refer the controversy to be ended by the ministers of God, I told him that I would; but I thought I could not find any of them in [London, *perhaps,—part torn.*]

These are the five things, which he, poor soul, thinks to affright me withal.

The last first-day, Isabel\*—who hath been a long season with us, I know not whether she is known to you, but she is well known to James Nayler and Gervase Benson and other Friends who were lately in London,—was moved to go to Westminster, to some to whom her heart was drawn forth; intending to make no stay, if the Lord would, but to come to our meeting at Simon Dring's house in Watling-street.†—But as she came back by Paul's, the mayor caused the marshal so called, to bring her before him; and her spirit was carried out valiantly: they went together into the vestry, there she—as we were informed—was [*word not clear*] in discourse with him, the aldermen and recorder so called. So they sent her to the House of Correction called Bridewell, and another maid that went with her, which was Robert Dring's maid of Moorfields. I went to see them, with more of our Friends, the last night; but there was no admittance, their Pharisaical spirit would not suffer such things on their Sabbath day. They were committed for letting people have their books, which our Friends have been moved to publish. Isabel bid me inform our Friends, that there are some books to be sent down: '*The way to the Kingdom*,' with an addition to it, is come forth. Send by the next post where they shall be sent to, and by whom and to whom.

Now, dear friend, I have in as brief a way as I could, [informed] thee and the rest of my friends, as our dear friends F. Howgill and J. Camm; desiring that — your petitions may be spread before the Lord, that we might be kept faithful to the end; for [such, there is (?)] laid up a crown of life. Salute us to all our dear brethren: farewell, the eternal God of power [preserve you (?)]

ALEXANDER DELAMAIN,  
JOHN BRIDGES.

27th of the fourth month, as }  
the world accomplis, 1654. }

\* Isabel Buttery, doubtless.

† Gilbert Latey states, that Simon Dring was one of those who first offered up their houses 'to have meetings therein for the service of the Lord,' and that he 'then

### No. III.

[THE writer of this next letter is thus spoken of by George Fox in his Journal:—*early in 1653*,—"About this time, Anthony Pearson was convinced, who had been an opposer of Friends. He came over to Swarthmore; and I being then at colonel West's, they sent for me. Colonel West said, 'Go George, for it may be of great service to the man.' So I went, and the Lord's power reached him. He was a justice of the peace in three counties."]

The following highly interesting letter from Anthony Pearson, has been met with in the Swarthmore collection; it is headed 'A paper of Anthony Pearson,' [George Fox's superscription apparently,] and it is dated from *Rampshaw, near West Auckland, May 9th, 1653*. It does not appear to whom it was addressed.

DEAR FRIEND.—I have long professed to serve and worship the true God, and as I thought—above many sects—attained to a high pitch in religion; but now, alas! I find my work will not abide the fire. My notions were swelling vanities without power or life: what it was to love enemies, to bless them that curse, to render good for evil, to use the world as using it not, to lay down life for the brethren, I never understood; what purity and perfection meant, I never tasted: all my religion was but the hearing of the ear, the believing and talking of a God and Christ in heaven or a place at a distance, I knew not where. Oh! how gracious was the Lord to me in carrying me to judge Fell's, to see the wonders of His power and wisdom,—a family walking in the fear of the Lord, conversing daily with Him, crucified to the world, and living only to God. I was so confounded, all my knowledge and wisdom became folly; my mouth was stopped, my conscience convinced, and the secrets of my heart were made manifest, and that Lord was discovered to be near, whom I ignorantly worshipped. I could have talked of Christ in the saints the hope of glory, but it was a riddle to me. And truly, dear friend, I must tell thee I have now lost all my religion, and am in such distress I have no hope nor foundation left. My justification and assurance have forsaken me, and I am even like a poor shattered vessel, tossed to and fro, without a pilot or rudder; as blind, dead, and helpless, as thou canst imagine. I never felt corruption so strong, and temptation so prevailing, as now; I have a proud, hard, flinty heart, that cannot be sensible of my misery. When I deeply consider how much precious

lived in Watling-street; but some time after, he removed into Moorfields, where he continued to have a meeting in his house.'



time I have wasted, and how unprofitably I have lived, my spirit feels a sudden fear; but then I am still flying to my old refuge, and there my thoughts are diverted. What it means to wait upon God, I cannot apprehend; and the confusions in my own spirit, together with the continual temptations from without, are so great, I cannot understand or perceive the small still voice of the Lord.

What thou told me of George Fox, I found true: when thou seest him or James Nayler,—they both know my condition better than myself,—move them—if neither of them be drawn this way,—to help me with their counsel by letter; they are full of pity and compassion; and though I was their enemy, they are my friends: and so is Francis Howgill, from whom I received a letter full of tenderness and wholesome advice. Oh! how welcome would the faces of any of them be to me; truly I think I could scorn the world, to have fellowship with them. But I find my heart is full of deceit, and I exceedingly fear to be beguiled,—as I have been,—and to be seduced into a form without power, into a profession before I possess the Truth; which will multiply my misery, and deprive me both of God and the world.

Dear friend, there is a carrier comes from Kendal within a mile of my house every fortnight, and he shall call at Peter Huggins' to bring any letter that shall be there left for me; it will much refresh me to receive any lines from thee;—but be thou faithful. Thou mayst perceive, by my Ashdod language, what countryman I am—even of the low world that lives in darkness. I am afraid lest the orders we made at Appleby,\* cause some to suffer, who speak from the mouth of the Lord; I heartily wish they were suppressed or recalled. I have been at judge Fell's, and have been informed from that precious soul his consort, in some measure what those things mean, which before I counted the overflowings of giddy brains.—Dear heart, pity and pray for me; and let all obligations of former friendship be discharged in well wishes to the soul of the old family friend, that he may partake with them of your heavenly possessions. ANTHONY PEARSON.

Ramshaw, near West Auckland, }  
May 9th, 1653. }

ANTHONY PEARSON TO GEORGE FOX.

30th of Fifth month, [seventh mo.] 1654.

**MOST DEARLY BELOVED.**—The last night but one, I came to my dwelling at [name not clear.] I left Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, John Camm and Richard Hubberthorne in London, the second-day of last week. At London,

we found very many who have a true principle of honesty in them; but they are for the most part so high flown in wisdom and notions, that it is hard to reach them: nothing can enter till their wisdom be confounded; and if they be judged, then presently they rage, and their wrath is stirred up, and so the simplicity is trampled upon. Much wisdom is to be used amongst them, until the truth be clearly understood; and then to speak to that in their consciences, to the raising up of the witness, to let them see themselves; and then to pass judgment upon them, and so to keep them under from disputing and questioning. This we found the most profitable ministry; and few words must be used: for they have [held] the Truth in notions; and all cry out, 'What do these men say, more than others have said?' but to bring them to silence confounds their wisdom.

Oh! that none might come to London, but those who are raised up into the life of Truth, who dwell in the living power of God, whose words may have authority: for there are so many mighty in wisdom to oppose and gain-say, that weak ones will suffer the Truth to be trampled on; and there are so many rude savage apprentices and young people and Ranters, that nothing but the power of the Lord can chain them. Dear heart, let none go to London, but in the clear and pure movings of the Spirit of Life; that the blessing may rest upon them. And great is the harvest like to be in that city; hundreds are convinced, and thousands wait to see the issue, who have persuasions that it is the Truth. Very many societies we have visited, and are now able to stand: many honest hearts are among the Waiters, and some that are joined to the Ranters are *pretty* people. The living power of God was made manifest to the confounding of all, and we were carried above ourselves, to the astonishment both of ourselves and others: we were made to speak tremblingly amongst them in dread and much fear.

When I can hear where thou art, I must come to thee. Dear heart, pray for me and all with me, that we may be kept in the fear of the Lord, to the praise of his great name.

The bearer hastens me, and I can now write no more, only my wife's and family's love to all Friends. ANTHONY PEARSON.

[From a copy.]

In a letter from Edward Burrough to Margaret Fell,—date of 1654—he thus writes:—

'We were at a meeting of the people called Waiters [in London,] where Richard Hubberthorne spoke about half an hour in much power and wisdom. — Francis [Howgill] was moved to go to an assembly of people called

\* Perhaps, as magistrates.

Seekers; and they were, as all this generation practises, jangling and contending about the meaning of the scriptures; and he stood silent among them a little, and then spoke the word of the Lord in power with boldness, an hour or more, and confounded their wisdom, and crushed their meaning of the scripture: he said, there were some *pretty* people amongst them.'

*William Caton's MSS. Collection.*

#### No. IV.

[THE next letter to be laid before the reader is from Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill; respecting whom William Crouch writes: 'In the fifth month of this year—1654—it pleased God to send two of his faithful messengers and able ministers to the city of London, viz: Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who were the first that declared Truth publicly there; whom He made instruments in his hands for the gathering of many, who, like good old Simeon, were waiting for the consolation of Israel.' The letter is very descriptive of the state of things among professors at this period; and the account it gives of the services of those valiant labourers in the gospel of Christ in this great city, is very interesting.]

EDWARD BURROUGH AND FRANCIS HOWGILL  
TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 29th of Sixth month [eighth mo.] 1654.

DEAR SISTER, — Great is our care and charge which is committed unto us; pray that we may be kept in faithfulness and boldness in the work of the Lord committed to us, and that wisdom may guide us to handle the sword; that we may clearly discern what to spare and what to destroy. Great is our travail, till Christ be brought forth in this people; and our suffering is even with and for the pure seed, which lies in bondage in this city. — We two are constrained to stay in this city; but we are not alone, for the power of our Father is with us, and it is daily made manifest through weakness, even to the stopping of the mouths of lions, and to the confounding of the serpent's wisdom; — eternal praises to Him for evermore!

In this city iniquity is grown to the height, — the serpent's wisdom is grown fully ripe; — here are the subtlest serpents to grapple with and war withal: but in the eternal light — which is our shield and buckler, — are they comprehended, and their deceits made manifest to us, and by the light are they judged and condemned.

— We have three meetings or more every week, very large, more than any place will contain, and which we can conveniently meet in. Many of all sorts come to us, and many of

all sects are convinced, — yea, hundreds do believe; and by the power of the gospel declared amongst them is the witness of God raised, which shall never die. There are some brought under the power exceedingly, which strikes terror into the hearts of many; and many lie under true judgment, and a true love is raised up in many, and the time of redemption to many is drawing nigh. — As yet we know little of our departing from hence: to all do we and shall we clear our consciences, and be free from the blood of all men, and finish our testimony. Many begin to consider of us, and think there is something more in it than a bare notion; at the first, they looked upon it to be no more: but it sinks deep inward in many; for to *that* we speak, which brings us in remembrance when they see us not.

The last first-day but one, I was at a steeplehouse in the forenoon, and had liberty to speak what I was free, and passed away to the meeting in the afternoon. Last first-day, Richard Hubberthorne and I went twelve miles out of the city to a great meeting of Separatists, to a place called Tibbells, [Theobald's,\*] where many great men were, and officers in the army, and such like; and we had *pretty* liberty to let forth ourselves; but at the end the heads of them put us violently forth, which many simple minds owned not in them. The fourth-day of last week, we had a meeting in Southerick, [Southwark,] in a large room, where some Anabaptists meet on the first-days; several of them were there, and many hundred people. —

Our dear brethren, John Audland and John Camm, went from us the last sixth-day out of this city towards Oxford, to be there the last first-day; our hearts were broken in separating one from another, for our lives are bound up in one, and we partake of one another's sufferings, and of one another's joy. We receive letters every week from the prisoners at Chester: the work of the Lord goes on gloriously in that county, there is precious seed; and Anthony Pearson writes to us of the like in the county of Bishoprick, [Durham;] it is even our reward to hear that the Lord is raising that up in power, which was sown in weakness: to the Lord of glory, be glory for evermore!

Remember us dearly to all Friends, for we are refreshed in the remembrance of you. Our chiefest care is, that we may be preserved in obedience, in power, and in wisdom; that the Lord may be glorified by us. We rest from

\* George Fox speaks of this place not far from Waltham Abbey, 'near which colonel Packer lived. He set up a great meeting of the Baptists at Theobald's Park; for he and some other officers had purchased it. They were exceedingly high, and railed against Friends and Truth,' &c. — See the Journal under 1654.



writing, but continue to be thy dearly beloved brethren in the Lord.

EDWARD BURROUGH,  
FRANCIS HOWGILL.

*From William Caton's MSS. Collection.\**

Gough, in his *History*, after alluding to the visit of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill to London at this time, remarks:—‘Their ministerial labours were blessed with signal success; being attended with a convincing power, impressing awful considerations, and awakening the consciences of the audience to a sense of their conditions and earnest desires after salvation.’ It should be borne in mind at the same time, that this was a period remarkable for the zealous maintenance of religious *profession* in the community generally; and probably the language of scripture was pretty familiar to professors at large. Gough continues,—after stating that Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill proceeded to Bristol,—‘Their preaching was like that of the apostles, in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power; multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrines.’ — *Gough's History*, vol. i. p. 143.

#### No. V.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO ROBERT WIDDERS.

London, 23rd of Seventh month, [ninth mo.] 1654.

DEAR BROTHER,—E. B. [Edward Burrough] and I stay still in this city:—large is the love of God to us, and the work of the Lord prospers in our hands;—eternal living praises [to Him] for evermore. We are here among this great people in much weakness; and when we see such multitudes, we are often put to a stand where one might get bread to satisfy so many. But the wisdom and power of God hath been with us, and there are hundreds convinced; but not many great or noble do receive our testimony: yet there are many put to a stand and brought into silence, and many are under deep judgment and a true power. We have had many great giants to encounter with; but by the power of the Lord the mouths of lions have been stopped, and our adversaries have been put to flight. We have been in great service continually, since we came into this filthy place: here is the trimmed harlot, the mystery of

witchcraft: and the devil rules, and is head in all sorts.

We have been at the most eminent societies in the city, and we have had strong fightings with them over and over, and at some steeple-houses; and but that they have our persons in contempt, they say none speak like us:—but the devil cannot stoop so low. We have two or three meetings in the week, but no place large enough; so that we are much put to it. And we have been guided in much wisdom, so that all them that hate us have nothing to accuse us of, as of tumults or disorder in the least: some wait to entrap us, but in wisdom we are guided; praised be the Lord!

Miles Halhead and James Lancaster were here, and came to visit us; they staid one first-day, and so were moved towards Cambridge. We are much refreshed; we receive letters from all quarters;—the work goes on fast every where;—eternal living praises to Him for ever! —Richard Hubberthorne is yet in prison [—*two small abbreviations not intelligible*,] and James Parnell is at Cambridge.\* Our dear brethren, John Audland and John Camm, we hear [from,] and we write to one another twice in the week;—they are near us,—they are precious; and the work of the Lord is great about Bristol. I have sent enclosed this letter, that thou may know of the *passages*,† and rejoice with us. Truly our horn is exalted, and our weapons are mighty, to the bringing down of strong-holds,—praises for evermore!

Pray for us, dear brother, that we may be kept in wisdom and power; that the living God may be exalted for evermore. My dear yoke-fellow salutes thee; salute us to all Friends, to thy dear wife, and all that way who inquire of us. Thy dear friend in the work of the Lord,

FRANCIS HOWGILL.

*From the original: the year is endorsed by George Fox—1654.*

#### No. VI.

[RESPECTING the writer of this next letter, John Whiting in his *Memoirs*, informs us;—‘Alexander Parker was an ancient and eminent servant of God, and minister of Jesus Christ; he was born in Yorkshire, near Bolton in Lancashire, and was well educated, and had a gentleman-like carriage and deportment as well as

\* This valuable collection of early Letters, written nearly throughout by William Caton himself, appears to have been intended by him for publication; it has a title page, dated Swarthmore, 23rd of sixth month, 1659; and a preface signed by himself, dated 7th of second month, 1660; a fac-simile of his signature to it is here subjoined.

*William Caton,*

\* In a letter from Richard Hubberthorne to Francis Howgill, dated from Cambridge, 4th of seventh month, 1654, he writes, ‘James Parnell and I are in the dungeon as yet, where we were put the 28th of this last month; but we [feel] the mighty power of God, and are in joy and peace in the Lord; to Him be praise eternal for evermore.’

† The word ‘*passages*’ often occurs in these early Letters, and has been explained in the last volume, (*Life of Caton*, &c. p. 130), as meaning gospel services, travels, &c.

person, for I knew him well. He came up to London with George Fox, when he was brought up out of Leicestershire by colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell, in 1654; he stayed with him in London and thereabouts for some time; and afterwards went with him to a general meeting at John Crook's in Bedfordshire, in 1655. He wrote many serviceable books and epistles to Friends, which are worthy of perusing; in which, though being dead, he yet speaketh.—*J. W.'s Memoirs*, p. 390—393.]

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 22nd of Twelfth mo. 54. [second mo.] 1655.

DEAR SISTER,—Upon the 4th day of the twelfth month, George Fox was at a meeting at Swannington; and there came several soldiers from Leicester, but they were very civil and moderate, and heard with patience the word of the Lord, and went peaceably away. The same day Thomas Taylor and I were at Litchfield, and had a meeting there; when many people of all sorts came to the meeting.—On the fourth-day of the week we came to George at Swannington; and he was moved to appoint a meeting at Whetstone, and none being there to pass along with him, I went with him.—On the first-day, many Friends were come together from several parts, and were waiting upon the Lord, when there came the marshal and about eight soldiers into the meeting; and many of them sat down, and were very civil. And after a certain while, the marshal spoke, and showed an order from colonel Hacker, that every one should go to their outward habitations, otherwise to pass along with him to the colonel. And so he began and examined Friends where their outward abode was; and some he asked when they would return back. As for George his countryman,—let any two go along with him, and satisfy the colonel for the rest. Then the marshal did entreat George to take his horse and go along with them.—Then said George, 'if thou dost command me to go, I shall not resist:—' So they [went,] and I had not freedom to leave George. [They were then introduced to colonel Hacker.]—and the colonel spoke to him of many things. [He was then searched, and finally was informed, he must go to London.]—One captain Drury, one of the Protector's life-guards passed up, and we went along with him.—

[After stating that they lodged at the Mermaid inn, Charing Cross, the letter proceeds.] Then the captain went to the Protector, and acquainted him of [their arrival;] so the Protector said, he should see him,—and would speak with George; but when, he could not tell. The captain is very loving, and would not hinder George of any freedom; only desired,

that one of us would stay at the inn. On the fourth-day, George went up into the city with some of our Friends.—On first-day afternoon, William Caton and I were at a meeting in Moorfields, where many Friends were: a mighty power there is amongst them, and many tender hearts there are among them. On the fourth-day in the evening, there was a meeting appointed at Gerard Roberts' where there was a very large meeting of Friends; George was present amongst them: the powerful presence of the Lord was with us, and the tender plants were refreshed, and some were made to witness to the Truth. Thy dear brother, &c.

ALEXANDER PARKER.

*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*

No. VII.

[THE next letter follows up the narrative of George Fox's being taken before the Protector. In his Journal, George Fox gives a full and interesting account of this interview with Oliver Cromwell at Whitehall: it was on this occasion that a paper was addressed by George Fox to the Protector, in which he denied 'the taking up a carnal weapon against him or any man,' &c. After this interview the Protector declared 'he was at liberty, and might go where he would.'

This circumstance respecting George Fox being brought before the Protector, is spoken of in these terms in the news-books of the day:

'We have information of divers Quakers, who have of late been roving about the country in Leicestershire, and have had many meetings there, but were dispersed by some of our horse, and some of them taken into custody; amongst the rest, one Foxe, a chief Quaker, who was this day brought to Whitehall, and had divers followers.—(*The Perfect Diurnal*, Feb. 19th, 1655.)

'Munday, 26th February, 1655. This afternoon Foxe the great Quaker, who is said to be one of the chief amongst them, was at Whitehall: he came out of Leicestershire: some say he was sent up from thence; divers Quakers were at Whitehall following him.' It appears from this account that the Friends 'stayed some hours at Whitehall' on this occasion.—(*Tracts, King's Library, British Museum.*)

On glancing over the reports of the transaction of Cromwell's Council about the beginning of this year, when George Fox was arrested by colonel Hacker, it appears that many persons of various stations in life, were reported to the Council as either suspicious, or as directly implicated in plots for bringing in 'Charles Stuart' and subverting Cromwell's government: many of these persons were brought up and examined



before the Protector and his Council at Whitehall, during the first two or three months of this year; and several were convicted and punished. These circumstances, doubtless, tended to spread suspicions far and wide; and probably afforded employment for the officious partizan to show his zeal in the discovery of suspected persons, of whatever character and station they might be.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 10th of First month [third mo.] 1655.

MOST DEARLY BELOVED,—Our dearly beloved one George Fox is set free by Oliver Cromwell to go whither he pleaseth: he was never under any restraint, but had liberty to pass among Friends. On the 6th day of this instant, he was brought before the Protector, and was with him a pretty while in his chamber at Westminster: he was very loving to him, and wished him to come again to him; and afterwards set him free to go whither he pleased.

So we are yet in this city, and for a while continue in it: there are many Friends come up, as Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, Thomas Salthouse, Miles Halhead, William Caton, John Stubbs, and several others; but I believe we shall disperse abroad after to-morrow. We do not want for anything; here are many precious Friends in the city, who would do anything for us, or let us have anything; but George is not very free, but rather keeps clear. Our horses are at the inn where we lay; but so many coming to see George, they [the people of the inn] grow weary and wish us to take another place; only the horses might be *free* [left.]

So at present I cease; with my tender love unto thee and thy family. I am thine, &c.

ALEXANDER PARKER.

*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*

#### NO. VIII.

EDWARD BURROUGH AND FRANCIS HOWGILL  
TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 27th of First month [third mo.] 1655.

DEAR SISTER, who art a fruitful branch in the living vine, and a pleasant plant in the garden of God.\*

We have been in this city near three weeks in great labour and service. G., [G. Fox,] with many more of our brethren, was here

when we came. We all staid over one first-day, after we two came into the city. G. was that day in private with Friends; and we two were in the general meeting place among the rude world, threshing and ploughing:—and the rest of our brethren were that day at several meetings, some at one and some at another, and some among the Baptists and gathered people; and great service there was that day. Then shortly after that first-day, the brethren separated into the fields [the country,] to reap and to gather in. Richard Cleaton and Thomas Bond went towards Norwich and into Suffolk and that way, and are in great service there. John Stubbs and William Caton went towards Dover. We have received one letter from them since they went into Dover: the mayor and the officers strictly examined and charged them to keep the peace: they were with some gathered people, and at some steeple-houses, and had little persecution. Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse went towards Plymouth: they had a great meeting one first-day in Reading; and many, they wrote, were convinced. G. F. is at present in Bedfordshire; Alexander Parker is with him: there is a people that way. John Audland was here with us, but goes towards Bristol shortly, for aught we know. James Lancaster was with us in this city, but is gone to George. R. Hubbertorne is yet in prison. John Camm is at or near Bristol. We believe that G. will return to this city again,—we two are too few in this city for this service, for truly it is very great; at present many come in daily to the acknowledgment of the Truth. Friends are so many, that not one place can hold them on the first-days, where we can peaceably meet for the rude people; for since we came, they have been very rude,—very oft to pull us down when we have been speaking. G. was at the great meeting place two first-days before we came; and his voice and outward man was almost spent amongst them.

We have thus ordered it since we came,—we get Friends on the first-days to meet together in several places out of the rude multitude, &c.; and we two go to the great meeting place which we have, which will hold a thousand people, which is always nearly filled, [there] to thresh among the world; and we stay till twelve or one o'clock, and then pass away, the one to one place and the other to another place, where Friends are met in private; and stay till four or five o'clock.

Truly, dear heart, our care is for the whole body, that all things may be ordered in the wisdom of God, to the confounding of all our adversaries, who seek for our halting.

We rest in the bosom of love with thee, and are thy dear brothers,

E. B. F. H.

\*It is remarkable with what high esteem and Christian love, Margaret Fell appears to have been regarded by our early and most eminent Friends; she seems to have been generally acknowledged as the faithful nursing-mother of the flock; and she often addressed them when in bonds or otherwise, with letters of consolation and encouragement; it is also probable she contributed largely to the relief of their outward necessities.

[It seems they had so much work with the multitude, that they could with difficulty get together with their own body: one letter from F. Howgill, dated London, 2nd of eighth month, 1654, states, 'our burthen is great, we cannot get any separation for the multitude, and so Friends do not much know one another: and we cannot conveniently get any place to meet in, that Friends may sit down.']

Thomas Aldam hath been with Oliver Cromwell, and cleared his conscience to him; and was made as a sign to him in rending a linen cap, with which he went to him, on his head, and told him all his covering and counsels should be rent in peices; but his heart is hardened, and he cannot believe.

*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*

#### No. IX.

##### ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 3rd of Second month [fourth mo.] 1655.

DEAR SISTER,—My tender and dear love in the Lord Jesus Christ, salutes thee and other my dear and precious friends in thy family. Grace, mercy, and peace, be multiplied among you, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

Upon the 16th day of the first month, George and I, and some other city Friends, passed out of this city to Justice Crook's house in Bedfordshire: he is a *pretty* man, and there will be a precious family; his wife is brought very low, and is of a very tender heart,—and others in his family. Upon the 18th day, being first-day, there was a meeting at the justice's house, where there were many people, and all sober and quiet.—George stayed at Justice Crook's house, and we were there about fifteen days; I and others had many meetings in the country thereabouts: John Audland was there, and James Lancaster, and Gervase Benson, Thomas Story, Thomas Stubbs, and some others: we were in great service while we stayed there. A great ferment [*word indistinct* (!)] is in that country and other places thereabouts.

Upon the last day of the first month, George and Gervase Benson, and I came to this city: we had five meetings, three of Friends that met in silence, and George was at one of them, where many of the world came in, but were sober. Francis and Edward [Howgill and Burroughs] were at the great meeting place, where many came to hear. Gervase Benson and I were at a meeting beyond Westminster, where there are many convinced: in the forenoon having such short notice, there were not many; but in the afternoon there came very many, and they were sober quiet people. — George Whitehead is again imprisoned for coming to the grate to visit Friends. John Stubbs

and William Caton, have been three times carried before the mayor at Dover, but are yet at liberty as far as I know. Thy dear brother,  
&c.,  
ALEXANDER PARKER.

*From the original.*

George Fox, speaking of this meeting at John Crook's, says—'It was a great meeting, and people were generally convinced of the Lord's truth. When I was come thither, John Crook told me, that the next day several of those that were called gentlemen of the county, would come to dine with him, and to discourse with me. They came, and I declared to them God's eternal truth. John Crook was kept by the power of the Lord; yet he was turned out from being a justice.'—*Journal*, 1654–5.

John Crook lived to an advanced age; our Hertfordshire Register records his decease as follows:—

"John Crook, an ancient and honourable Friend and elder, a minister of the gospel about forty-four years, died at Hertford the 26th of the second month, 1699, and was buried at Sewell the 30th of the same month, aged near 82 years."

#### No. X.

##### ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 10th of Third month, [fifth mo.] 1655.

— DEAR SISTER, — Our dearly beloved George Fox is yet in this city, and I know little at present of his removing. The work is great, and many are daily convinced: we have seven or eight meetings every first-day, and all are pretty quiet. Francis and Edward had a great dispute with the chief of the Baptists on the third-day of this week; and on fourth-day another with two of the chief of the Water Baptists; many of their hearers—who are not-satisfied—came, and some of our Friends; and the power of the Lord was over them: though they are a very wise and subtle generation, yet the Lord by his wisdom in weak ones confounds and overturns them. A great shatter is among all the forms and gathered churches—as they are called;—and many are inquiring after the Truth.\*

Concerning our Friends in Northampton,† they all continue in prison; as far as I know, Yorkshire Friends have been lately with them, and have supplied their necessities: those in Bedford likewise continue [in prison?] And for

\* *George Fox's Journal*, 1654.—"The Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists were greatly disturbed; for many of their people turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and sat down under his teachings; they received his power, and felt it in their hearts; and then they were moved of the Lord to declare against the rest of them."

† Amongst whom were William Dewsbury, and John Whitehead: See *Life of Dewsbury*, Chap. vii. and viii.



Friends at Norwich they are all released but Christopher Atkinson. John Stubbs and William Caton were with us the last week; they are sweetly carried on in the work of the Lord, and are much strengthened; they went back again towards Dover. John Slee and Thomas Lawson went into Sussex: John Wilkinson and John Story are going westward. Thomas Salt-house and Miles Halhead are about Bristol, and lack nothing; nor any Friends,—for as they come up hither, if any want, our friends F. and E. supply them: the charge truly is great, but our desire is to make it as easy as possibly we can.

Here are in this city many precious Friends, and they begin to know George, though at the first he was strange to them; and one thing they all take notice of, that if George be in the company, all the rest are for the most part silent, which they did much wonder at.\*

Our brethren Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson came into the city yesternight, they are now with George: Francis and Edward and Gervase Benson are all here; who [would] have their dear love remembered to thee and all our Friends in thy family. Dearly salute me to my dear sisters thy children, and to the rest of the precious Friends who are faithful to the Lord with thee.

The eternal God of peace and love keep you all, and establish you in his love. Let thy prayers be for me, that I may go on in the power of our God, and be preserved above all temptation, to his glory!

Thy dear and loving brother in the fellowship of the Gospel of Christ,

ALEXANDER PARKER.

*From William Caton's MSS. Collection.*

#### No. XI.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 21st of Third month, [1655.]

MY DEARLY BELOVED SISTER, — I know that it is thy joy to learn the prosperity of the work of the Lord, that he may be exalted, who hath covered us, — and hath chosen us to bear witness unto his glorious name, and to publish his everlasting love abroad; that all may come to know the way to eternal life.— Truly the arm of the Lord is with us in wisdom, in strength, in power, in utterance, in boldness; so that I cannot but say, O! the infinite riches of his love and mercy, which are inexpressible. Dear heart, praise the Lord on our behalf; and let all that know him rejoice with us. In his love and power I will glory; but of myself I will not.—

Pray for us, for our work is doubled,—our care is doubled; but our strength is also renewed. The work is great in this city, but even few are fitted for it. The last first-day there were ten meetings in the city, and the work lieth upon George Fox and us two, [Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough;] here are a precious people, [they] grow up in wisdom and life, and many are added. All the priests and all the gathered congregations in the city preach against us, and are bent in great rage, and print lies, and incense people much. Edward Burrough and I have ordinarily two public disputes with the heads of them; and they lose their members so fast, they know not what to do: yet the city is pretty calm and quiet; and wisdom begins to grow among Friends, and divers are moved to go forth in the ministry. Two young men and two young women are moved to go to Barbadoes, out of the city; and another young man, a Scotchman, is moved to go for Scotland; and other two women are gone to Wales, and other two to Oxford,—all these are citizens. And many are moved to go to their churches, which they were of, and declare against them; and some to the steeple-houses, and yet are preserved at liberty. Here are many Friends come up about tithes; there are near thirty in the city, and much care lieth upon us to order them, and for the brethren abroad that are in the work of the Lord, or in bonds.

Anthony Pearson, Gervase Benson, and Thomas Aldam are here; their service is now much about Friends appearing at courts this term about tithes. Alexander Parker is gone into Bedfordshire. John Stubbs hath some movings for Holland with William Caton, and he is in Kent with Thomas Robertson and Ambrose Rigge. John Slee, and Thomas Lawson are gone into Sussex; Miles Halhead, and Thomas Salthouse are gone towards Plymouth. Our liberty here is of much advantage to all the churches of Christ every where,—glory be to Him that preserveth us in his bosom, and under the shadow of his wing! All are at liberty at Norwich. Edward Burrough salutes thee; and salute us to all thy family and all Friends.

Thy brother, &c.

FRANCIS HOWGILL.

*From William Caton's MSS. Collection.*

#### No. XII.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 29th of Third month, [fifth mo.] 1655.

MY DEAR SISTER, — Yesterday I came from Justice Crook's to this city: Friends are well here, and the Truth flourisheth,—glory to our God for ever!

Our dear brethren Francis Howgill and Ed-

\* This appears to have been George Fox's first visit to London since the settlement of the Society.

ward Burrough, went this day out of the city towards Norwich, Norfolk and Suffolk: their love is dearly remembered to thee and thy family. Gervase Benson and Anthony Pearson and Thomas Aldam are yet in town; but intend shortly to return towards the north: they were yesterday with the Protector, and delivered some papers to him concerning our Friends' imprisonment; and they spoke to him of many things: he was very moderate and promised to read the papers.

Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse are in prison at Plymouth upon the oath of abjuration, denying to swear. Jane Waugh is set free at Banbury: Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Holmes are set free at Dublin, and are in great service there. George Fox is yet in this city, but hath thoughts of passing forth this week into Kent—as far as I know;—if the Lord will, I purpose to pass along with him.

Thy dear brother in the love that changeth not,

ALEXANDER PARKER.

*From William Caton's MSS. Collection.*

#### NO. XIII.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

London, [date not given, probably about the fourth or fifth month, 1655.]

—THY letters I have received;—those to Oliver Cromwell are both delivered into his hand; but he is full of subtlety and deceit, will speak fair, but he hardens his heart, and acts secretly underneath. Our army is most scattered and broken, and cast into prison; I know none almost at liberty but George and Alexander [Parker], Edward [Burrough], and I and Gervase [Benson]; and except John Stubbs and William Caton, John Wilkinson and John Story, and it is like they cannot be long out: yet truly the power of the Lord is over all. The work of the Lord is great, and goes on fast, notwithstanding all the rage of the heathen. — George Fox is here. We have five or six meetings every first-day of Friends, besides two great places for a threshing floor; and we have set up a meeting a little beyond Whitehall near Westminster: many are coming in, and many inquiring, and many are convinced daily:—glory and honour for ever to the Lord!—Richard Cleaton and Richard Hubberthorne remain in bonds; but George Whitehead and Dorothy Waugh are at liberty [*from Norwich gaol (?)*]. Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse are in prison at Exeter. James Lancaster and Thomas Stubbs, and another Friend are imprisoned at Bedford.—Edward Burrough is gone to Edmondsbury.—I shall take care for the supplyment of Friends in these parts, while I am here; and truly I fear lest

the burden should be heavy upon the North, for the charge is great, and our camp great.—

Thy brother in the fellowship of the Gospel of Christ,

FRANCIS HOWGILL.

*From William Caton's MSS. Collection.*

#### NO. XIV.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 3rd of Seventh month, [ninth mo.] 1655.

DEARLY BELOVED SISTER,——dearly do I salute thee.

— Our life is one, our joy one, our suffering one, our food and raiment one,—eating both of one bread, and drinking both of one cup in the Father's house; where there is bread enough, and wells of living water to refresh the tender plants; where the babes are nourished and fed with the milk, and receive their meat in due season; where there is joy and rejoicing in the presence of the Lord, and pleasures for evermore; which only those do enjoy who have followed the Lamb through many tribulations and fiery trials and temptations, and have overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and their garments washed white and clean. Hallelujah! praises to His glorious name for ever, who hath called and chosen us, and made us partakers of the divine nature; and hath redeemed us from the world and the pollutions of it, to be witnesses of His powerful name: and in his power and free love hath He sent us abroad into the world, to turn others from darkness and their vain conversation; that they may have union with us in the light of his Son, and praise and glorify his eternal majesty for ever and for evermore!

The Truth in this city spreads and flourisheth; many large meetings we have, and great ones of the world come to them, and are much tendered. James [Nayler] is fitted for this great place, and a great love is begotten in many towards him. Our dear one, George Fox, doth purpose this week to pass into the country northward, but how far north I cannot yet tell. On next fifth-day but one, a meeting is appointed in Lincolnshire, where George doth purpose to be; at present I know nothing but that I shall pass with him; if otherwise it be ordered, I stand single in the will of the Lord.

We received a letter from Francis and Edward out of Ireland; they have had many meetings, and many hearers that confess the Truth in words;—time will further show.—Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse remain prisoners in Exeter with some others. John Camm and John Audland are at liberty in the work of the Lord, in and about Bristol, &c. William Dewsbury and the rest continue in



prison at Northampton, and three in this city are in Bridewell for speaking to the priests.

ALEXANDER PARKER.

*William Caton's MSS. Collection.*

In a letter dated 28th of fifth month [seventh mo.] of this year, Alexander Parker writes thus respecting James Nayler: "James Nayler on fourth-day had a great dispute with some of the chief of the separated congregations; and it being public, a great meeting there was;—it was in one of their own meeting-houses;—and truly it was much for the advancement of the Truth; for though they were — [word not intelligible] yet they were much confounded. James is very serviceable here, and his fame begins to spread in the city, seeing that he hath had public disputes with many."

This was rather more than a year before James Nayler's fall; and it appears from George Fox's Journal, that it was towards the close of this year that George Fox had a fear respecting him. The reader will probably observe, in the above extract, matter for reflection in regard to James Nayler's subsequent career.

#### No. XV.

JAMES NAYLER\* TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 3rd of Ninth month [11th mo.]  
[Year endorsed by G. F., 1654.]

MY SISTER dearly loved in the Lord, — Yesterday I had a meeting at a house called Lady Darcy's;† many were there from the Court, some called lords—as it is said,—divers ladies, divers officers of the army, some of the [chief? words not clear] priests in the city, how many I know not; for they got behind a ceiling, and came not out till I was gone. Though there were some Baptists asked a question or two after I had done,—tending to plead for sin,—and were silenced; yet not one priest would speak a word, nor stand up for their kingdom. I was moved to call to any that had anything to oppose, to speak to the face; but none would answer. Two or three of Henry Vane's brethren were there all the while, and he himself kept behind, [but] came after all was ended: he is very loving to Friends, but drunk with imaginations;‡ there is a band of them sunk there—

in, and do harm to some amongst them, who else would be very tender; divers are brought to tears when they hear the Truth. Peace be with you all. J. N.

G. Benson is a faithful man, and of much service amongst the judges and lawyers; he stands above their deceit, and prospers. — Great is our God, blessed for evermore!

*From the original.*

#### No. XVI.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

London, [without date, but from its alluding to the prisoners at Launceston, it is presumed to be about first month, 1656.]

—IN this city Truth hath dominion over all; none will stand now to dispute, but they turn away.—We have about twenty meetings in a week in this city; and ten or twenty miles about, [there] are great desires; and if we can, we go out; but we cannot stay: great is our care.—From Lanston [Launceston] we hear this week that the prisoners there are well, and they have *pretty* liberty.—John Crook is in prison with Thomas Stubbs at Northampton.—

E. B. salutes thee;—he is almost spent: few know our condition.—

*W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*

#### No. XVII.

FRANCIS HOWGILL AND EDWARD BURROUGH TO THOMAS ALDAM.

London, 19th of Seventh month [ninth mo.] 1656.

DEAR BROTHER,—In the love of our God we salute thee and all Friends in the Truth.

Blessed be the Lord God of power and glory, who hath called us to so high a calling, as to bear witness to his name, and to publish the everlasting Gospel;—praises eternal be to our God for ever!

Dear brethren, we are with you in your bonds, in your reproaches and imprisonments, and in your rejoicings; your joy is ours, for we eat with you and drink with you at our Father's table, where there is plenteous nourishment for all those who wait in his counsel, and are obedient to his commands.

\* The name of this Friend is very often spelt Naylor: but the editor has carefully compared his signatures at length in his original letters, and plainly discovers it to be Nayler—the e, and the o, in his hand-writing being distinctly different.

† G. Fox, in his Journal, speaks of a female of the name of 'Abigail Darcy, who was called a lady:—she was convinced of the truth.'

‡ Vane was a conspicuous character at this period and subsequently:—he was strongly attached to a republican government, and opposed Cromwell in his progress to-

wards assuming the reins of government as Protector. He was said to be one of the leaders of the Independents. Burnet the historian says of him:—'Though he set up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it consisteth rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular forms and opinions; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestations.' He was one of the Committee of Public Safety in Richard Cromwell's time; after the restoration of King Charles, he was sacrificed on the scaffold in 1662.

Dear brethren, our care is great;—the harvest is great; who are sufficient for these things? Here are fields white unto harvest; and much of the power of God hath been with us. — Great hath been our burden and our work since we came here, and our reward is great. Much have we been drawn out to administer in power and wisdom. We have exceeding great meetings of all sorts, and we labour and travail until Christ be formed in them. Pray for us, that we may be kept in His power, [which] reigneth over all:—by the power of the Lord the mouths of lions are stopped, kings are bound in chains:—eternal living praises for evermore to Him, who rides on, conquering in power and great glory! many are brought under great judgment and true power, and many have learned their own condemnation.

The last first-day, my dear yoke fellow and I went in the forenoon to two of the highest notionists and the greatest deceivers in the city, at two steeple houses, where the wise of the city come; and I had great liberty, and spoke towards an hour; all were silent, and some confessed they never heard so much truth in power delivered. Many would have had me to their houses; but we lay hands on none hastily.—

James Lancaster and Miles Halhead are come hither, but I believe they will not stay long here. Richard Hubberthorne is in prison at Cambridge. Thomas Holmes is also in prison at Chester, with seven or eight besides. We have received letters from Kendal, there are nine or ten in prison there and at Appleby. From Bristol we have received letters from our dear brethren John Audland and John Camm; the mighty power of the Lord is that way: that is a precious city, and a gallant people: their net is like to break with fishes, they have caught so much [there] and all the coast thereabout: mighty is His work and power in this His day! Shout for joy all ye holy ones! for the Lord rides on in power to get himself a name; and let all that know the Lord praise him, for his mercy endureth for ever!

Captain Stoddart [Amos S.] hath wrote to thee and Samuel Watson; your letters he hath received, but how they can be delivered I know not.\* We have three or four more, but we find no moving to deliver them: here is such stirring about his power [Cromwell's:] he carries all with a high hand; 200 of the parliament are gone home. But as for those things, they are nothing to us, we are redeemed from them; praises to the Lord for evermore, who

hath made us to reign above the world, and to trample upon it!

Dear brother, farewell! salute us to all that are faithful in their measure received. Our dear love to thee and John Kilham, and all the rest of the Lord's faithful witnesses; and salute us to the women our dear sisters upon Ouse-bridge [York] if they are yet in prison.

Your brethren in the work of the Lord,  
FRANCIS HOWGILL.  
EDWARD BURROUGH.

*From a Copy.*

[This appears to be a period in Cromwell's Protectorate, when the republican characters of the day were found too stiff for him. Among the leaders of this party were two persons, who are named in these Letters, Vane and Rich. These men Cromwell committed to prison, for not submitting, as he thought, to his authority. From Mackintosh's *History of England*, vol. vi. p. 217, we learn that "the meeting of Parliament stood for the 17th of September" [two days before the date of this letter:] Cromwell on this occasion "resorted to an exercise of power so arbitrary and sweeping, as to render the summoning of Parliament a mockery." The members, after hearing the Protector's speech "in the Painted Chamber, proceeded to their house. They found the door guarded by soldiers, who admitted none but those provided with a certificate of the approbation of [Cromwell's] council, signed by the clerk of the Commonwealth. This ticket had been withheld from about 100 members, and they were excluded." This was the Parliament that sat on James Nayler's case.]

#### No. XVIII.

[We are now arrived at the period of James Nayler's fall, and of his memorable trial before the House of Commons: for full particulars respecting this lamentable event of his life, his trial, cruel sentence, and subsequent condemnation and penitence, the reader must be referred to *Sevel's History* under this date, the account of which occupies many pages. The *Diary of Thomas Burton* will also afford ample details as to what passed in the House of Commons respecting his case. Burton was a member of the House, and was mostly present, it seems, during these proceedings.

Among the many speeches given in abstract by Burton, during the protracted debates on James Nayler's case, that of Lord Lambert may here be quoted, as almost the only one worthy of notice: the whole picture as regards the temper and proceedings of the House of

\* Perhaps some addressed to Cromwell or others in power are here meant.



Commons on this occasion, presents a strange and humiliating view of the character of that assembly, and of the spirit of the age. Lambert was a member of Cromwell's council, a general in his army, and M. P. for the West Riding of York.

"*Lord Lambert.* It is a matter of sadness to many men's hearts, and sadness to mine also, especially in regard to his [J. N.'s] relation sometime to me. He was two years my Quarter-master, and a very useful person. We parted with him with regret. He was a man of a very unblameable life and conversation; a member of a very sweet society of an Independent Church. [*Lambert was an Independent.*] How he comes—by pride or otherwise—to be puffed up to this opinion, I cannot determine. But this may be a warning to us all, to work out our salvation with fear and trembling."—*Burton's Diary*, vol. i. p. 33.]

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET.  
FELL.

London, 25th of Ninth month, [eleventh mo.] 1656.

DEAR SISTER,—My dear love salutes thee and the rest of thy family, and all the faithful thereabouts.

I have been in the east counties, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; where the service of the Lord is great, and the labourers are few. And as the travail is great, so is the reward; which is, his power and presence to accompany his work.

At present I am come up again to London; but it is like I shall not stay long in the city, but pass into the west to Bristol and South Wales, if the Lord will.

J. N. [James Nayler] is here at London; he and the women are kept as prisoners at an inn, and have been twice called before a Committee of Parliament-men,\* and examined whether he would own that James Nayler was Christ; but he kept them out of all occasions against him, saying he denied James Nayler to be Christ, but Christ was in him. There hath been several times [some] of the Parliament men come to the place where they are kept prisoners, questioning him about such things as were acted by him and the women, in their witnessing him to be so; but he sometimes put them off without giving them a full answer, and left them unsatisfied. Upon sixth-day last, I was with James.—That power of darkness in the women rules over him, as I wrote to thee at the first. Many people come daily to them, both of the world, and also such as are convinced;

and they wonder at the imitations which are acted among them; as they often will kneel before him, &c. James speaks pretty much to Friends as in justifying all their actings to be in innocency. I was moved to speak unto him when I was with him,—but he was not willing to hear me open the truth of anything to the people.—My heart was made to pity his condition; but all the counsel of the brethren to him is contemned in the present state in which he is, though bowels of tenderness have been [extended—*word not clear*] towards him. Some that are unstable think that there is a great power among them: but though as a cloud it darkens some at the present,—being risen out of the earth,—at the end of the days of limitation, it will fall to the earth again; and the sun will shine over it: and the children will receive power of the Son to reign over all deceit. This I have written, to let thee understand something of his condition as it is:—

Thy dear brother,  
From W. Caton's Collection.

R. H.

Among the Swarthmore collection of letters, was found the following address from George Fox to James Nayler about this time:—it is endorsed by G. F. thus:—

'*g ff to james naler—1656.*'

and at foot is a memorandum in the same hand-writing as that of the letter, viz.—'*This is a copy of the letter that was found about him when he was examined.*'

GEORGE TO JAMES NAYLER.

"James, thou must bear thy own burden and thy company's with thee; whose iniquity doth increase, and by thee is not cried against. Thou hast satisfied the world, yea, their desires which they looked for. Thou and thy disciples, and the world [are] joined against the Truth, it is manifest through your wilfulness and stubbornness; and this is the word of the Lord God to thee.—Many did not expect that thou wouldst have been an encourager of such, as do cry against the power and life of Truth, but wouldst have been a nourisher of Truth, and not have trained up a company against it.

And what is that which doth fulfil the world's prophecy and their desires? Therefore consider, and search thyself, if this be innocency. The light of God in you all I own, but this I judge.

GEORGE FOX."

For James N. these.

It would seem that Cromwell was in doubt, as to the tendency of the proceedings and sentence of the House of Commons in the case of J. Nayler, by the following letter copied from a volume of MSS. in the British Museum.

\* It consisted of fifty-five members, and among them most of the law officers of the Commonwealth.

*The Lord Protector's letter to the Parliament, touching the sentence by them given against James Nayler.*

To our right trusty and well-beloved Sir Thos. Widdington, Kt. Speaker of the Parliament.

"O. P. Right trusty and well-beloved we greet you well.

Having taken notice of a judgment lately given by yourselves against one James Nayler, although we detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of such crimes, as are commonly imputed to the said persons; yet we being intrusted [with] the present government on behalf of the people of these nations, and not knowing how far such proceeding—wholly without us—may extend in the consequences of it, do desire that the House will let us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they proceeded.

Given at Whitehall the 25th of Dec. 1656."

[Corresponds with 10th mo. of Friends of that day.]

In *Burton's Diary*, vol. i., p. 246, we have a report of the proceedings of the House on the Speaker's reading the above letter; the narrative is curious;—not a few of the members seem to confess to the unwarrantable—if not illegal—stretch of the authority of the House in its proceedings and sentence against James Nayler. The debate on the Protector's letter is continued by adjournments from time to time; the House in fact seems unable to give a fair "account of the grounds and reasons whereupon they proceeded to such sentence." Several members urge the appointment of a committee to prepare an answer to the Protector: at length, on the matter being especially adjourned for the order of a future day, "the business of the day, that is, an answer to the letter," becomes,—as Burton writes,—“jostled out; and nobody said a word to it. I hear [he adds] it will never be mentioned again, if it be, I dread the consequences.” This interesting parliamentary Diarist then goes on:—"I writ nothing this day in the House. A friend told me that it would be taken notice of: he heard it much talked on the day before. Colonel — told me a week since, that — had a purpose to take me down." Burton, however, does not drop his *note-book* in consequence.

The Editor has seen the original MSS. of the Diary; it is contained in a large number of small pocket note books.

#### No. XIX.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO M. FELL.

London, 10th of Twelfth month, 1656 [second mo. 1657.]

—As for J. N. [James Nayler] he is in

Bridewell, and they will suffer few to come to him. The women [his followers,]—sometimes appoint meetings in the most public places of the city, as in the Exchange, and at the places where J. N. suffered. From the Exchange they sent some of them to prison at Bridewell: they are a great offence to the way of Truth here for the present; but the Truth will work through it all. Though the waters of strife are up in floods at present, yet sweetly doth the water of life flow, and pleasant streams are drunk of by those who keep patient in the will of God; and life, power, and glory, are more manifest than ever from the Father.

R. H.

[In a letter dated London, 22nd of Twelfth month, [second month 1657.] he writes thus;—]

As for J. N. he remains in Bridewell, and is kept close; they will not suffer any Friends to come at him, but his wife gets to him sometimes. He is still in the separation from Truth and from Friends; but the work of God goes on and prospers. Alexander [A. Parker] is here; E. B. is in Essex; and F. H. in Kent.

R. H.

From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.

#### No. XX.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 16th of First month, [third mo.] 1657.

DEAR BROTHER,—Friends here are well, and in good order, growing into the love and life of Truth, and feeling the virtue and power of it in them; and the meetings are pretty quiet.

Friends in New England are well, and those that were prisoners at Boston are set free, and are passing several ways,—some to Barbadoes. William Ames is come out of Holland, and this day is passed towards Bristol; and he intends shortly to come northward to thee.

This week did the mayor, aldermen, and common councilmen of this city go up to Whitehall, to Oliver; and he made a speech among them, concerning the danger of enemies, and of Charles being ready in Flanders to come over with an army into England: and in his declaration, he spoke more against Friends than ever before he formerly expressed; saying, that there was a good law made against the Quakers, and they did well to put it in execution, and he would stand by them; for, he said, they were against both magistracy and ministry. So he and they are all hardened against the Truth; and all their pretences of setting Friends at liberty, which they were once about, are now ceased; and they are only plotting how to exalt themselves in the earth.



Francis Howgill is yet in Essex or that way. There is great service in and about this city.

Friends' love here is dear unto thee.

R. HUBBERTHORNE.

*From the Original.*

It appears from *Burton's Diary*, that after the passing of the cruel sentence upon J. Nayler, the House of Commons proceeded to receive several petitions against the Quakers, presented from various parts of the country; upon which a debate ensued, and the petitions were referred to the *same* committee which sat on James Nayler's case, to report upon "a Bill to suppress the mischief." In the course of this debate many members urge "some speedy course to be taken against" this people: one says, "the sect is dangerous, their increase numerous, prevention very necessary;" several others inform the House that they are growing very numerous in various parts of the country; the M. P. for Cumberland states, that "they meet in multitudes, and upon moors in *terrorem populi*," [to the terror of people!] another [the M. P. for Devonshire,] "that they meet in thousands in our county, and certainly will overrun all, both ministers and magistrates. I desire that you will make no delay in this business: ere long it will be too late to make a law." There is no doubt, but that in consequence of J. Nayler's affair, and the *grave* cognizance taken of it by the House of Commons, a strong public prejudice was unjustly imbibed against the Friends of that day, though in no way implicated in, or answerable for J. N.'s offence.

The Parliament, however, proceeded with a Bill against vagrants, which was so expressed as to be capable of being readily used against Friends. This is probably the law alluded to above by the Protector; which enacted that every idle person "vagrant from his usual place of living or abode," and who "shall not have *such good and sufficient cause or business* for such his travelling or wandering, *as the justices or justice of peace, mayors, &c.*, before whom such person or persons shall be brought, *shall approve of*," shall be proceeded against and punished as a rogue, &c.—*Scobell's Acts*, 1657, cap. 21.—

The first mention of the name of Quakers in the records of Parliament, occurs in the Journal of the House of Commons in the year 1654, from whence the following extract is taken:

*Saturday, 30th December, 1654.* 'Referred to,' [a Committee of several members] 'or any three of them, to prepare a Bill upon a debate of the House touching Quakers; with power to them to receive informations from the members of this House or others, touching these persons,

the better to enable them to describe them in this Bill.'

*The Editor of Burton's Diary*, after the account of the debate in the above-mentioned Vagrant Bill, has a note, which is curious, and is as follows:—

"A communication made about this time by a military officer, to the chief governor of Ireland, will show what apprehensions were excited there by the movements of these sons of peace. I copied the following from the original letter of Major Redman, M. P. for Catherlough, [Carlow,] it is dated 'Kilkenny, 15th March, 1656-7,' and is thus addressed.

"These to his excellency the Lord General Cromwell [Henry Cromwell] at Court House, Dublin, humbly presented.

*Haste, Haste, Haste!*

May it please your Excellency,—Captain Franks and myself were at Waterford, according to your order, when there met about one hundred Quakers and more, besides the parties of them that were going thither, being ten or twelve in a company; when I ordered our parties of horse and foot to turn them back again, which otherwise would, I judge, have increased their number to about two hundred. There was not any disturbance at all [?] only they met all in a great barn, where justice Cook, colonel Leigh, and several others spent at least two hours endeavouring to convince them of their follies, but to little purpose. Cornet Cooke was very zealous amongst them to defend their opinions. I advised colonel Leigh not to permit any more such considerable numbers, either of them or any of their adherents, to meet within that city."—*From the Lansdown MSS.* 823 No. 369.

No. XXI.

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO FRIENDS.

Warmsworth, 18th of Seventh month, [ninth mo.] 1657.

—I HAVE received several letters of late from J. N., and one I received this day; whereby it appears that he is in a great sense of his condition, and very loving, humble, tender and low: he also expressed that his love is great to all the faithful flock. They brought a high priest to him—as his letter expresseth,—and many went with him, and saw the priest's folly; which silenced many of the people, but enraged the priest. He desires the prayers of the faithful.

God Almighty be with you, bless, and preserve, and keep you and all his beloved ones, firm and faithful to himself, in the day of trial and hour of temptation,—as I hope he will;—even so, Amen. I am yours as you are the Lord's. Farewell.

R. F.

*From the Original.*

## No. XXII.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 5th of Eleventh month 1657, [first mo. 1658.]

MY DEAR SISTER M. F.,—The Lord is ministering to many an entrance into the everlasting Truth, and is gathering into the life of it; and the Truth is secretly working.

—I have passed through Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and was about five weeks in them, in great service.—Then I was moved to come up to London; and something was upon me for Oliver Cromwell, to whom I have already written. Some sufferings of Friends have been laid before him lately, which are so cruel, that he is much offended with those justices that caused it, and promises to do something.

Here are many in this city daily convinced, and the Truth grows. Last first-day, there were five of Fleetwood's family at the meeting at Worcester House; and the Truth spreads and gets dominion, and Friends grow into feeling of the power of it.

I have been with J. N. three times since I came; he is loving, and his love doth increase; and he feels refreshment from those that be in the life and power of Truth. Salute me dearly to all Friends.

Farewell: thy dear brother, R. H.

From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.

Fleetwood was Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1657, and a member of Cromwell's council; he married a daughter of the Protector.

In *Nichol's State Papers*,—p. 143,—is a letter addressed to Cromwell from a William Malyn, dated August, 1668, from which the following is extracted:—It is not improbable that there was some intention on the part of Cromwell to have discharged J. N.; but he died on the third of the month following that of the date of this letter: J. N. was released by Parliament after the death of Cromwell. With regard to J. Nayler's taciturnity, as mentioned in this letter; it is probable it was most to the peace of his own mind to maintain silence towards those 'of the world,' who intruded themselves upon him. The writer of the letter seems not a little mistaken in his opinion of J. N.'s state.

—"I went this morning to Bridewell to see James Nayler.—I found him in his bed, and sitting up with his head on a pillow.\* I sat by him a good while, and told him upon what account I came to see how he was, and whether he desired anything to be done to him or for him. He would not speak a word,

though often pressed thereto by myself and those that stood by. I also withdrew for some time and came to him again, and asked him, if he were free to have any discourse with me, or if he had anything to desire that I should acquaint your Highness with, but by all that I could do, I could not get a word from him.—It being near sermon time, I left him, and went to Paul's.\* After sermon I spake with my lord Packe—my lord Titchbourne and my lord Barkstead being by,—and gave my lord Packe an account of what I had done, and my lord Packe told me that he did intend to-morrow to wait on your Highness, to give your Highness a particular account of James Nayler.

Truly, my lord, I look upon him to be under a resolved sullenness, and I doubt in the height of pride.—I hope I should not go about to dissuade your Highness from a work of tenderness and mercy, which is pleasing to God; which we have reasons and objects enough for, without doing that which may offend God, through want of zeal for his glory and honour, against such horrible impieties.—Truly, my lord, in this case I conceive there is more want of watchfulness, that we do not offend on that head, I mean through want of zeal.

WILLIAM MALYN."

In another letter of R. Hubberthorne to George Fox, in this year, 1657, he says in a postscript, after speaking of his own services in Kent, "I was twice with John Lilburne: he is zealous and forward for the Truth: he hath a sight and comprehension, which is deep: he sees that the Truth comprehends all, and he hath a love unto it, and a desire to attain to it." It appears from a work called *Cromwelliana*, that John Lilburne died in the autumn of this year, at Eltham, in Kent; and his corpse was removed thence to London, "to the house called the Mouth, in Aldersgate, which is the usual meeting place of the people called Quakers, to whom—it seems—he had lately joined in opinion:"—it was afterwards conveyed "to Moorfields, and buried in a burying ground near Bedlam."

## No. XXIII.

[THE foregoing letters with the two following, which allude to James Nayler, both as regards his fall and his recovery into fellowship with his brethren, and afterwards—as we shall see—his return to gospel service, are very interesting and instructive in several respects. The following observations are taken from a work, published by Joseph Wyeth, in 1699: "James Nayler was a man who had been highly favoured of God, with a good degree of

\* J. N. had been ill.

\* This designation is that of the author of the letter.



grace, which was sufficient for him, had he kept to its teaching; for while he did so, he was exemplary in godliness and great humility. He was powerful in word and doctrine, and thereby instrumental in the hand of God for turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the power of God. But he, poor man, became exalted above measure, through the abundance of revelations; and in that exaltation did depart from the grace and holy Spirit of God, which had been his sufficient teacher. Then blindness came over him, and he suffered himself to be accounted of above what he ought. Here he slipped and fell, but not irrecoverably; for it did please God of his infinite mercy, in the day of his affliction, to give him a sight and sense of his out-goings, and also a place of repentance. And he, with the prodigal, humbled himself for his transgressions; and besought God with true contrition of soul, to pardon his offences through Jesus Christ. God, I firmly believe, forgave him: for he pardons the truly penitent. His people received him with great joy; for that he, who had gone astray from God, was now returned to the Father's house; and for that he, who had separated himself from them through his iniquity, was now through repentance and forsaking of it, returned into the unity of the faith and their holy fellowship in the gospel of Christ.—Here let none insult, but take heed lest they also, in the hour of temptation, do fall away.”—*Joseph Wyeth, Switch for the Snake, &c.*]

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 15th of Fourth month, [sixth mo.] 1658.

MY DEARLY BELOVED SISTER,—I have been with J. N. in the prison three times since I came to this city, and true love and life are springing up in him; he is made willing to lie under all, and would do anything that might in the wisdom of God be seen convenient, for taking off all occasions, as much as in him lies, either by public recantation—which I do not judge serviceable—for exalting the Truth, or any other way; he is made willing to bear all, and to come under all, and hath past through true judgment.—James hath written a few words with much subjection, desiring to be reconciled; and I know that George [Fox] is dearer to him than ever, as by his words I have heard. My dear sister, as thou hast been tender and of large compassion unto the sufferers, I beseech thee make intercession for him; that in the spirit of meekness, as a brother, he may be restored again. I am plain unto thee, having no other thing in my heart, but the glory and advancement of the Truth in this thing, and peace and unity amongst brethren.—I know it lieth on G. F.—In patience

I shall wait to see the Truth advanced over all; for I have great hopes that all things will be well. Thy dear brother in the fellowship of the gospel,

ALEXANDER PARKER.

*From W. Caton's Collection.*

No. XXIV.

JAMES NAYLER TO MARGARET FELL.

[Endorsed by G. F. 1658.]

DEARLY BELOVED SISTER,—Thou art often in my remembrance, and my heart is to see thee when God wills; in whose counsel and life I desire to walk, to his praise alone, who hath thus far redeemed me out of deep adversity; and doth still work with me and for me,—as I abide in his patience and obedience, making my way through many oppositions and trials. In his will alone I desire to rest and be still; who in the needful time hath still appeared;—praises to Him for ever!

I suppose thou may have heard of my going to see our beloved G. F. at Ridding [Reading,] which in tenderness of love I did, as soon as I was got out of prison, hearing he was not well;\* but I was not permitted to come where he was; which my adversary rejoiced at, that thereby he might add sorrow to affliction:—but my spirit was quieted, in that simplicity in which I went, in that to return: and [He] gave me His peace therein, as though I had had my desire,—blessed be the Lord God of my mercy for this thing; who still becomes my peace, and his presence is with me in what He moves me to, which is my comfort and refreshment,—and so His will is my peace.

—My dear love to thee and to thy family, and all faithful Friends with thee: I am refreshed when I feel thee near me, or hear from thee, in that in which we cannot be separated.

*James Nayler,*

[From the original; it has a seal 'I. N. and is addressed 'For Margaret Fell, at Swarthmore, these.†]

No. XXV.

EDWARD BURROUGH TO FRANCIS HOWGILL.

London, 24th of Seventh month, [ninth mo.] 1658.

—ALL things here are very well, and our meetings of late very quiet and precious, and large always: and now in Westminster we have a great place, as big as the Bull and Mouth, near the Abba [Abbey?] where on the first-days [we] have meetings: Truth spreads and grows. The Earl of Pembroke has been with

\* See G. F.'s Journal under date 1658.

† It is rarely that his name is to be found written out in full.

us; there is a principle of God stirring in him: and this night at Woodcock's at the meeting, was the Earl of Newport,—he is truly loving to us.\*

All things as to the outward in the city are very quiet; and the sufferings are laid before this new Protector, [Richard Cromwell,] who carries [himself] fair; divers have been with him. A large letter I was moved to write to him.† Something in his council—who are now the chief actors in all things,—is in agitation, as to release all our Friends:—a list of above a hundred is given in.

William Caton has been here a week, and is gone into Kent. Thomas Rob. [Robertson (?)] was here last week, and is gone into Hampshire. R. H. is now about Newcastle, for Scotland. I remain, in some haste, thine.

E. B.

*From the original.*

#### No. XXVI.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 22nd of Eighth month, [tenth mo.] 1658.

DEAR SISTER,—With my dear brethren and sisters, in the tender love of God I salute you all, who in the measure of the Spirit of Jesus are united, [as] living members of the body unto Christ the head.

Dearly beloved, the work of the Lord goeth on in power and in the authority of the Almighty, which reigns over the heads of the wicked. The Lord is gathering in many in this city daily; there are many meetings, full and large, where there is any to declare the Truth amongst them: and they that are great in the earth, the power of Truth strives through them, and is drawing them in daily. The priests confess that there is such a power amongst us, that none who come to us can escape; and [they] exhort people not to come to us.—The last first-day I was at the Bull and Mouth, where there was a great and serviceable meeting: and the after part of the day I was at Westminster, where there was a large meeting, and many soldiers, who are pretty faithful in their measures. J. N. [James Nayler,] was at two meetings; and the afternoon he had a great meeting, where many were convinced

that had not come before, as there is in every meeting a coming in daily.

This day, if the Lord will, I am to pass out of the city towards Dunstable, to have a meeting to-morrow, where a Baptist teacher hath promised to be, and many people intending to be at it. The next day I purpose to be at Justice Crook's, and I expect to meet my brother G. F. this week.

Dearly salute me to all Friends. R. H.

*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*

#### No. XXVII.

Second month—called April—1659.

[OUR Friends, for several years previous to this period, had put forth in print many sad narratives of persecutions and sufferings of their members in various parts of the country, on account of their religious testimonies: (See *Whiting's Catalogue*, under *Sufferings*.) Warning addresses had also been written by E. Burrough and others, to the Protector Oliver Cromwell; yet it seems they were generally unavailing, for he died, leaving the case of these suffering, innocent people unredressed. Further exertions on the part of Friends to obtain relief were made about this time, by application to the new Protector Richard Cromwell, as well as to the Parliament. It appears that on the sixth-day of this month—called April—an address was presented on behalf of Friends to the Speaker of the House of Commons, entitled,

*“To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, being a declaration of the names, places, and sufferings of such as are now in prison for speaking the truth in several places; for not paying tithes—for meeting together in the fear of God—for not swearing—for wearing their hats—for being accounted as vagrants—for visiting Friends, and for things of the like nature—in all about 144:—Besides, imprisoned and persecuted till death, twenty-one. Also a brief narrative of their sufferings within the last six years or thereabouts, of about one thousand nine hundred and sixty persons already returned; being but part of many more, whose names and sufferings are not yet returned: all which it is desired may be read and considered of by this Parliament, that right may be done.”*

Then follows a list of cases of sufferings, arranged under the several counties, and comprised in many pages.

This declaration seems to have laid dormant in the House for a time: at length Friends came forward once more, with the following address to the House of Commons, an appeal calculated—one might suppose—to move the hardest of hearts. This address is printed at

\* In Gilbert Latsey's Life, an account is given of the several meeting places in London; among them one is stated to have been held in “William Woodcock's house, who lived in the Strand, between the great gate of Somerset House, and the water gate thereto belonging.”

† The Earl of Newport is spoken of by, G. Fox:—“It was at his house that G. F. and some Friends accepted a challenge from a Jesuit, to dispute with ‘all the Quakers,’ in 1658. *Journal*,—1658.—

† Given, in part only, in Sewel's History, under date 1658.



large in *Besse's Sufferings*; it is truly a remarkable document, and is well deserving, the Editor thinks, of a place in these historical notices relating to our Society. A considerable number of Friends, probably all whose names are subscribed to the document, attended at the avenues of the House on the occasion.]

*From Besse's Sufferings, (Fol.) Preface.*

"THERE was a printed paper presented to the Parliament in 1659, and subscribed by one hundred and sixty-four of this people; wherein they make an offer of their own bodies, person for person, to lie in prison instead of such of their brethren as were then under confinement, and might be in danger of their lives through extreme durance, which paper was as follows, viz:

‘ Friends,

WHO are called a Parliament of these Nations: we in love to our brethren that lie in prisons, and houses of Correction, and dungeons, and many in fetters and irons, and have been cruelly beat by the cruel gaolers, and many have been persecuted to death, and have died in prison, and many lie sick and weak in prison, and on straw; so we in love to our brethren do offer up our bodies and selves to you, for to put us as lambs into the same dungeons, and houses of Correction, and their straw, and nasty holes and prisons; and do stand ready a sacrifice for to go into their places in love to our brethren, that they may go forth, and that they may not die in prison, as many of the brethren are dead already: for we are willing to lay down our lives for our brethren, and to take their sufferings upon us, which you would inflict upon them. For if our brethren suffer, we cannot but feel it: and Christ saith, It is he that suffereth and was not visited. This is our love towards God and Christ, and our brethren, that we owe to them and our enemies, who are lovers of all your souls and your eternal good.

And if you will receive our bodies, which we freely tender to you for our Friends that are now in prison, for speaking the Truth in several places, for not paying tithes—for meeting together in the fear of God—for not swearing—for wearing their hats—for being accounted as vagrants—for visiting Friends, and for things of the like nature, according to a paper entitled, ‘*A Declaration to the Parliament*,’ &c. delivered the 6th day of the second month, called April, 1659, to the then Speaker of the said House: We whose names are hereunto subscribed—being a sufficient number to answer for the present sufferers,—are waiting in Westminster-hall for an answer from you to us, to answer our tenders, and to manifest our love to

our Friends, and to stop the wrath and judgment from coming upon our enemies.’

Henry Abbott, Alexander Allen, James Allen, John Allington, John Anderson, William Archpool, Henry Ayres, Humphry Bache, John Baddely, Daniel Baker, John Barber, John Barnard, Richard Bax, John Beckett, James Beeche, William Bett, George Bewley, Nicholas Bend, John Blackfan, Edward Bland, Thomas Blatt, Edward Billing, John Bolton, Thomas Braborn, Thomas Bradley, Ninion Brockett, Edward Brook, William Brown, Thomas Burchett, Richard Bird, Joseph Bushell, Jacob Carr, Manasseh Casketter, John Chandler, Richard Clipsham, Richard Cockbill, Maximilian Cockerill, Francis Collins, Henry Cocke, Thomas Coveney, Richard Crane, Stephen Crisp, John Crook, Edmund Cross, Thomas Curtis, Thomas Davenport, Richard Davis, Richard Deane, William Dike, John Disborow, Thomas Dawn, Rowland Eldridge, John Fawkes, James Fenner, John Fielder, John Faster, John Freeborn, John Furly, jun., Benjamin Furly, Roger Gaine, Nathaniel Gerrard, William Garrett, John Gayon, William Geering, Edward Giles, Henry Godman, Peter Gass, Richard Greenaway, James Grynier, John Hackleton, Richard Hacker, William Hampshire, Edward Harrison, William Harwood, Cuthbert Harle, Robert Hasle, Richard Hindmarsh, John Hollis, Justinian Holyman, John Hope, William Hownell, Stephen Hubbard, Robert Ingram, Ralph Johns, William Johnson, Joseph Jones, Rice Jones, Richard Jonson, Thomas Kent, Humphry Kirby, George Lamboll, Joseph Langley, John Lawrence, Thomas Lawrence, John Lee, Richard Lewis, John Love, William Marner, Benjamin Matthews, Robert Mildred, Robert Moor, Thomas Moor, William Mullins, John Newton, Richard Newman, Robert Newman, Thomas Norris, Edward Owers, Alexander Parker, Thomas Passenger, William Pennington, John Pennyman, William Piersehouse, William Plumley, Benjamin Pierson, John Price, Richard Quick, John Radley, George Rawlins, Thomas Rawlinson, Thomas Reese, Nicholas Rickman, George Robinson, Simon Robinson, John Scanfield, John Schoren, Thomas Seaman, Edward Shaller, William Shewen, Thomas Shortland, Robert Sikes, Richard Simpson, James Smith, Jonah Smith, James Smither, Robert Sooley, Edward Southwood, William Sparey, John Starkey, John Stavelin, John Stedman, Robert Stedman, Thomas Stedman, Amos Stoddart, John Stevens, William Styles, Arthur Stanbridge, Thomas Tax, James Tenning, Rowland Tichbourn, William Travers, Richard Tidder, John Tyso, Samuel Vause, Robert Wade, Christopher White, Philip Williamson, Stephen Wix, Caleb Woods, William Woodcock, John Woolrich, Henry Woolger, John Yardly.

From the "*Mercurius Politicus*," a news book of that period, [*Brit. Mus.*] the following public notice of this occurrence is given forth:—

"1659. Friday, April 15th.—This day and the following, a great number of a sort of people called Quakers, came up to London from several parts, and assembled themselves in Westminster-hall, with intent to represent somewhat to the house touching the men of their way.

"Saturday, 16th April.—A paper written on the outside thereof with these words, namely, 'For the Speaker of the Commons assembled in Parliament, these are for him to read to the House of Commons,' was this day read. And upon the reading thereof, the same, amongst other things, referred to another paper entitled 'A Declaration to the Parliament, &c. delivered the 6th day of the second month called April, 1659,' to the then Speaker of the House. The said papers were presented by certain persons commonly called Quakers."—

A brief account of what passed in the House on this occasion, drawn up from *Burton's Diary*, and from the *Journals of the House*, is subjoined.

One of the members opened the business by the following remarks:—

*Col. Grosvenor.* "I took notice of a great number of people called Quakers in the Hall yesterday and to-day. I wish you would take some course with the Petition that has laid a long time before you; and that they be dispersed." Another member moved that they be whipped home as vagrants. The petition was at length read. Several members then made a variety of remarks; several are against them, some appear to be in favour of them, or the release of their imprisoned brethren; others were for referring their grievances to a committee; another, that the county members should refer their case to the justices to inquire into their grievances. At length the House resolves, "That the answer to be given to the persons that presented this paper is, that this House hath read their paper, and the paper thereby referred to; and doth declare their dislike of the scandal thereby cast upon magistracy and ministry; and doth therefore order, that they and other persons concerned, do forthwith resort to their respective habitations, and there apply themselves to their callings, and submit themselves to the laws of the nation, and the magistracy they live under." It was moved that two or three of them be called in. From the *Journals of the House*, "16th April," it appears, "that Thomas Moor, John Crook, and Edward Byllyng were brought in to the bar,"

the Sergeant having taken off their hats, and the aforesaid answer was declared to them by the Speaker.

[Although little or no apparent effect appeared to be produced at the time in the House from the foregoing affecting appeal, we may notice by the *Journals of the Commons*, that in the month following a committee was appointed, "to consider of the imprisonment of such persons who continue committed for conscience sake, and how and in what manner they are and continue committed, together with the whole cause thereof, and how they may be discharged; and to report the same to the Parliament." (*Journals under 10th of May, 1659.*) Of this committee the Earl of Pembroke and Vane, (names mentioned in these letters) were members.]

The following Letters doubtless allude to this committee.

#### THOMAS RAWLINSON TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 11th of Third month, [fifth mo.] 1659.

DEAR HEART,—My dear love in the Lord Jesus dearly salutes thee, and all the lambs and babes of Christ with thee.

I believe thou hast heard what turnings and changes have been here at London: the Parliament began to sit again the last seventh-day, and they sat on the first-day.\* There is something expected to be done from them. Friends have this day delivered the paper of sufferings into the House, and it is referred to a committee. The army pretends to put all wicked men out of places and offices: if they do as they say, it is more than is expected. They searched many houses last first-day at night for r—[*word not clear*] and papists, and took some prisoners. Thy dear brother in the Truth of God,

THOMAS RAWLINSON.

*From the original apparently.*

#### ROBERT BENBRICK TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 21st of Fourth month, [sixth mo.] 1659.

— FRIENDS' sufferings were yesterday taken into consideration at Westminster, and grievous things were declared against the priests, and did enter into the hearts of some of the committee; we made them shake their heads, and grieved them; they said, they would have some of the priests up to London, and they would examine them about those things.

ROBERT BENBRICK.

*From the original apparently*

\* The following is the entry for this day in the *Journals of the House of Commons*.

"Lord's day, 8th of May, 1659. The House met this morning [eight o'clock:] and spent it in praying and hearing the word, Dr. Owen praying and preaching before them."



## No. XXVIII.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 22nd of Fourth month, [sixth mo.] 1659.

EVER DEAR AND TRULY BELOVED SISTER.

—Though for sometime I have been silent, yet my dear and true love is unto thee, and my heart is knit unto thee in an inseparable bond. — My love is enlarged towards you all; and though in body I be absent from you, yet in the Lord I am present with you. Oh! how good and precious a thing it is to be kept in the love of Truth: the Lord strengthen and preserve all his, faithful unto the end.

Things in this city generally are well, and Truth is of good dominion: and truly this I may say, that never, since I knew the Truth, was the service greater; a mighty thirst, and desire, and openness are in many people in most places, especially since the change of the government; and the work is very great, and labourers, who are true and faithful, are but few, as thou well knows: and this I see, that the more we labour, the more work we have. But the Lord is our strength, and willing I am to spend and be spent for the Lord's sake.

The committee of Parliament are most of them very moderate, and examine things very fully; and whether they do anything or nothing as to the enlargement of Friends, it is serviceable that the wickedness of greedy and covetous men is brought to light. Much cannot be expected of men in that nature; for though there be a change of name, yet the old nature is still standing,—earth enough there is to make another mountain: but whatever the consequence be, this I know and feel, that Truth hath great advantage, and an open door is further made for spreading the Truth abroad. The Lord prosper his work, and carry it on to his own praise and glory.

G. F. and E. B. came to this city on last fifth-day, and much service they have had in Kent and other parts; as for E. B.'s service in Dunkirk, I leave it to his own declaration by his letters to Kendal.\* G. F. is well, as I. R. [Isabel Rouse (?)] can inform thee, who went out of this city the last week; it is like she may be with thee before the receipt of this. My love is to her and to Bridget, Sarah [daughters of Margaret Fell,] and the rest. My love reacheth unto you all, and Friends that way.

In dearness of love unto thee, I rest and remain thy dear brother in the service of the Lord.

A. P.

George Whitehead and Edward Burrough remember their love to thee and thy family. Here are many Friends out of the country in

this city, as Gervase Benson, Anthony Pearson, Thomas Aldam and divers others. They deliver the subscription against tithes, &c. to-morrow if they can, to Parliament. [torn.]

*From the Original.*

## No. XXIX.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 21st of Ninth month, [eleventh mo.] 1659.

DEAR SISTER.—In the unfeigned love of the Truth I salute thee; — and the dear love from the fountain of my life doth freely issue forth unto all the Lord's flock with thee; being dearly related unto them all in the spirit of love and life, of which our heavenly Father hath made us all partakers; that we may feel and know and be refreshed in one another,—that our joy may be full. — The work is here increasing daily, and meetings are now all over the city pretty peaceable from disturbance. As for the officers of the army here, they bring little forth that is good unto any perfection; they talk and debate of things, but that is the most they do. As for tithes they debate about them, sometimes talking of selling them; and how to provide a maintenance for a ministry they are in great consultation: sometimes they tell of reducing the 9000 parishes in England into 3000, and so to have some certain ministers, who shall be the State's ministers, and the State to pay them; and they spend their time in talking of such things. But some of the heads of them are deceitful in pride and ambition, and seek themselves and not the good of others; though some of the inferiors have honest intents if they could bring them to pass. I have been oftentimes with some of them, as Colonel Rich, Colonel Ashfield, Henry Vane and others; they are pretty open to hear counsel, and do profess to stand for good things. Colonel Rich,\* hath been very serviceable for Friends in this late committee, and is bold to speak for truth and righteousness amongst them; but he and Vane and the rest of those that would do something, are rejected; and the chief leaders among them dare not bring anything to vote, because that the general part of the inferior officers would have liberty and honest things. Colonel Rich declared among them, how that many of our Friends were in prison again since the Parliament was dissolved; and how that the Parliament had done more for the liberty of tender consciences than they had done; and he did move it to them to appoint a committee for the same purpose, to free those that suffered for conscience sake; and

\* See Sewel under date 1659; E. Burrough was accompanied by Samuel Fisher.

\* Colonel Rich was member of Parliament which sat in the spring of this year.

many of them said it was good; but they put it off, and would not do it.—

I desire to hear from thee as thou finds freedom in the Lord. Thy dear brother, &c.

R. HUBBERTHORNE.

*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*

No. XXX.

HENRY FELL TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 7th of Twelfth mo. 1659, [second mo. 1660]

M. F. my dearly beloved in the Lord, my soul greets thee, and honours thee.—

G. F. and Friends here are generally well; but General Monk's soldiers begin to be rude concerning Friends' meetings. John Scafe is come to town, and went yesterday to the meeting in the Palace-yard at Westminster; but soon after he began to speak, they began to pull Friends out of the house violently, and beat them very sore, and would not suffer any of them to stay in the house; yea, they beat and abused Friends exceedingly in the streets. I came there when they had hailed almost all Friends out, and scattered them; and they pulled me out and beat me much, and knocked me down in the street, and tore all my coat. Edward Billing and his wife were much abused, he especially. I hear he went presently and wrote to the Parliament, and acquainted some of them with their usage, and that he would endeavour to lay it before General Monk and the rest. Great distractions and disaffections there are in people, as things now stand; but to them that fear the Lord and wait upon him, all things will turn to their good.

Thy brother, HENRY FELL.

*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*

No. XXXI.

[THE following letter is transcribed from an ancient manuscript, probably a copy; it is without date, and is endorsed 'E. B.'s letter to W. M.' the contents of the letter are rather circumstantial, and carry with them all the appearance of authenticity. As regards the date, it may be observed, that the preceding letter of Henry Fell, which alludes to the same circumstances, decides the period at which it was written; and the following quotation from the *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, seems to fix the date of the letter; and perhaps even the name of its writer, viz:—Edward Billing.

"February 7th, 1660. [*corresponding with 7th of Twelfth month, 1659.*] To the Hall [Westminster;] when in the Palace [yard,] I saw Monk's soldiers abuse Billing and all the Quakers, that were at a meeting place there:

and indeed the soldiers did use them very roughly, and were to blame."]

*Diary of S. Pepys*, vol. i. p. 13.

E. B. to W. M.

DEAR W. M.,—Oh! my dear heart, for ever blessed be His eternal name, who hath called us, and thought us worthy to testify, or in any measure to suffer for his name's sake; who is, and was, and is to come, and is already come, and who is over all!

Since general Monk's coming to London with his army, we have been very much abused in our meetings; as in the Palace yard, we were pulled out by the hair of the head, kicked, and knocked down, both men and women, in such a manner not here to be expressed. Many were the knocks, and blows, and kicks, myself and wife received; and this was done by general M.'s foot, who came into the meeting with sword and pistol, being, as they said, bound by an oath to leave never a sectarian in England; saying, that they had order from their lord Monk, to pull us out of our meeting; which with inexpressible cruelty they did. The meeting in the Palace yard I suppose thou knowest. After they had beat us in the house with their swords in their scabbards, whips, and such like, out they drag and kicked us into the kennel before the door, where many a blow I received, being in particular knocked and kicked, quite through the Palace yard, even to the Hall door. Being got within the Hall, after a little recovery, I was moved of the Lord to write a little note to the Speaker in the House,—Parliament being then sitting. So soon as I got into the lobby, I sent into the House for sergeant Chidleton, who came to me, and I gave him the note, laying it upon him to give it to the Speaker, which he did, and it was forthwith read in the House, publicly; when an enemy stands up and says, the multitude were appeased, &c.—I passed through the multitude back again to the meeting house, [when they] again fell upon me the second time, as before; and in my passing back to my own lodging, they spared me not, but fell upon me, crying, 'Kill him.'—saying, I was the ringleader and captain of the rogues.—We afterwards met colonel Rich, who was much affected to see and hear of our usage; with whom I passed through the Palace yard again, the soldiers and multitude being just then beating a woman of the house at the door; and plundering the house, notwithstanding [it had been said] that the tumult was appeased. At last I passed to Whitehall, where general M. was; with whom I had present audience: in a few words, I laid the whole matter before him, and told him that the soldiers said, they



had his order for it. He might say, they had not. I answered, that since he and his army had come to town, we could not pass the streets without very much abuse; having been not so much abused these many years, nay, I say, never by soldiers.

I do not give thee this ample account of my abuse, as if it were greater than others; for several Friends were as badly used as myself.

So Friends in New England are executed: the third upon the ladder bore a precious testimony for the living God.

The Parliament have declared that the priests' maintenance shall be by way of tithes; and that they will govern according to law.—Till now, they pretended to regulate the law at the least, and that the priest should have his tithes till another maintenance could be found; but those in the House who had any reasonableness in them, before their interruption, are now become as bad as men can well be; except N. Rich, Henry Smith, F. Pirne, [or Prynne] and Pembroke, [*probably* Earl of] who was the only person who moved for liberty of conscience; being not seconded by one man,—N. R. not being there,—closing his speech with these words, 'Mr. Speaker, I suppose what I have offered to you, will be but as a cup of cold water.'

General Monk hath broke down the gates of London, which—it is like—was beyond his judgment, to which—it is said—he was, as it were, betrayed; for saying merrily at the council one night,—it is said,—that the city would not be conformable till the gates were pulled down, or the like, Haslerig [went] to the House on the morrow and informed the House it was general Monk's desire, the council having sent him an order the night before to do it: but upon A. H. [Arthur Haslerig's] report, it was confirmed.—After all this he marches out of the city to Whitehall, and brings his army back with him. The next day he calls a council of his own officers distinct, and into the city he marches again with his army, without the consent of the Parliament; but they were forced to be quiet, and glad they could be so. The city received him and his with great acclamation,—bells ringing, and bonfires all the night, the like I believe hath hardly been seen. But for all this, to this day neither the city nor Parliament are certain of him. He is now no more than one of the commissioners, his commission as general being expired the 11th of this month: yet he hath sent for the Irish brigade by his own order, to march to him; and he still continues in the city. Writs and qualifications are ready for the filling up of the House, and it is said, they are to go forth to-

morrow: but at present it is more like the secluded members will come in, the whole [country (?)] is for them or a free Parliament. Fairfax and the rest of the great ones in that county [York (?)], have declared for the free Parliament or the secluded members; without the one they declare to pay no taxes. Norfolk and Suffolk are in association with them of Yorkshire, and Wales is in the like posture: their regiments are formed or forming in Yorkshire. Fast will God's hand be upon this Parliament, as it was upon those unclean hypocrites at Wallington House; who did what in them lay against God, and whatsoever might be called [of] God. Lambert is not yet come in, according to the Parliament's order; but hath sent a letter to the Speaker, the purport whereof is,—as it is said,—desiring to have their order to live quietly at home, or a pass to go beyond the seas.—Ludlow is impeached in the House; but as yet nothing is done against him, and he sits in the House. Sharp and terrible will the hour of persecution [?] yet be.—As thou hast freedom, salute me dearly to Friends; and let such as stand, take heed lest they fall; for I am confident we shall again be tried, so as by fire.

Henry Vane and Salway are secluded the House, and Salway committed to the Tower, but hath obtained favour to go to his own house in Oxfordshire. Vane is committed to Raby Castle [*his own residence*], and is gone the second time; for he was upon his journey, and came back again; at which general Monk took exceptions; so he was again ordered into the hands of the Sergeant at Arms, who conveyed him out of London some days since.—Fleetwood and those worst of men in combination with him, viz: Sydenham, Desborough, Packer, and others, are only dismissed, and at the present connived at; and so is Owen.

Friends are in general precious kept in the life; and I may truly say, are refreshed in this hour of persecution.\*

## No. XXXII.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 20th of First month [third mo.] 1660.

DEAR SISTER,—Our meetings at present are peaceable and quiet, though we have had rudeness by some soldiers and disturbance. I was moved to write something to Monk [general] about it, upon which he gave out a few

\*The reader must be referred to the Historical Works and Chronicles of the day, for illustrations respecting the curious details of the events in London contained in this letter; Mackintosh's History of England may be looked into with advantage with that view.

words as an order to the officers and soldiers, which did stop them for the present from their rage. I intend to stay in the city about two weeks, and then pass towards Suffolk and Norfolk, and then towards Yorkshire. F. H., Samuel Fisher and Joseph Stubbs, are in the city. Thy dear Brother,

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE.

*From W. Caton's MSS. Collection.*

This order of general Monk, is given in *Sewel's History*: it has been found among the Swarthmore Collection of MSS. as follows:

St. James, 9th of March.

'I doo require all officers and souldiers to forbare to disturb the peaceable meetings of the quakers, they doeing nothing prejudicial to the Parliament or Commonwealth of England.'

'GEORGE MONK.'

No. XXXIII.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 29th of Third month, [fifth mo.] 1660.

DEAR BROTHER.—Since I wrote unto thee last week, our meetings have been quiet and very full. G. F.—George Fox, jun.—was brought up to this city the last week upon the fifth-day, and is prisoner at Lambeth House, and Robert Grassingham, who was brought up with him; they are not yet called,—*summoned* (?) but therein remain.\* I have been twice with them in prison: and I visited some officers of the army there, with whom I had good service, as major Brayman, Allen, and Courtney, who are there prisoners: and colonel Rich I have been with,—he is at liberty; he is pretty low and sensible, and sees that all will be separated into two,—that is, either to join to the truth, or to the profane: he was the last first-day at our meeting in the Strand. Several who have had an honest principle stirring in them, begin to be bowed under towards the Truth; but the wickedness in this city is so great, that it is past expression; and everywhere in the nation it abounds as a flood; and Friends everywhere pass in the hazard of their lives and of great sufferings. Stephen Crisp hath passed through much suffering at Peterborough, Norwich, and other places, and is now at Colchester. John Moon and William Alan, have been sore abused at Cambridge, and W. A. is sore bruised. Josiah Coale is prisoner at Leicester, and put in the marshal's hands, where he is very hardly used: he lieth upon some stoles [*stones* (?) ] and his food is only bread and beer: he desired that thou might know of it. Alexander Parker is prisoner at Nantwich

in Cheshire, and is in the marshal's hand; he was taken out of a meeting at Northwich; but the marshal is pretty loving to him.

It is only the power of the Lord God, that preserves us here in this city from the rage of the wicked, which is very high. [At] our meeting this day at Westminster in the morning, the people were very rude, and had almost broken the meeting; but afterwards some soldiers came, and did quiet the rude [people] and set a guard at the door; and so the meeting was kept quiet, and ended quiet.

This day did King Charles and his two brethren, James and Henry, came into this city: Charles is of a pretty sober countenance; but the great pride and vanity of those that brought him in, is inexpressible; and he is in danger to be brought [or wrought] to those things, which he in himself is not inclined unto. The great excess and abomination that hath been used this day in this city, is inexpressible.\*

I know not as yet when I shall come from this city; for the service is very great.

R. H.

*From the Original.*

No. XXXIV.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 24th of Fifth month [seventh mo.] 1660.

DEAR BROTHER,—As concerning what is done here, M. F. [Margaret Fell] hath wrote to thee. Our meetings here are very full and quiet, and increase daily; and there is great service. I showed J. Nayler thy letter, wherein thou mentions a former letter concerning his going to Bishoprick; but he received none before: he doth remember his dear love to thee, and doth desire to hear from thee by the next post, whether any thing of that be upon thee concerning him. But at present here is a great service for him, and several great ones have a desire to hear him at Woodcock's; he hath been there some first-days, and it is upon him to be there yet more. We have drawn some from that meeting, because it was so full, and many that are great in the outward resort thither. There is a meeting at Elizabeth Trott's at Pall Mall, where many come in; where M. F. hath been two first-days.

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE.

*From the Original.*

It appears from George Fox's *Journal*, that Margaret Fell, about this time, went to London, to intercede with the King on behalf of George Fox, who had been taken prisoner at

\* See a full account of this affair in *Sewel's History* under this date.

\* See the Letter, dated the 7th and 8th of this month in W. Caton's *Life*, for a further description of the state of things in London at this time.



her house, and forcibly carried away to Lancaster Castle. He was, not long afterwards, released by order of the King, having been permitted on his word only, to travel up to London, to appear before the judges. (See G. F.'s *Journal*, 1660.)

Margaret Fell also delivered a letter to the King, with her own hands, in the fifth month of this year, after he had issued a proclamation to bring to trial those who were instrumental in taking away his father's life. In this letter she reminds him, how the Lord had brought him again into this nation, without shedding of blood or revengings; she, therefore, wished him to consider this, and not to look to those that would incense him to revenge, which is not according to the will of God, nor good for the King; whose best way was, to show mercy and forgiveness, and to commit his cause to God; "and to be clear of all men's blood, and to let every one enjoy the liberty of their consciences, to that worship they dare trust their souls under," &c. She also addressed other letters to him about this period.—*Margaret Fell's Works*.

"One Elizabeth Trott, having received the Truth gave up her house, which was towards the end of Pall Mall, near James's house, for a meeting."—*Life of Gilbert Latcy*.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

London, 31st of Fifth month [seventh mo.]

DEAR BROTHER,—My dear love is to thee. As for that book thou mentions, which is against us, which was in the news-book, it is answered, and the answer printed twelve days since; some of them are given abroad in Whitehall, and others of them are sold in divers shops, and some of the women cry them about the streets: so that the Truth is over it, though it is one of the baddest books that have yet been written against the Truth.\* There is a paper of queries come to us from the Papists, who are now creeping up,—which is answered.

All things here are pretty well, and our meetings are daily increased in largeness, and all quiet.

Thou writes, that one seventh-day thou didst not receive any letters; but at that time there were several letters sent to thee, both from M. F. and me; and also the last week we wrote to thee, and have not missed any week, but have written to thee.—E. B. [Edward Burroughs,] is at Bristol; to some he writes of his going to Ireland shortly;—he hath sent two letters to the King privately, but we have not seen them.

R. HUBBERTHORNE.

\* This book is probably that dedicated to the King by one Blome, entitled *The Fanatick History*. [See *Sewel's Index*.] R. Hubberthorne and J. Nayler wrote 'A Short Answer' to it. (See *Whiting's Catalogue*.)

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

London, 7th of Sixth month [eighth mo.] 1660.

DEAR BROTHER,—I received thy letters last week, and shall get thy letter to the King and Parliament copied shortly; and afterwards it may be printed. All things here concerning the Truth are well, and our meetings are very large in every place here, and quiet.—Geo. Whitehead is here, and doth remember his dear love to thee.

*R. Hubberthorne*

[This Friend died in Newgate about two years after the date of this letter: the following is a copy of the entry respecting him in the *London Register of the burials of Friends*:—"Richard Hubberthorne laid down the body in the time of his imprisonment in Newgate, being the 17th day of sixth month, 1662, and by the coroner's inquest was found to die naturally, and was interred in the burial ground aforesaid," [Bunhill Fields.]

In a register book of Yealand meeting in Lancashire, was found a short account respecting Richard Hubberthorne, who was a native of that village; he is there described to be one of the first messengers that declared the Truth in that part. After stating that he was imprisoned some months in Chester gaol, the account proceeds to say, that he was sent away from that city by the mayor and justices under warrant, "to be had from constable to constable till he came to Yealand, the place of his nativity. The first constable was Richard Sale of Oule, who by him was convinced: [he] burned the warrant, and set him at liberty."\* R. Hubberthorne was afterwards imprisoned at Congleton; also at Cambridge and at Norwich, and there remained several months. Coming thence to London he "had much exercise with many great ones, and with the King, &c. So after much labour and travail in England and Wales for nine years, he was imprisoned by Richard Brown, a great persecutor—mayor of the city of London,—in Newgate prison; where he was thronged in the heat of summer. Here he finished his testimony, sealing it with his blood, being a martyr for Jesus, the 17th day of the sixth month, 1662."]

\* Richard Sale was the Friend who died in consequence of his torturing confinement in Chester gaol, in a cell called Little-ease. (See *Sewel's History*. Index Sale.)

No. XXXV.

ELLIS HOOKES TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 11th of Sixth month, [eighth mo.] 1660.

DEAR G. F.—As concerning the sufferings, they have been all sent up—except Scotland—long since; about eighteen counties have sent up copies, which are done, some in books and some in papers, in good order: most that are come, are [from] Western counties. Now the chief cause of my writing is, to know whether they should be printed, or whether thou wouldst have them wrote in a great book for to be kept? Now I am not so much employed, but that I may settle to write them, if thou thinkest fit, which I am free to do: or [whether] thou thinkest Thomas Forster may do them, who I believe would do them better? yet I am very free, and may take as much care as I can, to do them well: and for the placing of the counties, which shall be put first, it may be as thee orders. There is only Lincolnshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire, sent up as yet of the Northern counties; so, if thou thinkest necessary, they may be sent to, to send them up. My dear love is unto thee. ELLIS HOOKES.

*From the Original.*

‘For G. F. in Lancaster.’

[Ellis Hookes was employed in London as a recording clerk to the Society: the Editor regrets he has not met with more of his letters, which were, doubtless, very numerous to Margaret Fell, George Fox, &c., and chiefly upon affairs of interest and importance to the Society, as they transpired in London.

These accounts of sufferings were written into large folio volumes, which are still preserved among the Society’s records in London, and are continued down to the present day in forty volumes. They were begun by Ellis Hookes, whose clear and excellent handwriting extends over a large portion of the first of these bulky folios. To the narratives of sufferings and persecutions, were added accounts of what were regarded as judgments upon persecutors; which were doubtless in that day ordered to be recorded, under a sense of the fear of God, and in testimony unto His over-ruling power.]

No. XXXVI.

MARGARET FELL TO HER CHILDREN.\*

London, 25th of Eighth month, [tenth mo.] 1660.

My dearly beloved lambs and babes,—my love is to you all; [and] my prayer to the Lord

\* She was then a widow, and had one son, also seven daughters; whose names were Margaret, (who married

is for you all, that in his arm and power you may be kept in the bosom of his love, there to be nursed and cherished up to eternal life.

G. F. is now freed, blessed be the Lord God,—whose arm and power alone has done it,—after he had appeared before the judge who sent for him up; then he appeared before the Lord Chief Justice of England in his chamber; and the next day he appeared before them all in open court, in the King’s Bench; and all this after the King had granted out an order to set him free: but they would not set him free, till he had appeared in all these places, to see if any thing would come against him. It was of great service for the Truth.

I cannot write at present punctually the time of my return, for I do feel that I am not [yet clear, (*torn*)] of this place; but still do wait for the Lord’s [will and (*torn*)] pleasure and his time to be manifested to me: and [may (*torn*)] you rest satisfied in that; for *there* is everlasting [peace], and *there* you will enjoy me. I do not know how suddenly the Lord may give me my freedom to come home; but when it is, I shall embrace it lovingly. Let me hear of the little ones, how it is with them all, (you mention little of them when you write;) and my desire is to hear of you all, and of your well-being in the Lord. It may be you have heard ere this, that J. N. hath finished his natural life, and hath laid down his body of earth about three-score miles off London.\*

So no more, but my love in the Lord Jesus is with you; and as soon as the Lord gives me leave, I shall return. The eternal arm of the Almighty be with you. M. F.

*From the Original.*

The judge’s warrant for George Fox’s discharge, is dated on the day of the date of this letter, and it is addressed to the marshal of the King’s Bench: he was thus set at liberty, after having been a prisoner more than twenty weeks in Lancaster Castle. He states in his *Journal*, that terror took hold of the justice of Lancashire (Porter), by whom he had been committed, though innocent of any just charge: “he was afraid I would take the advantage of the law against him for my wrong imprisonment:—and indeed I was pressed by some in authority to make him and the rest examples; but I said I should leave them to the Lord; if the Lord forgave them, I should not trouble myself with them.”—*Journal*, 1660.

John Rouse,) Bridget (married to John Draper,) Isabel, Sarah (who married William Meade,) Mary (married to Thomas Lower,) Susanna (by marriage afterwards Ingram,) and Rachel (who married Daniel Abraham.)

\* James Nayler died in Huntingdonshire; the following is a copy of the burial register of Friends in Huntingdonshire: “James Nayler, buried 21st of eighth month, 1660, at Ripton Regis, in Huntingdonshire.”



## No. XXXVII.

[TOWARDS the latter part of this year, (1660,) Friends in London were very assiduous in interceding with the King on behalf of their suffering brethren, so many of whom were enduring grievous confinement in the prisons of the country. George Whitehead informs us;—“Their innocence was pleaded before him, [the King,] as being a peaceable people, and not having forfeited their interest in his promise of liberty to tender consciences in matters of religion: some of our Friends at London reminded him thereof; and by solicitations and frequent complaints of our persecutions and hardships, he [the King] was induced to issue his proclamation of grace, for our releasement out of the prisons. Howbeit, the [said proclamation] also contained a menace or threat in it, that impunity was not intended us, if we continued to practice as we had done, *i. e.* upon the score of religion. — *Christian Progress*, p. 260.]

The following is a copy of the minute of the Council Board respecting Friends' complaints:

“Friday, Nov. 23rd (1660)—[corresponds with ninth mo.]

## “WHITEHALL, COUNCIL BOARD.

“It is this day ordered, [the king] being present, that the Lord Steward, [with six other members of the Board] or any three of them, be a committee to consider of the papers and addresses of the Quakers; and to prepare such a proclamation or declaration thereupon, as they shall think fit to be offered to [the king] concerning them; as also to examine, where any of the said persons are imprisoned, for what causes they were committed, what times they have been under restraint, and what will be fit to be done for their enlargement; and hereof to make report to the Board.” The business being followed up, a Royal Proclamation was prepared and issued; from which the following is an extract:

“*January 25th, 1661.* [eleventh mo. 1660.] Whereas very many persons, commonly known by the name and appellation of Quakers, have been lately taken and imprisoned, as persons opposite to [the king's] government; [the king] was graciously pleased to order in Council, that the Lord Mayor of the City of London should release all, or so many of them, now prisoners within his liberties, *as are not ringleaders or preachers amongst them, or have not any particular charge against them*; they, the said Quakers engaging themselves henceforward to live obediently according to law.” — *Kenet's Chronicle*, p. 318 and 364.

It should be stated, that about this period endeavours appear to have been used to reconcile ecclesiastical differences in the State generally; for a Royal declaration was issued from the Council, dated 25th of October, 1660, [eighth month,] “concerning ecclesiastical affairs,” in which the King expresses his desire to compose those differences, and to remove abuses. In this document, he again renews what he formerly proclaimed in his “Declaration from Breda” for the liberty of tender consciences,—“that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom.” — *Royal Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, &c.*—*Lord Somers' Tracts*, vol. xi. p. 16.

So far did matters *appear* about this time to turn in favour of general liberty of conscience, that the above Royal declaration was even embodied into a Bill, which was brought into the House of Commons the 28th of November, [ninth mo.] of this year 1660; but it was negatived on the second reading, being opposed by *one of the King's Secretaries of State*; such was the uncertainty or vacillation—if no worse—displayed in this important object. But plots arose soon after, and most especially that of the Fifth Monarchy men, which put an end to all further proceedings or professions for general liberty of conscience; and most probably those plots were made the pretext for the adoption, in the course of the next year, of the severe measures against non-conformists, and chiefly against Friends.

In *Sewel's History* will be found some interesting particulars of what passed during an interview, which Richard Hubberthorne had with the King about this time. G. Fox also mentions in his Journal, that Thomas Moore and Margaret Fell were often engaged to intercede with the King on the same account.

Among the Swarthmore Collection of MSS. has been found the following narrative of an interview had by Thomas Moore with the King, which it is believed has not been before printed: it is endorsed by G. Fox, “What the King said to Thomas Moore. 1660, 14th of tenth month.”

Respecting Thomas Moore, G. Fox, in his Journal writes; “At Reigate, Friends told me of one Thomas Moore, a justice of peace, that lived not far from Reigate, and was a friendly moderate man: whereupon I went to visit him at his house, and he came to be a serviceable man in the Truth.” [1655.]

*‘Something that passed betwixt the king and me,  
Thomas Moore of Hartswood, in the county of  
Surrey.’*

14th of Tenth month [twelfth mo.] 1660.

AFTER that I, with other Friends, had presented our sufferings to the king and several particular members of his council, and after several days waiting upon them for answer, the king was pleased, with a great part of his council, to grant us an order; and chose a committee to examine our papers and sufferings. After some weeks that we had waited and solicited those members who were chosen to hear our business, we had many promises from them that we should be heard, and likewise have relief. So upon the aforesaid day of the tenth month, we being, as our manner was, waiting in the lobby at the council chamber door, the king and his whole council being there sat, (as we have heard since, by some of them that were of the council;) there was a debate amongst them whether I should be called in with my hat on, for they said I would not take it off myself; others said it might be taken off gently by the doorkeeper, or the clerk: but the king said, by no means, it should not be taken off, except I took it off myself; none other should take it off. Whereupon after some time I was called in; and when I was within the room a pretty way, and saw the king at the head of the table with the rest of the council, I made a stop, not knowing but that I might give offence: when one of the council spoke to me and said, “you may go up; it is the king’s pleasure that you may come to him with your hat on.” So I went up near to the king, and said, “Is this the king?” And they said, “Yes.” I looked upon him, and he upon me; and I spoke the word of the Lord to him as it rose in me,—concerning the goodness and the mercy of the Lord to him,—for the space of a quarter of an hour, and was not interrupted; but they were all silent, till I was clear.

When I had done speaking, the king asked me what I would have of him. I said, “O king, our meetings, which are kept in God’s fear, are by the will of evil rulers and rude people, many times broken up,—we are hailed, beaten, bruised, and trod upon by the said people; who are countenanced by such magistrates, who in their wills cause us many times to be haled out, sent to prison, and kept there contrary to law and thy Declaration sent from Breda, and since revived; in which thou didst promise we should not be disturbed, nor called in question, for things pertaining to our consciences.” Then the king answered me; “God forbid, you, living in God’s fear, should be wronged, and that your meetings should be dis-

turbed; for it is my mind that you should enjoy your meetings peaceably, and be protected, living peaceably and quietly in the kingdom.” Then I said, “Some of us are indicted for not coming to the steeple house.” The king answered, “You shall not be indicted for not coming to the church.” Then I said, “What thou speakest here within these walls, may not relieve us; for the magistrates in the kingdom may not take notice what thy mind is here, and so possibly we may not enjoy what is in thy heart towards us, except thy pleasure be signified to the kingdom by proclamation, or declaration.” To which the king answered, “You shall enjoy your meetings without disturbance, you shall see it, so long as you live peaceably; leave it to me.”

By what the king said there, we do expect that something may be done for us; for he bade us stay awhile, and we should see.

THOMAS MOORE.

[George Fox, in his Journal under date about this period, says, “There seemed at [this] time an inclination and intention in the government to grant Friends liberty; because they were sensible that we had suffered, as well as they, under the former powers. But still, when anything was going forward in order thereto, some dirty spirit or other, that would seem to be for us, threw something in the way to stop it. It was said, there was an instrument drawn up for confirming our liberty, and that it only wanted signing; when on a sudden, that wicked attempt of the Fifth Monarchy people broke out, and put the city and nation in an uproar.”—After this event, George Fox and his Friends drew up “A Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters and fighters in the world,” &c., which was presented to the king on the 21st of the eleventh month, 1660 (called January 1661.)—His Journal may be consulted further for this eventful period.]

#### No. XXXVIII.

ON THE PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT RESPECTING THE BILL AGAINST FRIENDS IN 1661.

[NOTWITHSTANDING the earnest solicitations of Friends with the king, in the early part of this year (soon after the Fifth Monarchy plot) a Royal proclamation was issued forth against “all unlawful meetings under pretence of religious worship;” in which “Quakers” were expressly named; setting forth that “they do meet in great numbers, at unusual times, &c., by reason whereof they begin to boast of their multitudes, and to increase in their confidences,”



&c.—all such persons are to be bound over or imprisoned, and the oath of allegiance tendered to them.—*Kennet*, p. 357.

On the 11th of the month, called May, of this year, on the occasion of the king's coronation, another royal proclamation was however issued, to discharge such Friends who had been imprisoned under an Act of James 1st, as well as for refusing the oath, or for meeting contrary to the late proclamation, without the payment of fees. But in five days only from the date of this proclamation, (proving that there existed a strong party in the State in favour of persecution) a committee was appointed in the House of Commons "to prepare and bring in a Bill to prevent the ill consequences to the government, by Quakers and others refusing to take oaths, and numerous and unlawfully convening together; with such penalties as may be suitable to the nature of those offences, and may be profitable to *work upon the humours of such phanaticks*."—*Kennet*, p. 448, quoting from the *Commons' Journals*.

George Whitehead writes as follows on the subject of this cruel Bill, which may be said to be the first attempt to crush the Society by all the force of legislative enactment:—"It was but a short time after we were set at liberty, that we could enjoy our religious meetings quietly; the irreligious persecuting spirit was at work in the nation among priests and magistrates, who would have all compelled to go to church and conform, (as the pretence was,) for all to be of one religion; when there was but little of the life, substance, or purity of religion designed in the case.—So hasty and precipitant was the persecuting spirit, and eager to be at work, and that too under some colour or pretence of law, that in the first Parliament chosen after the king's restoration, they soon contrived a Bill for suppressing our meetings; and divers of the persons chosen to be members of that Parliament, being known to be persecutors, that party swayed and carried it by vote; in so much that the Bill was committed, and at last passed into an Act, which is entitled: "An Act for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawful oaths."

After setting forth that certain persons named Quakers, and others, "have taken up and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets; and, among others, that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, although before a lawful magistrate, is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God," &c. the act proceeds to state further, that "the said persons, under a pretence of religious worship, do often assemble themselves *in great numbers* in several parts of this realm, to the great endangering of the public peace and safety, and to the terror

of the people, by maintaining a secret and strict correspondence among themselves, and in the meantime separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his Majesty's good and lawful subjects, and from the public congregations and usual places of divine worship;"—it then enacts, that if five or more Quakers, above sixteen years of age, assemble under pretence of joining in religious worship not authorized by law, "the party convicted shall forfeit, for the first offence, not exceeding £5, for the second £10, and in default of payment or distraint, for the first offence to be imprisoned three months, for the second six months, and for the third, transportation to any of the king's plantations."

George Whitehead then proceeds to give an account of the exertions of himself, Edward Burrough, and Richard Hubberthorne, before the committee of Parliament, in pleading against the Bill: the particulars of what passed on the occasion, as given by George Whitehead (in his *Christian Progress*, p. 262, &c.) are well worthy of perusal, but the whole account is too long to be introduced here. He adds, "Having not a particular or full account in writing, what my friends Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorne declared to the committee, I cannot insert the same with mine; but I remember, the last time we were before the committee, Edward Burrough told them to this purport: 'that if they made a law against our religious meetings, he should esteem it his duty to exhort our Friends to keep their meetings diligently.'"

From a private collection of manuscripts, containing many original letters of Edward Burrough, also ancient copies of his papers, &c., the editor is able to supply Edward Burrough's narrative of their proceedings upon this memorable occasion: the account is somewhat more circumstantial than that of George Whitehead, and has not, it is believed, been before published. The torrent of persecution which burst forth against our Friends through the land, after the passing of this Bill against them, and the noble stand they were enabled to make against it, form a very remarkable portion of the history of our Society, and render these detailed accounts particularly interesting.

[The narrative in manuscript is entitled,]

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT CONCERNING THE PEOPLE OF GOD CALLED QUAKERS.

ACCORDING to the policy of the men of this world which worketh in this generation against the righteous seed of God, to subdue it, as ever it did in ages past against the same seed;—thus

it came to pass. The 26th day of the third month last, called May,—which was not many days after the Parliament came together—it was moved by a certain member of the House of Commons,—whose name I shall not now mention,—that whereas the Quakers, as he called them, were a numerous people, and growing more numerous daily,—and upon the king's indulgence and fair promises towards them, especially that proclamation for their release out of all prisons,—which was about three days before that time come forth and published,—were very high and confident; and they met together in great numbers, and were of dangerous consequence, and prevailed much to the seducing of the king's subjects, &c., or to this effect: that therefore that House would be pleased to take into consideration, by what way and means to proceed for to check and restrain such their confidence; and to enact somewhat concerning their refusing to take oaths, and their great meetings; or to this effect. Whereupon it was put to the question in the House, and resolved upon the same, that it should be referred to such persons—whom I shall not now nominate—as a committee, to prepare and bring in a Bill to prevent the ill consequence in government, by the Quakers, Anabaptists and other schismatics, refusing to take oaths, and numerous and unlawfully convening together,—with such penalties as may be suitable to the nature of those offences, and profitable to work upon the humours of such fanatics. These be the very words of the order.

Accordingly in about six weeks, a Bill was prepared and brought into the House, and read the first and second time; and—as the manner of the House is, in such cases of finishing Bills—was committed to a certain number of persons—whose names may not now be nominated,—as a committee to correct and finish the said Bill, and to report concerning the same to the House, in order to its passing into an Act. And accordingly the said committee met together about the 20th day of the fifth month—if I mistake not,—to read and debate the said Bill, &c. And we being not clear in our hearts towards God and to his people, to suffer this wickedness to be carried on without giving our testimony against it, as it passed;—that we might be clear from such their proceedings against the innocent, and that they might be better informed concerning us, and also re-proved in their works: therefore we were moved in our hearts, in the wisdom of God to endeavour [to gain] admittance to come before them; showing the equity of it unto them, that we might better inform them, and show them our reasons against the said Bill. And having made some provisions thereunto, by reasoning

beforehand with many of the members,—according to our desire, three of us were permitted to come in, and were conducted by one of the members of the said committee, and before them we appeared in the name and authority of the Lord God:—and after some obstructions as about our hats, which at last were taken off by one of them, some interrogations were made by them, as what we were, and where we lived, and why, and on what accounts we there appeared, &c., which we gave answers unto. We then had liberty from them to present a manuscript to them, which was received and read; and also we had the liberty to speak something concerning the said Bill, and of the unreasonableness of it, and of the woeful consequences which would follow, if it passed; in brief, we gave our testimony by the Spirit of the Lord against their proceedings, and so we were dismissed their presence, and withdrew; and they proceeded in the business, an exact account of which cannot yet be given.

The next day—as I take it,—the report by the chairman of the said committee was made to the House; thereupon it was thought fit by them that the said Bill should be recommitted for some amendments, &c.; and accordingly the committee met again about the 13th of the month aforesaid,—as I remember; before whom we again obtained the opportunity to appear by some kindness of some of the members of the committee; and that day we gave full testimony against the said Bill,—that it was unrighteous and unreasonable, &c.—showing our reasons for the same. And we had much reasoning with them, yet not by way of any capitulation, but by full denial of the whole matter in that case: they were more moderate towards us than the first time of their sitting; and the presence of the Lord was much with us, and some spirits were subjected under the power of the Truth, which at that time was declared in much authority and wisdom, though some of them had much ado to bear what was then said. The last thing that was said by one of us was,\* that if ever this Bill now under debate was finished into an Act to be executed, he was so far from yielding conformity thereunto, that he should—through the strength of Christ—meet among the people of God to worship Him; and not only so, but should make it his business to exhort all God's people everywhere, to meet together for the worship of God, notwithstanding that law and all its penalties, &c.; and he desired this saying might be reported to the House.

So we, having cleared our consciences to them, and left a good witness for Truth upon their spirits, left them and withdrew; and they

\* It seems this was E. B. himself, by G. W.'s account.



proceeded in their work that day, and amended the Bill, or rather made it far worse, and more unreasonable than ever, and that against some of their own consciences and reasonable conviction,—as I do believe; for they formed it that day into this mode, to wit—“That for the third offence of refusing to take oaths being lawfully tendered, and meeting together upon pretence of religion, above the number of five persons out of our own habitations, we were referred to be proceeded against by the statute of 35 Eliz., which is, to abjure the realm, or in case of denial to be proceeded against as felons, without benefit of clergy, &c.” About two days after, the Bill with its said new amendments was presented to the House again; upon which a very great debate arose among them, so that the Bill was altered again into a new and more moderate temper, being concluded by many of them to be too severe against us as it was brought in. So the matter was sorely debated in the House, and the Bill was framed and passed as follows, viz: “for the first offence of refusing to take an oath lawfully tendered, and for meeting together as aforesaid, being legally convicted by twelve men, or the confession of the party, &c., a certain sum should be imposed on us, by them before whom such conviction was made, not exceeding five pounds; and this to be taken by distress, or the person to be committed to the House of Correction or common jail for three months; for the second offence being convicted as aforesaid, the sum imposed should not exceed ten pounds, to be taken in like manner by distress, or the person imprisoned for six months; and for the third offence being convicted as aforesaid, it should be lawful for the king to transplant any such person or persons to any of his plantations beyond the seas: and this [Act] to be commenced from the first of the seventh month next: this was the form of the Bill as it last passed in the House, being altered three or four times before. So it was ordered to be engrossed, and to be brought into the House by such a time for final determination, and to be sent to the upper House.

But it came into our hearts with much zeal for God and his truth, and against this unrighteous thing, and the Lord stirred up the hearts of some of us by his eternal power, [again] to give our witness against it, that we might be clear in our consciences concerning this matter. So for the very cause of God and his truth, we were given up to do and suffer all things; and we did boldly attempt to appear at the bar of their House, that we might give our reasons and clear our hearts against the said Bill, and why it ought not to pass into an Act. To obtain this our appearance before them, we used divers arguments to many of the members

of the House, to procure our admittance; and according to our desire, through the very providence and wisdom of God, when the Bill was read in the House the last time to be finished, we had admittance, by the vote of the House: and after some little debate at the door by some of the members about our hats, the sergeant came and told us, we might come in with our hats on or off, which we would; so into the House we were conducted by him with our hats on, and within the House near the bar he took them off. Thus at the bar we appeared, in God’s fear and authority; and after some queries put to us by the Speaker, to which we answered, and confessed to that favour of admittance to that place, &c., we presented a manuscript to them, which we desired might be received and read by them; and they did receive it by the hands of their sergeant; and also liberty was given us by the Speaker to say what we had upon us. Accordingly the Lord opened our mouths, and we showed divers sound reasons unto the House against the aforesaid Bill, and why it ought not to pass into an Act; 1st, because of the falsity and unsoundness of it in its ground; 2ndly, because of the unreasonableness and unjustness of it in itself; and 3rdly, because of the evil effects of it, which must needs follow if it passed. And divers other things were spoken in the name and authority of the God of heaven, as concerning our peaceableness, &c. and of the absolute proper right that belong to us, both from God and men, to enjoy the liberty of our consciences in the exercise of our religion, &c. And we had a good time to clear our consciences to them as about that Bill, showing how it was contrary to the law of Christ, and to the King’s promises, and destructive to many thousand good people, &c. They were in much moderation and patience to hear us; and the word of the Lord through us had an effect upon many, to qualify their spirits into sobriety through good information. So having cleared ourselves and left it upon them, we were ordered by the House to withdraw, which we did: and they fell into a very great debate upon the matter; some spake for us, and many against us, and some were neuters; and the debate continued about an hour, before the vote of the House determined the thing. But at last through difficulty among themselves it was finished, and the Bill sent to the upper House there to be read, and passed fit for the King to sign.

[Extract from Journals of the House of Commons, under date of 19th of sixth month, 1661:—“A Bill for preventing the mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawful oaths, being engrossed, was this day read a

third time. A Petition being tendered on the behalf of certain persons called Quakers by some at the door who go under that notion, who desired to be heard before the said Bill do pass—*Resolved*, That the persons at the door be called in. And the said four persons, namely, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorne, George Whitehead, and Edward Pyot, being thereupon permitted to come to the bar of this House, did severally offer what they had to say against the passing of the said Bill; and tendered a printed paper which they desired might be read. After which, they being caused to withdraw, and the House resuming the debate of the said Bill; *Resolved*, That the said Bill do pass: and that the title of the said Bill be, “An Act for preventing the mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawful oaths.”]

Well, but still the Spirit of the Lord, and a zeal for his truth was upon us, to pursue it with faithful evidence against it, wherever it came; and we gave in some manuscripts amongst the members of the upper House, and divers reasons in writing, &c. and we had hopes to have been heard by them, if they had proceeded. And the Lord made our endeavours effectual in clearing of our consciences, and informing them concerning the innocency of our cause, and the unjust destructiveness of the said Bill. But the God of our peace and happiness by his power put a stop to it in that House, so that the Lords—so called—only read it once in their House, and so laid it by, and proceeded not any further in it then; this was through the goodness of the Lord, to cross and stop the will of many of our adversaries, that seek our destruction: the glory of this present deliverance belongs to the God of heaven, and to him it is given. The Parliament is now adjourned till the 20th of the ninth month, and nothing effected by them against us, though the aforesaid Bill is still in being against us: and whether they may have power to bring it forth at their next Sessions, I leave that to the Lord; who doeth and suffers to be done whatsoever he will. Let us therefore [have] respect [to] him only, and walk humbly before him; and be in perfect patience to do or suffer any thing for his name sake, and the blessed Truth which he hath given us to profess and practice.

Thus I have in brief given the substance of a relation as to the manner—though not fully as to the matter—of proceedings in the case aforesaid, a particular account as of the divers manuscripts given to them, and verbal speeches and discourses with them, and of the orders of the House, and other things relating to this business.

Let all Friends walk in meekness and hu-

mility, and in faithfulness towards God, and in wisdom and patience and good will towards all men; that so you may all be preserved in a clear conscience, and may deserve a repute for inoffensiveness in all matters among your neighbours: that so no just occasion may be taken against us by our adversaries: but that in their consciences they may be forced to confess to our harmless conversations. And if at any time they will act against us, and cause us to suffer, it may be on their part against knowledge, and on our part for the cause of God only, and for his Truth's sake, and not for evil doing. Keep your meetings in all wisdom and in the fear of the Lord, to the edifying of your souls. And God Almighty preserve you all.

Your friend known to you in the invisible life of righteousness.

E. B.

7th mo. 1661.

[Along with the foregoing “Brief account,” was found—in the same handwriting—a copy of Edward Burrough's “Reasons and considerations against the said Bill, presented to the Lords assembled in Parliament:”—the reasons are drawn up in very forcible language, and are somewhat similar to those presented to the House of Commons; they conclude with the following noble and memorable declaration.]

“This is the perfect state of our case, and an absolute extremity is put upon us, either to disobey the law of God and to deny Christ before men, and so to destroy our souls, and be ourselves under the wrath of God, or to disobey your intended law, and so to expose our persons, estates, lives, and families to utter destruction in this world. For the law of God and this law, in the cases mentioned, are plainly opposite one to another; for Christ saith, “Swear not at all,” Matt. v.; and the Apostle James saith, “Above all things, my brethren, swear not; neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, lest ye fall into condemnation.” But this law enjoineth to swear; and every one that refuseth to swear, shall undergo such forfeitures, penalties, and banishments. Whether it is better to obey God's law or this, and to undergo God's displeasure or yours for disobedience, judge ye. Also, God hath commanded us to meet together to worship him in spirit and in truth; and the apostle hath exhorted, (Heb. x.) not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together, but to exhort one another; and not to sin in neglect of our duty, upon the penalty of a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation from God; and it was the practice of the primitive Christians to meet together, and sit sometime in private houses: but this law prohibits our meeting to-



gether, upon such forfeitures and penalties, even unto banishment. Whether of these two laws are the more just and to be obeyed, let the God of heaven and your own consciences bear witness: if we disobey the one, we gain the wrath of God to the destruction of our souls; and if we disobey the other, we gain the wrath of men to the utter destruction of our families, estates, and lives in this world. This is our present case, and our sad extremity! But we are resolved in the name of the Lord to obey God and his righteous laws and commands, though we suffer absolute destruction in this world; and we will trust the God of heaven with our cause, which is the cause of a good conscience, which is the Lord's and not our own, of Him and not of ourselves; and we will walk in the ways of His Truth and commandments, and will meet together to worship the Father in spirit and in truth, and exhort one another thereunto for our comfort and edification in the Holy Spirit, notwithstanding any law of man to the contrary: and if, for so doing, we perish,—we perish! and our blood will be upon our persecutors; and the reward of our destruction will come upon you, if ye go on passing laws against the law of God, for the persecution and ruin of us his people. We heartily desire you to take this into your consideration, and that the fear and wisdom of God may be amongst you.

EDWARD BURROUGH.

In the Journals of the House of Lords occurs the following entries relative to this Bill:—

“1661, May 28th. A petition was presented to this House by some Quakers, which was commanded to be read, and after a long debate it is ordered, that this petition be committed to these Lords following, to consider of a proper remedy to *cure the distemper of these people*, [!] and to report the same to this House: the Lord Privy Seal, [and many others, in all thirty-seven peers, amongst them were the Earls of Pembroke and Anglesey (names mentioned in these letters;) also the Earl of Bridgewater, a noted persecutor named in Isaac Pennington's writings.]

“May 31st. The Earl of Pembroke reported from the committee that were appointed to consider of the Quakers' petition, That the committee after long debate, were of opinion, that the second proposition in the paper put in by the Quakers concerning ‘yea’ and ‘nay,’ to be taken in lieu of oaths, should be rejected: That the committee having rejected it, thought fit to offer it is as their opinion, that a promissory oath should be tendered to the Quakers, such a one as no good subject can or ought to refuse: That the third proposition concerning respects and putting off of hats, &c., be rejected: That the fourth clause, concerning

their not coming to the public worship, and the first being dependent upon it—as to their private meetings,—being too weighty for the determination of the committee, they thought fit to be reported to this House, to be debated by the House. The committee also is of opinion, that the fifth clause concerning not paying of tithes, &c., be rejected: That the sixth clause concerning their not observing days, meats, &c., having dependence on the fourth concerning public worship, is fit also to be debated by the whole House. That the committee will consider of the second part of the order [of the House] for a remedy of the distempers of these people, when they have received the resolution of the House concerning the third clause offered to their resolution by the committee.”

“July 23rd.” The Bill is read a first time; but an adjournment of the House takes place. “Nov. 26th,” it is read a second time, and is committed; on the committee, are six bishops—York, London, &c.—The Bill is reported under date of “Nov. 29th,” with alterations; is again committed; is reported once more with amendments “Dec. 17th,” and again re-committed. —“1662, Jan. 16th,” the Earl of Bridgewater reports upon the Bill; it is again re-committed and ordered to be made to extend to Quakers only; “the committee are to meet to-morrow morning at eight of the clock.”—“Jan. 28th,” the Bill is again reported, and alterations agreed to; is read a third time and passed; and is sent down to the Commons to desire their concurrence in the alterations.—“Feb. 18th, a message from the Commons was brought up to desire a conference upon the Bill touching the Quakers next morning—at eleven of the clock,—in the Painted chamber.” The Lord Chancellor reports the result, that the Commons disagree in some points, viz: “they adhere to the word ‘others’ in the title of the Bill, to meet with all others who refuse oaths besides Quakers; such are some Anabaptists: to leave out the word ‘others,’ would frustrate the end of the Bill: and besides it is not easy to define what a Quaker is, if so restrained; and it is not possible to enumerate all the names by which several sects would call themselves to evade this Bill; and it were great partiality to single out the Quakers, and pretermitt others as dangerous, if not more.”—“They likewise disagree with the amendment ‘any ten or more persons:’ because the mischief may be great when five meet, but the remedy is not so easy when ten meet,” &c.—The House of Lords again refers the whole matter to the same committee before appointed; they order the word ‘others’ to be added in; also to extend the Bill to all others who maintain that all oaths are unlawful. Further alterations are brought forward, and another conference be-

tween the two Houses takes place on "March 1st, 1662."—On "May 2nd, 1662." the Royal assent to the Bill is reported.

[The following letter refers to the progress of this said Bill.]

EDWARD BURROUGH AND E. H. [PROBABLY ELLIS HOOKES] TO FRIENDS.

London, 24th of Tenth month [twelfth mo.] 1661.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS,—In the life and power and spirit of our heavenly Father, do our souls salute you all; heartily praying for you, that peace and blessings and assurance for ever may be continued and increased to you. Dwell and walk in the grace of God, which will keep you pure and perfect: and keep your meetings in the name and spirit of Christ, and the Lord will be amongst you.

As for things here with us in relation to the Truth, they are very well; and the Truth of God is in esteem amongst the upright and grows daily into dominion over the evil spirits of the world; and Friends are bold and faithful to the Lord, to be, or do, or suffer anything for the name of Christ: and they are, in the Father's will, patiently waiting upon Him to receive more and more of his life and wisdom and fulness.

As for the proceedings in Parliament, it is thus: since their last assembling, they have had us in divers debates among them in both Houses; and it was supposed by many, and desired by all our enemies, that the Bill prepared against us by the Commons, and sent to the upper House at their last sessions—of which you have had a former account—would have been finished against us by the higher House this sitting. It was divers times under consideration, both in the House and by the committee appointed for that end, of which committee were six bishops; and there wanted not zeal in many to effect the carrying of it on and finishing it: but, however, the last third-day of the week, they fell upon it as the last time; and by course of proceeding, it should then have been determined against us, [but] it was carried amongst them in the negative; so it is put off for the present till their next meeting: what will then be done we must leave to the Lord. Last sixth-day, they adjourned till the seventh of next month. This is the sum of the present proceedings in relation to us. There is a certain hand of the Lord in ordering these matters, and yet hath hitherto prevented the purpose of our adversaries, and brought to naught the counsel of such as desired our destruction long ere this day.

But let Friends walk in the fear and in the wisdom and counsel of the Most High; and let

all the world have nothing against you of evil in the things of this world, nor anything, saving the matters of God, and for his worship sake: and if we are persecuted, and suffer as such only, and for this cause, the Lord will be our peace and everlasting reward.

E. BURROUGH,  
E. H.

*From an ancient copy.*

HENRY FELL TO THOMAS SALTHOUSE.

London, 3rd of Twelfth mo. 1661. [second mo.] 1662.

— HERE in London, meetings are very quiet as ever they were, and large; and Friends are well in the general.

We hear the Act against meetings is passed both Houses, but the King hath not yet signed it. There were some of the Lords and the Bishop of Exeter that did speak against it; yet notwithstanding, the Chancellor\* and the greatest part carried it.

There was a Friend told me this day, he had been with Marsh,—one of the bedchamber,†—to deliver to him a paper of Friends' sufferings in the plantations abroad, for him to deliver them to the King; and he told the Friend that he heard the King say, there should be liberty of conscience granted to our Friends in the plantations abroad, and that he intended it: and he did not question but to get an order to that effect.—

I am, thy dear brother, in the labour and travels of the Gospel,  
H. F.

*From the Original.*

No. XXXIX.

[This next letter describes some of the consequences of the cruel Act of Parliament against Friends, which we have just left; but for a detailed account of the continued persecutions and cruelties inflicted upon Friends in consequence of this Act, see the record of them in *Besse's Account of the Sufferings of Friends*, 2 vols. fol.]

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 28th of Eighth month, [tenth mo.] 1662.

DEAR M. F. — The remembrance of thy love is very refreshing to me: and for *passages* here, the news is sad indeed; yet I think to acquaint thee how it is with us. The last first-day, as innocently as ever, Friends kept their usual meetings; and about the tenth hour came the life-guard with their headpieces and breast-pieces, and in Cheapside they remained; and the trained band-men then came to the Bull, [Bull and Mouth meeting-house,] and laid hold

\* Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

† See *George Fox's Journal* or *Sewel's History* for particulars respecting this person, who appears to have kindly interested himself on behalf of George Fox.



of all the Friends they could, which were very many; some were carried on their muskets to prison, and some very much beaten and abused, as bad as formerly;—the same man commanding the soldiers, as did that day the Friend was wounded who died. What passed at other meetings as to the abusing and beating I cannot here relate; but at several meetings that day there were taken and imprisoned about eight score,—ninety-six being put in the common gaol, all men except three women: and that day they took abundance of Baptists; seven score I hear are to be brought from Westminster to Newgate, where they were upon examination. What the reason is of this sudden calamity that is come upon us so undeservedly, I am not certain; but divers reports there are, concerning the cause of their so afflicting us: the main thing that is alledged is, that there was a plot found out; and I hear that the Baptists did meet that morning by the third hour at one of their meeting-places; Major-General Brown\* heard of it, and was at Whitehall by four in the morning; but whether they met to any ill, and to plot or such like, I know not.

—The King and Council would have Friends promise, that they will not take up arms against the King; but other answer we have not yet returned. But thou knowest our principle is to live in peace and quietness, and that is our delight; and that which leads us to suffer, rather than to lose the peace with God in our consciences, doth also lead us to live in peace with all men, seeking their good and eternal happiness.

So with my dear love to all thy children and to all Friends. I remain, thy dear friend.

E. H.

I heard lately from George, he was in Northamptonshire, and was very well. I desire to hear from thee.

Since my writing the above, I have been at Newgate, and they brought in seven score more Baptists and eight Friends to Newgate:—the cry is, that they must all be banished.

*From the Original.*

It is somewhat remarkable, that soon after the passing of the Act against Friends, another Royal Proclamation “of grace” was issued in their favour; it is indeed stated to be put forth on the occasion of the coming into the country of a Queen consort: the following extract from *Kennet’s Chronicle* describes the Proclamation:—

\* Formerly in Cromwell’s army, but afterwards Alderman and Lord Mayor of London.—See *Sewel’s History*, —1662—for an account of his cruelties upon Friends in London.

“August 22nd, 1662. [The King’s] Letter of Grace and Indulgence to the Quakers and other separatists, directed to the Lord Mayor of London, &c. Charles R.—We are informed that there are several persons who go under the name of Quakers and other names of separation, now in the gaols of London and Middlesex, for being at unlawful assemblies; who yet profess all obedience and allegiance unto us. We would be glad that all our subjects could be brought to agree in an uniform worship of God; and we hope that the foresight of the dangers which they run into by a wilful contempt of the laws, and our present indulgence, may prevail with some of these persons, to reduce them to a better conformity. And therefore we do willingly lay hold of this time and occasion of public joy for the first coming in of our dear consort the Queen, to our Royal Palace at Westminster, to declare this our Royal pleasure unto you, that you cause all such of the said persons in our gaols for London and Middlesex, who have not been indicted for refusing the oath of allegiance, nor shall appear to you to have been ringleaders or preachers at their assemblies, to be enlarged. Given at Hampton Court, August 22nd, 1662.”—*Kennet*, p. 746.

#### No. XL.

[In this year 1662, the work of persecution against Friends was carried on with increased earnestness and cruelty, under the Act against their meetings, &c. George Whitehead says, “Our meetings in and about London were broken up by force and violence, by the trained bands and officers, especially on the first-days of the week:—such work they commonly wrought on that day, which they pretend to be their Christian sabbath and the Lord’s day, and to be kept holy,” &c.

It was not long before G. W. himself, with his friends R. Hubberthorne and Edward Burrough, became victims to this severe persecution; being haled out of meeting, and committed to Newgate. In this prison the Friends were so unmercifully thronged together, that a violent fever broke out amongst them, whereof some died. Before the time of their imprisonment was expired, G. W. informs us, his dear brethren and fellow-labourers in the gospel, R. H. and E. B. fell sick, and the Lord was pleased to release them from their sufferings by death.

From the *London Register of Friends’ Burials*.—“Edward Burrough, a prisoner at Newgate for the testimony of Truth departed this life, the 13th of Twelfth month 1662, of a fever, and was interred in the burying ground near Bunhill.”

The Burial record concerning R. Hubbert-horne has already been given.

The following extract from an interesting letter of Edward Burrough, written not long before his decease, is taken from *Besse's Sufferings*, vol. i. p. 390: he died when about twenty-eight years of age, ten of which he had devoted to the work of the ministry.]

#### EDWARD BURROUGH TO FRIENDS.

From Newgate, 1662.

—Friends here are generally well in the inward and outward man; and the presence of the Lord is manifest with us, through great trials and sore afflictions, and grievous persecutions, which we have met with this last half-year. It would be too large to relate, and piercing of your hearts to hear, the violence and cruelty which Friends have suffered in this city in their meetings and in prisons; it hath been my hard lot to bear the persecution inflicted every way; though the Lord hath given strength and boldness, and his power alone hath carried through, else many would have fainted and not been able to stand. Many have given up their lives in faithfulness, in this place; and their faithfulness in keeping meetings, and in patiently enduring many tribulations and cruel exercises, is a crown upon Friends in this city. Here are now near 250 of us prisoners in Newgate, Bridewell, Southwark, and the New Prison. In Newgate, we are extremely thronged, that if the mercy of the Lord had not preserved us, we could not have endured; there is near an hundred in one room on the common side amongst the felons, and their sufferings are great; but the Lord supports. For about six weeks time the meetings were generally quiet in the city; but these last three weeks they were fallen on more violently than ever, and many Friends were imprisoned: but through all this, Truth is of good report, and the nobility of it gains place in many hearts, which are opened in pity and compassion towards the innocent sufferers; and Truth is increased through all trials. Our trust is in the Lord and not in man; and we desire the same spirit may dwell and abide in you also, that ye may be like minded with us, and be all of the mind of Christ; who seeks men's salvation, and not their destruction.

E. BURROUGH.

No. XLI.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 7th of Fifth month, [seventh mo.] 1663.

—DEAR GEORGE, since my coming hither we have had much good service for the Lord; meetings are very large, and of late

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time very peaceable, except that at the Spittle-fields; Friends have been kept forth there, and have met in the streets for three first-days; and the last first-day Jo. Higgins being there and standing up to speak a few words, was taken away by the constables and soldiers, and brought before one of the Aldermen; who after examination, did commit him to the Poultry-Compter, where he yet remains; I was with him to-day; he was in health. I was likewise down at Westminster, but cannot hear that the Bill for Conformity hath passed the higher House as yet.\* Friends have had their meetings *within* the Bull and Mouth for the three last first-days: I was there last first-day, and we had a good, favoured, weighty meeting, and much larger than ever formerly, insomuch that many were constrained to go back because they had not room. Morgan Watkins was at Pell Mell last first-day, very quiet: Josiah Coale at Peele; John Shield at Horshooldown [Horsleydown] W. Brid (?) and Gerard Roberts, at Myle-end; all very peaceable.—

*Alex. Parker*

From the Original.

“When kept out of their meeting-house by the soldiers,” *Sewel* writes, “they used not to go away, but stood before the place, and so their number increased; and then one or other of their ministers generally stepped upon a bench or some high place, and so preached boldly: thus he got sometimes more hearers than otherwise he might have had. When one minister was pulled down, then another stood up and preached; and thus often four or five were taken away one after another, and carried to prison. This keeping of meetings in the street, now became a customary thing.”—Friends “were persuaded that the exercise of their public worship, was a duty no man could discharge them from, and they believed that God required the performing of this service from their hands.—Thus they got abundance of auditors, and amongst these, sometimes eminent men, who passing by in their coaches, made their coachmen stop. At this rate they found there was a great harvest, and thus their church increased under sufferings.”—*Sewel*, vol. ii. pp. 4, 5.

No. XLII.

[Respecting the writer of the following letter, Josiah Coale, our historian *Sewel* has left this testimony:—“It was his life and joy to declare

\* The Bill to prevent and suppress Seditious Conventions.



the gospel, and to proclaim the word of God; for which he had an excellent ability: and when he spoke to the ungodly world, an awful gravity appeared in his countenance, and his words were like a hammer and a sharp sword. But though he was a son of thunder, yet his agreeable speech flowed from his mouth like a pleasant stream, to the consolation and comfort of pious souls. Oh! how pathetically have I heard him pray; when he, as transported and ravished, humbly beseeched God, that it might please him to reach to the hard hearted, to support the godly, and to preserve them stedfast: nay, with what a charming and melodious voice did he sound forth the praises of the most High in his public prayers!—He had travelled much in the West Indies, sustained great hardships, and laboured in the ministry at his own charge, being freely given up to spend his substance in the service of the Lord. Though he went through many persecutions, imprisonments, and other adversities, yet he was not afraid of danger, but was always valiant; and he continued in an unmarried state, that so he might the more freely labour in the heavenly harvest; and many were converted by his ministry.” He died in 1668.—*History of Friends*, vol. ii. under 1668.]

The following is a copy of the record of his decease in the *Register of Deaths in London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting*:

“Josiah Coale, aged about thirty-five years, departed this life the 15th day of the eleventh month, 1668, at Mary Forster’s in John-street, having weakened and worn out his outward man in the work and service of the Lord in the ministry of the everlasting gospel, and was interred in the burying-ground in Checker Alley.”

JOSIAH COALE TO GEORGE FOX.

22nd of Seventh month [ninth mo.] 1663.

DEAR GEORGE,—With fervent, hearty, sincere, and true love, which is of God, and wherewith my heart is at this time filled, do I in the fear of the Lord dearly salute thee, as beloved of my soul; and do give thee to understand, that in uprightness of heart to the Lord, my life is still given up to his service; and his precious presence and almighty power is still continued with me, by which I bless God I am still for his service as ever: and my heart is filled with fervency of zeal for his name and glory, more and more from day to day. The full content and desire of my soul is with me,—he enlargeth my heart by his power; so that indeed nothing is too dear to me to part withal, or to suffer the loss of, for his sake.

Dear George, it is now near six weeks since I left the city of London; and I have been visiting Friends about the country in Surrey,

Oxfordshire, and Bedfordshire; I expect to visit Friends also in Hertfordshire, before I return to the city, for indeed I am not clear of it; but dear A. P. and Morgan Watkins being there, takes it at present off me. I believe thou hast heard of the bustlings and prisonings that have been of late; but last first-day I hear all was quiet and well.

J. Audland and J. Story are about Bristol; Joseph Coale gone westward.

I have little more to signify to thee at present, only having this opportunity, it was in my heart to signify my unfeigned love to thee, which I believe thou well knows; who am thine in the Lord.

*Josiah Coale*

*From the Original.*

No. XLIII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 9th of First month [third mo.] 1664.

DEAR M. F.—My dear and true love is to thee and to G. F.—Hearing of thy imprisonment [in Lancaster Castle] I write to thee, and I would have G. F. see the enclosed. Concerning the sufferings of Friends I have drawn them up in three copies, one for the King, and the other two for the Speakers, and then I intend to print it.—

There were forty Friends taken last first-day at Reading, which will make up about 650 in prison. There were last week three Friends carried out dead together in one day out of Northampton gaol,—John Samm was one of them; Daniel Wills and several others are very sick in the prison, and not likely to live; there being twenty-seven in that gaol.

I have much more that I could write, but at this time have not a convenient opportunity: so with my dear love, I rest thy friend,

E. H.

*From the Original.*

[“John Samm was a faithful minister of the Gospel, an incessant labourer in the work of the ministry, and of an exemplary life and conversation.” A violent fever had broken out in this prison, and “seized first some of the felons; to whom as fellow creatures and fellow prisoners (though in a cause vastly different,) the Friends thought it their duty to be assistant in their extreme weakness, and accordingly did what they could for them; till at length the air being exceedingly corrupted with the breath of the distempered, a kind of contagion spread among the prisoners, and the Friends so generally fell sick, that when called over at the as-

sizes, only four (of twenty-two) were able to appear before the Judge," who, hearing of their condition, gave a private order for them to be let out for air. The next year, 1664, some of them died: "these all finished their course in peace and full assurance of faith; being enabled in the midst of their afflictions to sing praises unto the Lord, and bless his name, to the edification and comfort one of another, and to the astonishment of others who beheld their piety and patience."—*Besse's Sufferings, Fol.* vol. i. 533.]

## No. XLIV.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO GEORGE FOX.\*

London, 12th of Second month [fourth mo.] 1664.

— DEAR GEORGE, the service is very great and weighty here, and we are but few to perform it. Our meetings of late have been very large, and peaceable for the most part, I have not known the like since I saw London; [there is] little disturbance at all, only sometimes they keep Friends out of the Bull on the first-days, and at Spittlefields; but the last first-day Friends were within doors, and all the meetings in and about the city were very quiet. At Reading most of men Friends are in prison; and I heard to-day that they hale and pull the women Friends out of the meeting-house to prison:† I heard also that Thomas Curtis was sick. From Bristol I heard lately, and in G—dall [*word not clear*] all things are well; but the mayor's officers come constantly to meetings, and take Friends' names, but do not send any more to prison.

The Parliament is adjourned till the 18th day of this month, (as I hear;) they have not yet perfected anything against nonconformists: but it is reported there is a Bill in the House that is like to be very severe: how far they may proceed, a little time will manifest. I hope the Lord will arm his people with boldness and strength suitable to the trial.

Dear G., let thy prayers be still for us, that we may persevere unto the end in our testimony for God, that in the end we may be crowned with life.

None at present are here in the public service but J. Coale and Jo. Gibson (who came in the last week,) and myself. Dearly beloved, I have not much more to signify to thee at present, but very true love to thee and M. F. and the rest. Farewell, thy brother in the gospel fellowship,

A. P.

*From the Original.*

## No. XLV.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 4th of Third month, [fifth mo.] 1664.

DEAR G. F.—Having this opportunity to send to thee, I thought meet to acquaint thee somewhat of affairs here, since my last letter to thee.

As to meetings in the city, they are well and generally quiet, only on first-days [Friends are] kept out of the Mouth [Bull and Mouth.] The last first-day I was there in the street, and had a very good service, and a great resort there was; and in the afternoon had a very good meeting in Horsid-down [Horsleydown.]

The Bill against the Sectaries I do not understand that it is passed in the Upper House, but in the Lower it is; and [is] expected to be in both.

M. F.'s address [(?) *partly torn*] about your sufferings there, was last week delivered to the K—— [King,] by Eliz. Bell and another Friend, who were ordered by the King to go up yesterday for an answer, to the Secretary; which accordingly they did: his answer was to this effect,—that nothing could be done in it by the K——g, but he had left it to the Council and the Parliament.\*

Since I came to this city, I have been somewhat troubled that the books of sufferings were not delivered sooner;—how E. H. [Ellis Hookes] ordered the business I know not.—Yesterday I went up and down a great part of the day about getting them delivered;—this day I expect a pretty quantity of them will be given, and Gilbert L—— [Latey] is this morning to make way for the women that are to deliver them.†

R. Farnsworth and Thomas Killam are newly come into the city; and John Higgins, Robert Lodge, Jo. Moone, and John Gibson, I think, are all at present in the city. I know nothing now but staying a good while here, for there is some necessity on me. If the Friends that came from London be there, [probably at Lancaster,] remember me to them, and to thy fellow prisoners M. F. and the rest. Thy dear brother.

G. WHITEHEAD.

Rebecca Travers is gone towards Ipswich to the prisoners.—Let me know whither to direct, when I send by the post; and direct thou to W. Travers at the Three Feathers in Watling-street.

*From the Original.*

\* Doubtless of G. F. and Friends, in Lancaster Castle. See *G. F.'s Journal*, 1664.

† Probably the following:—"For the King and both Houses of Parliament: being a Declaration of the present Sufferings and imprisonment of above 600 of the people called Quakers, who now suffer in England for conscience sake." 1664.—*Whiting's Catalogue*, p. 174.

\* Then in Lancaster Castle.

† It was about this period that William Armorer, a Justice of the peace for the County of Berks, commenced his career of cruel persecution against Friends.



A curious circumstance occurred in Parliament respecting this Bill against Conventicles: a clause concerning Friends, intended to stand as part of the Bill, and which had passed as such in the House of Peers, was *lost*, before it reached the Commons. A conference was accordingly had between the two Houses on the third reading, upon which the Earl of Anglesey reported to the House of Peers: [*Lords' Journals under date "May 16, 1664."*] "That the House of Commons acquainted their lordships at this conference, that since the last free conference, they, looking into the said Bill against seditious conventicles, find the proviso concerning the Quakers missing, which they conceive to be a material part of the Bill: therefore, they desire this House to supply the defect." It was avowed by some Peers that the Bill, with the said proviso, was delivered to Sergeant Charleton. A committee of Peers then searched for the original draft of the proviso, which was found, and agreed to be the same: the lost clause was then returned to the Commons, and the Bill was only just in time to receive the royal assent.

This Act against Conventicles came into force the 1st of the month called July of this year, and it was to continue for three years. "It may not be improper (writes G. Whitehead) to give some account of this second Act of Parliament, designed not only for our imprisonment, but also for our banishment out of the land of our nativity; and *that* with more expedition than could be effected by the first Act [against Quakers;] though the Lord our God would not suffer that design of banishment, to take any such general effect against us, as was desired by our invidious persecutors; for by his judgments He in a great measure frustrated our adversaries. Howbeit many of our innocent Friends were sentenced to banishment; yet but few (in comparison) were actually shipped away, or banished out of the land." This Act provided that if any person above sixteen years of age were convicted of being present at any meeting, conventicle, &c., under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy of the Church of England, he should be fined £5, or be imprisoned three months: for the second offence £10, or six months imprisonment; and for the third offence to be transported for seven years: the offender's goods to be distrained upon for expenses of transportation. "Under the power of this Act, our religious assemblies were often disturbed and broken, by the persecuting agents, officers, and soldiers, and many of us apprehended and brought before magistrates;—and no matter of evil fact proved against any of us, but for worshipping the Lord Almighty according to

their consciences. Great were the sufferings of Friends in consequence of this cruel Act;—many were made widows and fatherless, and honest industrious Friends and their families grievously distressed, fined, and spoiled of their property."

#### No. XLVI.

MARY FELL TO HER MOTHER MARGARET FELL.

Mile-end Green, near London, 27th  
of Fourth month [sixth mo.] 1664.

ENDEARED and tender-hearted mother,—My duty and very dear love is freely given and remembered unto thee, as also my very dear love is to dear G. F.

This is chiefly to let thee understand, that yesterday sis. [sister] and I were at Whitehall; where we spoke to the King, and told him that if he would please to signify something to the Judges, before they went their circuit, to release you; otherwise it would be past, for the time drew very near of the Assizes. He said he would release you, if we would promise you would not go to meetings. Sister said, we could make no such engagement; for the meeting hath been kept many years, and never hath done any harm. He said, 'Cannot your mother keep within her own family, as she may have five [persons present;]—but she must have such tumultuous meetings.' We said, she hath no such meetings; they are only her neighbours that come. The King said, there were some Quakers in the last plot. Sister said, that could not be proved. He said, he had letters [about] it, and their names. So Chifines\* bid us come on the fourth-day; [and] we do intend to go to-morrow. I was there about a week since, and told the King that now the Assizes drew very near, if he did not do something for thee, they would run thee into a præmunire, and get thy estate from thee and thy children; and I desired him to take it into consideration. He was then very loving to me, and said he would take it into consideration; and he said, 'they shall not have her estate from her:' he took me by the hand as soon as he came near me. I also spoke to Prince Rupert, and desired him to put the King in mind of it; and he said, he would do what he could in it; and went then to the King and spoke to him. Prince [Rupert] hath always been very loving to Friends, and hath often spoke to the King about you.

Sister gives the renewed remembrance of her entire love to thee and dear G. F., as also doth my brother.—I suppose sisters Isabel and

\* This person is spoken of by Pepys, in his *Memoirs*:—he was the King's closet keeper or page, and is said to have been a great favourite with him.

Sarah will be gone :—remember me to sisters Susanna and Rachel.

I am thy dutiful and obedient daughter,  
MARY FELL.

*Year endorsed by G. F. 1664.*

*From the original apparently, which is addressed to M. F. at Lancaster, as usual, to the care of Thomas Green, grocer, there.*

No. XLVII.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO GEORGE FOX AND MARGARET FELL.

White Lion Prison in Southwark, the  
12th of Fifth month [seventh mo.] 1664.

DEAR G. F. AND MARGARET,—My dear and upright love is to you both, and to the rest of Friends with you. Since the writing of the enclosed, I thought meet to send it you, having not freedom at present to write much into the north by post. A. P. [Alex. Parker] and R. F. [Richard Farnsworth] are in the city, and yet at liberty. G: I got thy paper to Friends printed, as thou desired, and disposed of several more. S. F. [Samuel Fisher] and Jos. Fuce are prisoners still, but have liberty from the keeper for a little time: but we are to be kept without bail, &c. I have met with some hard usage since I came here; the first night we came, we were put into the common felon's ward, because we could not agree to uphold the gaoler's oppression: and then the felons took our money from us out of our pockets, for their drunken custom called "garnish:" and the place was so noisome, that we had not whereon to lay our head to rest: but I doubt not but the Lord will work through all these things for us. It is well I am in this prison, and I am satisfied in it.\* Farewell, your dear brother,

G. W.

When any of you write to me, direct and enclose it to some Friends in the city for safety. These magistrates that have such a prejudice against me, (that would incense the Court against me,) are such chiefly as have turned with the times. I know not whether I may not be sent to Whitehall again; but the Lord will plead my innocency. When you have done with the enclosed, send it to Kendall. I hear there are nearly 200 Friends lately imprisoned at Bristol.

Dear M. F. thou art often in my remembrance, and my dear love thou mayest feel. John Rouse and thy daughters Margaret and Mary were here yesterday, and are well.

G. W.

*From the original, addressed to Lancaster.*

\*See *George Whitehead's Christian Progress*, page 175 to 283, for a narrative of their cruel treatment and sufferings when incarcerated in that noisome gaol.

A few days after his commitment to this prison, G. W. was accused of having been concerned in a plot in the north, and that his name was disguised: whereupon he was carried in a boat to Whitehall, guarded with musketeers and the jailer with them, where he was examined: but one "stepped in on the occasion, who seemed to be an ancient gentleman, and hearing my accusers tell me my name was not Whitehead, contradicted him, saying, he has writ divers books, to which his name is in print: this gave a check to him, and prevented further examination." G. W. afterwards wrote to the Secretary of State to clear himself of those false insinuations, and the matter dropped. He was released out of prison, when the three months were expired for which he had been committed.—*G. W.'s Christian Progress*, p. 282.

The above letter speaks of Samuel Fisher and Joseph Fuce, respecting whom Besse gives the following account:—

"About the end of this summer, 1663, Samuel Fisher, Joseph Fuce, George Brigstock, and Thomas Moore, were taken together in a meeting at Charlewood, and committed to the White Lion Prison in Southwark, where they lay till two of them, viz. Samuel Fisher and Joseph Fuce died. Samuel Fisher was a man of great parts and literature, formerly a parish preacher at Lydd in Kent, but voluntarily relinquished his benefice of about £400 per annum, and joined in society with the people called Baptists for some time. In the year 1655, he became convinced of the Truth as professed by the people called Quakers; and through obedience thereto, he became a faithful minister of the same, and travelled much in the work and service of the Lord, not only in England, but in other countries. At Dunkirk in Flanders he had good service, in testifying against the idolatry of the priests and friars, and in declaring Truth to the English garrison there. He afterwards travelled on foot over the Alps to Rome, and bore a faithful testimony against the Papists in that city. After his return to England, in the four last years of his life, his sufferings were very great; for in 1661 he was several months a prisoner in the Gate-house in Westminster. Soon after his release thence, he was apprehended passing the streets, and sent to Wood-street Compter, and after some time had to Guildhall, where, refusing to take the oaths, he was committed to Newgate, and lay there about twelve months; and in a short time after his discharge, he was taken again at Charlewood, and sent to prison in Southwark, as before related; where after two years continuance, he rested from his labours in perfect peace with the Lord, and was



well beloved both by the brotherhood and others; for as he excelled in natural parts and acquired abilities, so was he exemplary for his Christian humility and condescension, in meekness instructing those that opposed him, and incessantly labouring, either by word or writing, to spread and promote the doctrine of Truth among the children of men. He died on the last day of the month called August, 1665.

“Joseph Fuce travelled in many countries in the work of the ministry, and had an excellent gift for the convincing of gainsayers, being frequently exercised in disputes with Independent, Baptists, and other preachers. He was a man of a patient, meek spirit, and very laborious in the work of the ministry, whereunto God had called him.—*Besse's Sufferings*, vol. i. p. 691 & 693.

### No. XLVIII.

JOSIAH COALE TO GEORGE FOX.

Newgate, London, 22nd of Sixth month  
[eighth mo.] 1664.

DEAR GEORGE,—My love in the Lord doth dearly reach forth and extend itself to thee; and therewith do I most dearly salute thee, even in the bond of love and covenant of peace and life; into which the Lord by his eternal power and arm of strength hath gathered many in this day of his appearance and loving-kindness unto the sons of men; in which we are daily made partakers of his endless riches and mercies, which he multiplies unto us, and renews in us through Christ our Lord and life; by and through which we live, and are kept alive unto Him, and enabled to do his will and to answer his requirings, in whatsoever he makes known and reveals unto us to be our duty to do.

Truly, dear George, the Lord is not slack concerning the promises of His blessings unto his own seed, now in its suffering condition; neither is He wanting unto us in this our time of trial: but indeed I may say in truth, that He causeth his love and kindness to abound in us, and our cups to overflow. What may I say of his endless love,—it is indeed beyond declaring; for I know not what more can be desired than the Lord hath done for us or given unto us, as concerning the present enjoyment of his rich love and blessings; for which blessings, glory and praise be unto his name for ever and ever! Amen.

And now dear George, to give thee an account of things here, and how it hath been of late, it is in my heart at this time to do. Yesterday was a week, after I had been speaking the Truth to the people in the Bull and Mouth about one hour and a-half, the sheriff came, with (I judge) near half a hundred of the city

officers, to break our meeting: and after they had made a proclamation in the street for the multitude to depart (for they feared the multitude, which was great, that came to see what became of us,) they rushed in violently to the meeting and commanded me down; but I was not free at their command. Then they drew their swords, and one of them laid on me with a hanger, but struck with the flat side of it; and the rest laid on Friends with swords and staves, and so pulled me down and out to the sheriff in the yard. Then I spoke to them of the unmanliness of their proceedings, to come in such a posture amongst an innocent peaceable people that would not resist them,—that it was far below the spirit of a man; and they were ashamed, and commanded the swords to be put up. So afterwards they fetched out the rest of the meeting more quietly; and two or three of the officers took me and led me alone to the Guildhall; and afterwards brought Friends, two, three, four, and six at a time to me, till they had brought near two hundred. And I drew them together about the judgment seat, and had there a very precious meeting; for the power and presence of the Lord was plentifully manifested amongst us. So after a while the Mayor and Aldermen, &c. came, but were so employed with Baptists and Pendants, [Independents,] that they meddled not with us; but kept us there under strong guards till midnight, not permitting Friends to come to us; but they had one way or another turned out near half our company. Then about midnight they brought us to Newgate, (that people might not see;) and the next day they sent for about twenty to the Guildhall, and committed about sixteen, and let the rest go. The fourth-day they sent for me and eleven more, saying, we must go before the Mayor and Bishop at Guildhall; but when we came there no Bishop appeared: and I asked of the Mayor for the Bishop, telling him it had been more honourable to have sent him to the Bull and Mouth with his spiritual weapons, and thereby to have overcome us if he could: but he would say little to that, but appeared very moderate to me. I had fine talk with him, and he told me he had rather set us at liberty than commit us, but he could not avert it; for I must either pay five shillings fine, or go to prison for fourteen days. I told him if he would prove that I was in meeting in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy of the Church of England, I would then pay him 5s.; but he would not say more, but left the bench, and I was sent away. Then they called in the rest, one at a time, and committed them in like manner: they did it in an inner room, where none but themselves might hear, though many hundreds of people were without, murmuring to get in; and so

they sent us to Newgate again. On sixth-day they sent the rest, about sixty in all, to the Old Bailey, and committed them for about nine days a piece.

On third-day last, as I was speaking in our meeting on the chapel side [in Newgate,] one of the keeper's men came and fetched me away, and put me in the hole where condemned men used to be put; but they kept me not there an hour. On fifth-day as I was speaking, he came again; and because Friends stood around about me, that he could not reach me, he fell laying on both men and women with a great staff; and the felons fell on with their fists beating Friends; and some of the women thieves with a knife or knives, threatened to stab Friends, and did attempt so to do, but were prevented. At last they brought me away and put me to dear A. P. in Justice's hall: and I wrote to the Mayor and sent a Friend with it. He seemed to be wroth with them for so abusing us, and said we should not be so abused; but he would take a speedy course to have it otherwise. Since that he [the keeper's man] would let me go over to them sometimes, but not be always with them. I have very quiet precious meetings with them when I go; and indeed the glorious and mighty power of God [is felt,] to the admiration of many. But last first-day, the Mayor and wicked Brown came to the Bull meeting themselves; and Friends were fetched out before them in the porch, where they fined them and committed them, upwards of 200, and sent them to Newgate: but they that brought them, turned many away by the way; and some of the halbert men would run away from them, and leave them in the street; so that I think but about 120 only were brought in. But Brown showed himself very cruel, and pinched the women sorely, and pulled the hair of the men's heads: and would take them by the hats, and bring their heads near the ground, and then cast their hats in the dirt. James Parke was taken there; and from the Peall [Peele] about thirty were brought to Newgate, and about twelve from Mile-end; but we know not yet how long they are committed for: we judge here are in all in this Newgate about 300 of us. But the Lord is with us of a truth, and doth bear up our hearts far above all sufferings,—blessed be his name for ever! John Higgins and one more are in upon the third account; and at Hertford eight are sentenced to be banished, four to Barbadoes and four to Jamaica; and some more are in on the third account.

Dear George, pray for us, that we may be kept faithful in the power and authority of God, and that his presence and love may be always continued with us. Dear A. P. [Alexander Parker] dearly salutes thee; and my love sa-

lutes M. F. and the rest with thee. I would be glad to hear from thee, who am thine in the Lord.

JOSIAH COALE.

*From the original.*

## No. XLIX.

GILBERT LATEY TO GEORGE FOX AND  
MARGARET FELL.

London, 1st of Seventh month, [ninth mo.] 1664.

DEAR G. F. AND M. F.—Whom I unfeignedly love and dearly salute, these are to let you know that I have received your letter; and George Whitehead (who has been released) drew me up the heads of it in a very good manner, and I carried it to the Lord Obeny [Albany (?)] as thou directed me; who had been sick of late, and not very well when I came to him. I told him my business, and from whom it came; so when he had heard me what I had to say, this to me was his answer,—That all was shut up, and nothing could be done; and that neither the King nor Chancellor would do anything at all for us. Neither could any man be heard to speak for us. Then I told him of the unjustness of thy imprisonment, and of the badness of the jury, and its being contrary to law; and that thou desired nothing but a [fair (?)] prison, and that the thieves and murderers had more liberty than thee, and that thou was locked up in a bad room, and Friends not suffered to come to speak to thee; and I told him I had a paper of it, and desired him that he would hand it.—He told me he was sorry with all his heart, but he would tell me no lie; he was sure nothing could be done, and he believed they did [it] on purpose to vex us; and so I parted with him: for he said, he could do nothing, for all the clergy were against us, and nothing could be done at all, neither did he care to meddle with the paper at all: so I was fain to leave him.

George Whi: [Whitehead] was a saying it might be well, if we knew the judge who promised thee more liberty than before, that some might speak to him of it, to see if he would do anything in it.

So with my dear love to thee, and dear M. F., John Stubbs, and the rest of Friends in prison. I remain thy assured friend in what I may,

GILB: LATEY.

*From the original, addressed to }  
Margaret Fell, Lancaster. }*

## No. L.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 17th of Eighth month, [tenth mo.] 1664.

DEAR G. F.—My dear and upright love in the Lord salutes thee, and the rest of our dear



Friends with thee in that prison [Lancaster Castle,] and particularly dear M. F. The sessions have been here at the Old Bailey and Hicks's Hall the last week, and are not yet over at the Old Bailey. — Judges Hide and Keeling were on the bench, who have much manifested their enmity against Friends, both in the city and country, where they have been in their circuits. Though they were eager against Friends; yet the jury, being some of them moderate, both excepted against some of the witnesses, (some of them were Newgate gaolers or retainers to them;) as also, after they were sent out to bring in their sentence upon Friends, they did not agree upon a verdict, but several of them stood out. [— *Then follows a similar report of what passed, to that contained in Ellis Hookes's letter next following.*] — The last first-day it was much on [me] to go to the Bull and Mouth meeting, where many of the *halbert ears* came to take us; but they were made to hear me minister near about an hour: afterwards, came the Mayor and Brown, and I was permitted to speak a little while after the Mayor came, before I was pulled down. They sent me and about forty more to Newgate, and nine or ten to Bridewell.\*

—As for what was done about thy sufferings, I suppose Gilbert Latey will give thee an account; for I abstracted two of thy letters, one was shown to Albany [Lord Albany (?)], another to Marsh, and another to Anglesea, and they all seem to dislike the cruelty that is exercised against thee.

Thy dear brother, G. W.

*From the Original.*

NO. LI.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 18th of Eighth month [tenth mo.] 1664.

DEAR M. F.—My dear love is to thee in the unchangeable Truth.

I think it is two weeks since I wrote to thee; therefore I could not but write this, and give thee an account of what passed at the Sessions-house this last week. Yesterday, at Hicks's Hall, four women were sentenced to eleven months' imprisonment or £40 fine, having husbands; about twelve or thirteen men and women were sentenced to be transported to any of the foreign plantations:—and at the Old Bailey about forty-six Friends were called, and sixteen of them would not answer them (not guilty) according to their form, and so yesterday were sentenced by the Recorder:—those that had husbands, to Bridewell for twelve months or £20 fine, and the men were sen-

tenced to Barbadoes, and the women-maids to Jamaica. About sixteen last seventh-day pleaded, and were tried by a jury, which jury were twice sent out, not agreeing in their verdict: the judges (Hide and Keeling) talked much to them; but at last they could not agree, six of them standing very much for Friends. Some of them pleaded notably on the behalf of Friends, and said, they did not deny but that they were guilty of meeting at the Bull and Mouth; but they said, they were not guilty of the fact charged against them, viz. that it was a seditious meeting; and one of the jury said, the witnesses were not competent persons (being common drunkards) to swear against honest men. So the judges were very angry with them, and bound them in £100 bond a-piece to answer it at the King's Bench bar. The four gaolers at Newgate were all the witnesses that came in against Friends, [also] one of the marshal's men.

The Friends at Hertford, that were first sentenced to be banished, are come back from Gravesend again, and all their goods are set on shore; and I hear the owners intend to send their ship another way. They have sentenced twenty-one at Hertford since.

So dear Margaret, my dear love is unto thee, and to G. F., and J. Stubbs and L. Fell.—George W. and about three score more were taken at the Bull last first-day, but everywhere else meetings were quiet.

Thy lov: friend,

E. H.

*From the Original.*

See a full account in *Sewel's History* of the trial of the Friends at Hertford, before judge Orlando Bridgman, (vol. ii. under 1664.) As respects the Friends "coming back from Gravesend," as stated above, the following particulars concerning them, from *Besse's Sufferings*, are too remarkable to be omitted in this place.

Pursuant to the sentence of banishment passed on these Friends (seven in number), the gaoler acting, it seems, under the order of the Sheriff of Hertfordshire, proceeded to contract with a master of a vessel bound to the West Indies, to carry out the Friends accordingly. Various difficulties occurred previous to their being delivered on board the vessel; and when at length they were brought to the ship, the master gave them permission under his hand to go ashore, and to return again when he should require them. "On the 1st of October, [Eighth month—the month in which the above letter is dated.] the master sent for them to come on board, which they did; and the ship sailed down the river as far as the Red-house near Deptford; when a sudden turn of the wind drove her back to Limehouse, where

\* See G. W.'s *Christian Progress*, p. 283.

the prisoners were again set ashore. On the 6th, the ship again weighed anchor with wind and tide fair;—yet could not the seamen, with their utmost application, make this ship sail, but they were obliged to anchor again about a stone's cast from the place they lay at before; so that some of the mariners were amazed, and said, 'we shall never get out of England, while these men are on board!' So they set them ashore the third time. On the 8th, they sailed again, and went down to Greenwich; when a sudden storm obliged them to cast anchor again to secure the ship, and the prisoners were sent on shore the fourth time. On the 10th, they were ordered on board the fifth time, and sailed again; when the ship was with much ado kept from running aground: they [however] set the prisoners ashore again at Blackwall, and she went down the same tide to Gravesend. Thither the prisoners followed, and by the master's order some tarried there, and others came back to London, till the 28th; when they were ordered aboard a sixth time, and the ship sailed that night to Leigh road, where they cast anchor: but before morning the wind turned strong against them, so that they lay there two days and three nights. On the 31st, they sailed to the North Foreland, and cast anchor again till the next day. At night the master set them ashore, and directed them to Deal, where he met them altogether: and before several witnesses declared, that though they had followed the ship so long, yet he was resolved not to carry them, and gave them a certificate in writing as follows:

"Whereas, there were seven men, called Quakers, brought on board my ship, called the Anne, of London, by William Edmonds, gaoler of Hertford, viz. Nich. Lucas, Henry Feast, Henry Marshall, Francis Pryor, John Blendall, Jeremiah Herne, and Samuel Traherne, all which have continued waiting upon my ship from London to Deal, from the 14th day of September last till this day; and I seeing Providence hath much crossed me hitherto, whereby I perceive that the hand of the Lord is against me, that I dare not proceed on my voyage to carry them, they being innocent persons, and no crime signified against them worthy of banishment; and that there is a law in force that no Englishman shall be carried out of his native country against his will; and also my men refuse to go the voyage, if I carry them, which will be much to my hindrance, men being very scarce by reason of the long press. For these reasons, therefore, and many more, I will not carry them. These are, therefore, to certify any person or persons that shall question them: that they did not make an escape, but I put them on shore again to go whither

they please. All this is certified under my hand, this 10th of November, 1664."

[Witnessed by four persons.]

"THOMAS MAY."

"Being thus set at liberty, they returned to London, and then to their own homes; and they sent a letter to the King and Council, stating the circumstance, and accompanied it with a copy of the ship-master's certificate. This letter being read at the Council board produced an order; which, after setting forth the fact of their having been put on board the aforesaid ship, pursuant to their sentence of transportation, and having been by the master set ashore at the Downs, 'leaving them at liberty to go whither they pleased; and it appearing to be matter of contrivance and design between the said master and the persons before mentioned;' it was ordered that the High Sheriff do again apprehend and secure them, 'until means of transporting them can be made by some shipping bound unto those parts.'"

By this order they were again committed to prison, and remained there seven years, until discharged by the King's proclamation.—*Besse's Sufferings*, vol. i. p. 246—248.

#### No. LII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 19th day of Second month, [fourth mo.] 1665.

DEAR MARGARET, — Last first-day our meetings were quiet in all places in and about this city, the Bull excepted; where they took twelve, who were committed. Since I wrote last to thee, there were three Friends shipped in order to be transported, of whom I think T. S. gave you an account: the ship is gone (for aught I hear) from the Downs. Last seventh-day T. S. [Thomas Salthouse] with J. Moore went to Kingston, where they were taken at a meeting, and several others; and are committed, some for not giving bond, (as I hear,)—the rest for a month.

Things in relation to Truth here, are as well as can be, considering how the power of darkness is set against us; and Friends remain still in prison. There is great fear that we shall lose the Bull and Mouth; they go to trial this term about it, and it is to be tried in the King's Bench: the Truth is like to suffer much, by the loss of it; for it is and hath been so noted and public [a meeting place,] that it has been very serviceable. —

E. H.

*From the Original.*

One of these Friends, soon after he reached the ship, died, as appears by the following entry in our Registers of Burials for London:



"Robert Hayes, who for Truth's sake suffered many weeks imprisonment in Newgate; after which he being carried from thence (with two more) on ship board in order to banishment, they being taken out of their hot beds without an hour's warning, and exposed to the sharp air of a cold morning on the water, he departed this life, (not having spoken many words after he came on board the ship,) about the 26th day of the first month, 1665: the cause of his death appearing to lie in the unrighteous proceedings of his persecutors; and was interred in the aforesaid burying ground." [Bunhill Fields.]

"I knew this Robert Hayes, [writes George Whitehead,] he was a very innocent, loving man, a goodlike person, had a fresh comely countenance, seemed healthy, and in his prime and strength when first imprisoned. I was very sorrowfully affected, when I heard how quickly he was dispatched out of the world, by the shameful cruelty and inhuman usage inflicted upon him by those merciless persecutors."—*G. W.'s Christian Progress*, Friends' Library, vol. viii. p. 332.

## No. LIII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 22nd of Third month, [fifth mo.] 1665.

DEAR MARGARET,—I received thy letter, and I have spoken to Gilbert [Latey(?)] who says, he believes it has been Kirby's own procuring from the Secretary; for the judge cannot remove them but by order of law. The governor of Scarboro' Castle is here in Town; which is the place, it was reported here, he [G. F.] was to be removed to.

Last first-day our meetings here were quiet, only at the Bull they pulled them out, and let them go. I hear the King sent an order, that there should be no more sent to Newgate by reason of the plague, which increases here very much, thirty dying of it last week as I hear. Friends are kept close in Newgate,—now about seven score. There is a report of sending away eight more shortly. [Doubtless to the ship for banishment.]

From thy loving friend, E. H.

*From the Original.*

## No. LIV.

MORGAN WATKINS TO MARY PENNINGTON.

The Gate-house,\* 18th of Seventh month, } 1665.  
[ninth mo.]

DEAR MARY,—In the fellowship of life I

\* The Gate-house was a prison situated near the west end of Westminster Abbey; to which prison Morgan Watkins was committed, by warrant from the Duke of Albemarle, "dated 9th of August, 1665, for being at a meeting in St. John's."—*Besse*.

dearly salute thee; in which thou mayest feel me, if thou should never more see me: for I have received my mortal life several times of late from the hand of the Lord, and through faith in his power; for when the messenger of death would have entered, it hath been driven back. And blessed be His name, who hath kept me, and nineteen more here in this close place, all in health, above these five weeks; notwithstanding three have been buried out of this prison of the sickness. But dreadful and terrible is the hand of the Lord upon all flesh in this wicked city; and which is the same upon the nation in general: and although it hath hitherto fell heavily upon the poorer sort of people, yet the dregs of the cup are reserved for the fat ones, and the high ones, and the proud ones, and the very oppressors. And good is the hand of the Lord to his own, whose death is gain:—Blessed are they, who in the day time have laboured diligently; now night comes, they lie down in rest and peace: but for the idle, night hath surprised them as a snare, before they have arrived at Salem, the city of peace.

There is a terrible cry;—and indeed the miseries that are upon many here, are hardly to be uttered: and yet wickedness is little abated in the persecutors, but they are rather worse in cruelty; for they have found out a new way to murder the innocent and others that they account enemies, by thronging them into infected prisons; and so their cruelty executes them in a short time. Two captains and a lieutenant died there; and several more are here, and nothing is laid to their charge. Many are deceased aboard the ship of the banished Friends. Six of them taken within the Peel and sent to Newgate have left the body, and about thirty more out of both sides [of that prison (?)]. I suppose thou heard Turner is dead; S. Fisher and John Shield are deceased, and very many Friends. Many doctors of physic, who make a great ado about stopping the disease, are dead, and several priests: several Friends are deceased out of the White Lion [Prison.]

Friends are kept out of the Bull, and the Mayor caused the door to be boarded up close with thick boards; but I think the other meetings are quiet.

The sickness breaks out exceedingly hot in the city, and thousands more die than are in the Bills [of mortality,] as I am certainly informed. Fugge the wicked master of the ship is yet in the Compter.\* Exceeding great is the exercise of Friends here, that none knows but those who

\* He was arrested and imprisoned for debt, before he could set sail.—*See Sewel's History, Index Fugge*.

are in it. My dear love salutes thy husband, &c. Thy true friend and brother, M. W.

*From the Pennington Collection.\**

[George Whitehead, who, it appears, remained in or near the city during this terrible visitation, thus writes :

“It was a time of great calamity, sorrow and heaviness, to many thousands of all sorts ; and that which added to our Friends’ affliction was, the hardness of our persecutors’ hearts,—their cruelty and barbarity in imprisoning and detaining so many of them in Newgate, and in the White Lion prison in Southwark, after the plague was greatly broken forth, and many people swept away thereby.” G. W. proceeds : “I had not then freedom, satisfaction or peace, to leave the city, or Friends in and about London, in that time of such great and general calamity—no, not when the mortality was at its height ; but was concerned and given up in spirit to stay among them, to attend to Friends’ meetings, to visit Friends in prison, and at their own houses ; even when many of them lay sick of the contagion, both in prison and at their habitations. And in all that time the Lord preserved me by his power, through faith, from that infectious distemper ; which mercy I esteemed great and wonderful, and hope ever thankfully to remember, in a living sense of the same divine hand which upheld and preserved me. I well remember, that although it was judged the prisons were then infected and poisoned with the contagion, I was freely given up to suffer imprisonment ; and on first-days I took my night cap in my pocket when I went to meetings, not knowing but I might be apprehended at some meeting, and committed to prison. However, the Lord gave me faith to be resigned to his will, either to live or to die for his name and Truth’s sake ; and, through all those dangers and difficulties, to bear my testimony in faithfulness to his blessed power and light of righteousness ; and thereby sustained and wonderfully preserved my life, when the cry and sound of mortality was round about us, from one end and side of the city to another.”

After this visitation had subsided, G. W. wrote an affectionate address to his Friends, which is given at large in his *Christian Progress* (p. 301 :) it is entitled “*This is an Epistle for the Remnant of Friends, and chosen of God, whom he hath yet preserved to bear their testimony in and about the city of London, 1665.*” The following extract from this Epistle is thought worthy of being here added :

“The life, peace, satisfaction and comfort, that many innocent Friends felt, and that some expressed and signified on their death beds, I am a living witness of ; having several times (as the Lord hath drawn me in his love,) been present with many of them, when they were very low in the outward man, and with divers when upon their death beds, both in that destructive place Newgate, and some other places. Yea, when sorrow and sadness have seized upon my spirit, and my heart and soul have been pierced and wounded, at the sad sufferings of so many harmless lambs, when they were on their sick beds in these noisome holes and prisons ; yet at the same time having had a deep sense and knowledge of the Lord’s love and care to them in that condition, and having truly felt his life and power stirring amongst them,—this, on the other hand, has refreshed and revived my spirit ; knowing that *Christ their salvation and redemption* was manifest to and in them, though in that suffering state, as they have followed and obeyed Him through sufferings and tribulations. With such to live was Christ, [even] in that state, and to die was gain ; it being through death that the Lord had appointed the final deliverance of many, from the cruelties and rod of their oppressors, and from the miseries and evil to come.”—*Christian Progress*, Friends’ Library, vol. viii. p. 335.]

The state of London during this dreadful visitation, seems to have been most deplorable. The following striking description is taken from *Ellis’s Original Letters in the British Museum* ; the letter is addressed to Dr. Sancroft from J. Tillison, and is dated Sept. 14th, 1665, four days previous to the date of the above letter from Morgan Watkins :—

—“The desolation of the city is very great. That heart is either of steel or stone, that will not lament this sad visitation, and will not bleed for those unutterable woes !—What eye would not weep, to see so many habitations uninhabited,—the poor sick not visited,—the hungry not fed,—the grave not satisfied ! Death stares us continually in the face, in every infected person that passeth by us,—in every coffin which is daily and hourly carried along the streets. The custom was in the beginning, to bury the dead in the night only ; but now both night and day will hardly be time enough to do it.—The Quakers (as we are informed) have buried in their piece of ground a thousand for some weeks together last past.”—

No. LV.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 7th of Ninth month, [eleventh mo.] 1665.

DEAR M. F.—My dear love is to thee and

\*This collection deposited in London, consists of four volumes of letters and documents of Isaac Pennington’s ; copied by his son John. A considerable number of them have been printed by John Kendal, and by John Barclay.



to all thy dear children. — I have been preserved well, but as a brand is plucked out of the fire, so has the Lord delivered me; for I have often laid down my head in sorrow, and rose as I went to bed, and not slept a wink, for the groans of them that lay dying; and every morning I counted it a great mercy that the Lord gave me another day.

—They keep us out of the meeting at the Bull on the first and fourth-days; but on the fifth-days we meet therein. Last first-day, they carried Esther Biddle and another woman to prison, for speaking in the street, and struck Esther over the face with their halberts. Our meetings are quiet everywhere else. Friends are generally well,\* both in prison, in the ship, and at Newgate, and those that are at liberty; and not above one a-day buried; whereas there used to be sixteen or eighteen, and sometimes twenty a-day buried; for several weeks together it was so. These are a list of the names of them that died in Newgate and in the ship; which yet remains where it did.

[Then follows the names, making up the following totals.]

Died, that were sentenced for banishment, 22 names.

Dead, that came from Peale, 5 names.

Dead, that came from Mile-end, 25 names.

Died in the ship, 27 names. E. H.

*From the Original.*

Whilst the plague was raging in the city, "our persecutors [writes G. Whitehead] took fifty-five of our Friends (men and women) out of Newgate, where the distemper also prevailed; and forced them on board a ship called the Black Eagle, in order for banishment; which ship lay for some time in the river. They were so crowded on board, and the distemper breaking out amongst them, most of them were infected, and twenty-seven of them soon died."—"I visited these Friends (continues G. Whitehead,) and had a meeting with them on board; and the Lord my God preserved me, both from the distemper, and also from banishment; wherein I did humbly confess his power and special providence, to His own praise and glory." [*Christian Progress*, Friends' Library, vol. viii. p. 333.] The ship, after considerable detention, at length sailed; but was taken in the channel by a Dutch privateer: and sailing round by the North of Ireland and Scotland to avoid recapture, the vessels at length reached Holland; where the Friends (one half of their number

having previously died, as stated above,) were set at liberty by the Dutch, and afterwards all but one returned to England.

With regard to the number of deaths by the plague among Friends in the metropolis, the following abstract account from our Burial Registers for London will show the amount: the report contained in the letter to Dr. San-croft, see page 371, is manifestly erroneous as regards the burials of Friends; but it is not improbable that many bodies were allowed to be buried in the Friends' burying ground without any ceremonials.

*Account of the number of deaths of Friends in London, for each month, in the year 1665; also of those reported to be of the plague, &c.*

1665.

*Total number of deaths registered 1177; viz.*

| 1st<br>mo. | 2nd<br>mo. | 3rd<br>mo. | 4th<br>mo. | 5th<br>mo. | 6th<br>mo. | 7th<br>mo. | 8th<br>mo. | 9th<br>mo. | 10th<br>mo. | 11th<br>mo. | 12th<br>mo. |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 5          | 10         | 11         | 14         | 36         | 254        | 502        | 326        | 69         | 19          | 13          | 18          |

*Number of deaths reported to be of the Plague, 532; viz.*

| 1st<br>mo. | 2nd<br>mo. | 3rd<br>mo. | 4th<br>mo. | 5th<br>mo. | 6th<br>mo. | 7th<br>mo. | 8th<br>mo. | 9th<br>mo. | 10th<br>mo. | 11th<br>mo. | 12th<br>mo. |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 0          | 0          | 0          | 1          | 6          | 142        | 279        | 84         | 16         | 4           | 0           | 0           |

Under the Plague are included in this table the cases reported to be of "the Sickness," "the Visitation," "the Common Distemper;" but not "the Spotted Fever," of which many cases occurred, and were doubtless often a modification of the plague. The first entry in 4th mo. is "Henry Stokes of Stepney, died 24th of 4th mo., of the Plague; as the searchers of the said parish reported." The last entry observed of the Plague is on the 19th of 10th mo. of this year. During the fore part of the period the cases of deaths by the plague, are reported by the searchers; but when about at its greatest height, these reports of diseases *by the searchers* do not occur in general, but the entry is made simply of the Plague," &c.

The total number of deaths registered for this year, [1665] as stated above is . . . 1177

The same for 1666 . . . 106

1667 . . . 121

1668 . . . 171

1678 (ten year later) 300

The number of deaths of members only, for ten years ending 1811, within the then six monthly meetings of London, is reported to be 501, or about 50 per annum, and the number of members of these meetings in 1811, is reported to have been 2270; from such data it is not improbable that the population of Friends for the same district in 1678 might be about

\* The reader will doubtless have apprehended the meaning, in which the term "being well" seems to have been used in these letters,—viz:—*in a religious sense*:—in the case before us, Friends were probably in the midst of the most severe sufferings and acute trials as to the outward man,—in prison—in the ship, &c.; and yet the acknowledgment is made, that they were "generally well."

10,000, calculating upon a proportionally heavier ratio of mortality for that early period.

### No. LVI.

MORGAN WATKINS TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 5th of Tenth month, [twelfth mo.] 1665.

—I SUPPOSE thou heard of our release-ment a while since: I have been something weak, since I came out into the air; for through the great love of my God I am wonderfully preserved, to the praise of his name. But the two imprisonments in Newgate and the one at the Gatehouse, have much weakened my body, in which I have had several battles with death; but the power of my God arising, gave me dominion over the distemper and weakness of the flesh. The day was dreadful to all flesh, and few were able to abide it, and stand in the judgment: but the Lord was very merciful to the remnant of his people, and his blessed seed is arising in many vessels. Our meetings are quiet, save only the Bull and Mouth, which is kept out: they are beginning to be very large of strange faces and good honest countenances, who with exceeding hungerings receive the Truth. Gilbert Latey is in health, and Amos Stoddart, but he hath buried his wife. A. P. [Alexander Parker] is at Bristol. There is no stranger Friend here at present but myself, and the work is very great. G. W. [George Whitehead] is in Essex.—William Caton is out of the body, [deceased,] as was so related to me two days since.

The city doth begin to fill again. I have account of 920 Friends and Friends' children and servants, that were buried in our burial place, since the 25th of the 1st month 1665; but I think not much above half were Friends. The ship and Friends are yet in the river; and all in Newgate are pretty well, and have much liberty.—The Bishop of Salisbury is dead; and this day I heard that Canterbury was dead, but I am not certain; and also another, but his name I know not.

So at present I rest thy truly loving friend and brother, in the fellowship of the everlasting Gospel.

MORGAN WATKINS.

*From the Original.*

### No. LVII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 2nd of Eighth month, [tenth mo.] 1666.

DEAR M. F.—My dear love in the Truth is unto thee. I have lately been in the country, which is the cause of my not writing to thee.

People are in a great confusion here, by reason of the fire which happened in this city, to the great destruction and ruin of the same;

which has not been without a just cause of provocation of the Lord by this generation; who have lifted up themselves against the Lord and their hearts have been given up to pride and vanity, and not to seek the Lord; but rather to persecute them that were true seekers of Him, and who delighted in his ways.

There was a young man that came out of Huntingdonshire, to warn the King to set Friends at liberty; or else, within two days, destruction should be.\* He went to Whitehall the day before the fire; but they would not admit him to come to the King: but the next morning he went again, and was admitted to speak to him in the presence-chamber. Here was last week another man Friend, who came out of Staffordshire to speak with the King, and to deliver a *pay* [a paper or list (?)] to him; and indeed a very plain and honest man he is, and he had a great weight upon him: and going towards Whitehall last sixth-day morning betimes, he met the King in his coach, (as it was supposed) going a hunting. And he stepped to the coach side, and laid his hand upon it, and said: "King Charles, my message is this day unto thee, in the behalf of God's poor, afflicted, suffering people;" and gave him his *pay*, (which indeed were weighty words, and pressed him on to read it. The King said, "How dost thou think I can read it now? So he told the King that his message was unto him,—“that the people of God might have their liberty from under the great bondage, that thee and thy law hath laid upon them.” Then the King replied and said, that he and his Parliament were to consider of it. The Friend told him, “if they did so consider of it, as to set the afflicted people of the Lord at liberty, it might be a means to stop the judgments of the Lord; but if so be, that they did continue their bonds, the Lord God would multiply his judgments the more upon them.” Then the Friend moved the sufferings of Friends at Reading, and told him that their sufferings did cry very much in the ears of the Lord against him; and except he set them at liberty from under the cruel law of *præmunire*, their cries would not be stopped, but would be turned double upon his head. Then the King said, that they would not obey the law of the nation. Then the Friend told him, that if so be, he and his Parliament would make a law *equal* to the law of God, then he might try whether they would walk contrary to that; and so pressed him to set Friends at liberty, or else the Lord would bring worse judgments upon him. And he told him, that the Lord had pleaded with this city, with plagues, sword, and with fire; and so left him. When he came to the coach

\* See G. Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, p. 338.



side, the footman took off his hat; but the King bid him give the man his hat again, and was very mild and moderate.

So this is the most at present.—His name is Adam Barfoote.

I saved thy book from the fire, and last seventh-day I gave it to W. Warwick. E. H.

*From the Original.*

[The narratives given in the Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys, (who were eye witnesses,) of the great fire of London, are sad indeed. Evelyn writes; "Sept. 3. The fire continued all this night (if I may call that night, which was light as day for ten miles round about,) after a dreadful manner—when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very dry season. I went on foot to the (Bank side in Southwark,) and saw the whole south part of the city burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Cornhill, Tower Street, Fen-church Street, Gracious Street, and so along to Bainsford's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paul's Church.—The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that from the beginning, (I know not by what despondency or fate,) they hardly stirred to quench it; so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation, and running about like distracted creatures.—Oh! the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as haply the world had not seen the like since the foundation of it, nor to be outdone till the universal conflagration. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven; the light [being] seen above forty miles round about for many nights.—The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St. George's Fields and Moorfields, as far as Highgate, and several miles in circle; some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag or necessary utensils, bed or board; who, from delicateness, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty," &c. vol. i. p. 372—374.]

#### No. LVIII.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 13th of Ninth month, [eleventh mo.] 1666.

DEAR M. F.—Though for some time I have been silent in this manner of speaking to thee by writing, yet is not my love in any measure diminished, but rather augmented to thee; and I often remember thee in thy sufferings; and thou (with all the faithful in Christ) are dear and near unto me. I hope thou art, as formerly, sensible of the integrity and innocent true simplicity of my heart, both towards God and

all his people; for Truth is my delight, and in the work and service of God I labour: it is my meat and drink to do the will of God, and therein I am fully resolved to continue, even to the end.

I have for some time been in and about Bristol, where the work of God is still very precious, as dear T. Salthouse can inform thee. Since my departure from thence, I have had good service on the Lord's behalf in several parts of Wiltshire and at Reading, where Friends are generally well, but kept prisoners as formerly. Ann Curtis is at liberty, but Thomas Curtis, and G. Lamboll, and J. Cole with his two brothers, and about thirty-two or thirty-three more, are prisoners. At Wycomb I was also, where Friends at present are in health. John Raunce hath been much exercised in his family; five died out of it of the sickness, and his two daughters were nigh death, but are recovered: at present he and his family are well, and go abroad again. I was at Aylesbury to visit I. Pennington and the prisoners there, four in all, who were well; from thence I passed to Amersham, and so to Kingston, where I was taken prisoner and committed for seven days.

On fourth-day last, I came to this sad ruined city, the sight whereof did sadden my spirit; considering that the end of woes are not yet come: but in the will of God I am satisfied, knowing assuredly, that in, through, and over all these things, Truth shall arise and prosper, and shall be exalted for ever and ever. Great fears hath surprised the hearts of thousands here, and great talk there hath been of a bloody massacre intended by the papists, which hath raised great contests in the Houses of Parliament; and this day is a proclamation come forth against them: it is like it will not be long before thou see the contents of it.

Friends here are generally well, and meetings thronging full and very peaceable. G. F. is not yet come into the city; last sixth-day at night he lay at Aylesbury, and on the seventh-day intended to pass to William Barber's, four miles from Albans: he was expected here this night; we hope he will be here very shortly. We be pretty many of the labouring brethren in the city, to wit, G. W., John Whitehead, Tho. Loe, Jo. Coale, Thomas Rölfe, and myself. I this day received a letter from Thomas Salthouse; if with thee, remember my dear love to him, and to John and Margaret Rouse, Sarah, Mary, Susan, and Rachel Fell, with all the rest of thy family and friends, who love and obey the Truth. My heart in the true love of God is knit unto you all; in which I bid thee farewell; and rest,

Thy brother in the Truth that lives for ever.

ALEXANDER PARKER.

*From the Original.*

## No. LIX.

WILLIAM CALLOW TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 6th of First month, [third mo.] 1668.

DEARLY BELOVED, — All Friends here are well in general, and our meetings very full and peaceable at present.

As concerning Friends' proceedings at the Court, at present I need not say anything of it, for E. Stubbs, it is like, will inform thee. What may be done, I know not: but the Lord's will be done, into whose will and living power, I, with many more, am wholly and freely given up, and to what He sees good for us; knowing by good experience to our great comfort, that He will suffer no more to be laid on us, than what he will also enable us to bear.

G. F. we hear, is come to Berkshire, and is expected to be here this week. There are but few Friends in the ministry here now, but John Burnyeat and J. Coale, who came last seventh-day. With my dear love, &c.

WILLIAM CALLOW.

*From the original apparently, bearing the post mark.*

In *Besse's Sufferings*, chap. xx. under "Isle of Man," is a long and sad narrative of the cruel persecutions, to which this Friend, William Callow, his wife and family, were subjected. Repeated attempts were made, at the instigation chiefly of the Bishop of the Island and the Governor, to banish this Friend and others; but they were again and again sent back to the Island by order of magistrates of the districts in England and Ireland, whither they had been sent. In 1666, W. Callow came to London, and obtained from the Prince Rupert a letter to the Earl of Derby, interceding on his behalf; in which W. C. is described as an ancient tenant of the Earl in the Isle of Man, and who "is now, it seems, turned Quaker, and for that reason banished the country." "If (adds the Prince) there be no more in it than being a Quaker, I do presume your Lordship may be inclined to restore him and his family to their ancient possessions; and that you may please to do so, is the reason of my giving your Lordship this trouble." The Earl's reply is conclusive against the application,—briefly stating that he would not have the island infected with schism; it being then clear, as he said, of Quakers and Dissenters. The account of the severe persecutions against this Friend and the few others in that island, occupy several folio pages of Besse; who concludes the same with the following paragraph:—"Thus have we traversed an almost unparalleled series of persecutions, carried on many years together, by the arbitrary power of an inexorable prelate, against a Christian and harmless people, for no other cause than the exercise of pure religion, and

keeping of a conscience void of offence both toward God and man."

*[The letter of W. Callow has upon it a seal with this motto,*

"1660.

God above

Keep us in his light  
and love,"

*—the rest broken off.\*]*

## No. LX.

THOMAS SALTHOUSE TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 19th of Third month, [fifth mo.] 1668.

— I PERCEIVE that you have been informed that the Parliament is adjourned until the 11th day of sixth month; and nothing is done as regards the renewing of the bill for transportation.† Meetings here and in all parts are peaceable, and like to be, as far as we can perceive. Friends here determine now to press the King and Council to consider of the returns out of all the counties, concerning the prisoners in the gaols of England; and to that end Thomas Moore was this last week sent for, who is now come up to move the King to the prosecution of so good a work. Doctor Lower‡ hath improved his interest of late with some Lords of the Royal Society, to plead with the King on thy behalf for liberty; but *Pharaoh's* heart is so hard. There is at present at this place, of those that labour in the work of the ministry, G. W., J. C., John Grave, James Batt, Samuel Thornton [?], John Stubbs, and one Samuel, son of old Elizabeth Hooten. We had very large and precious meetings here last first-day.

Thy faithful friend in Truth.

THOMAS SALTHOUSE.

*From the original, addressed to Lancaster.*

## No. LXI.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL.

London, 22nd of Seventh month, [ninth mo.] 1668.

DEAR M. F. — I received thy letter dated 15th of the sixth month; and I have been most of the time with G. F. in Hampshire and that way, so that I could not well write an answer. This last week Thomas Moore hath been twice with the King on two Council days, and spoke to him concerning the prisoners: the King told

\* One of Richard Farnsworth's letters had a seal with a skull, and the superscription "Memento mori."—very generally the initials of the writers' names are contained on the seals:—"a flaming sword," with his initials, was upon one of George Fox's seals, which he left specially with other articles in his will.

† Conventicle Act, the term of which, (three years,) had then not long expired.

‡ The words in the text are not very distinct. Doctor Lower was brother of Thomas Lower, who married one of M. Fell's daughters.



him they were full of business; and so he is put off, and nothing is like to be done.

—If thou writes to me, direct to John Staples, a grocer, near the Three Cups, Aldersgate street, London. The Parliament is again adjourned. E. H.

*From the Original.*

## No. LXII.

JOHN ROUSE TO HIS SISTER-IN-LAW SARAH FELL.

Newington, the 15th of Eleventh month, 1668.  
[first mo., 1669.]

DEAR SISTER, — We have had several precious meetings, since the General Meeting, for the gathering of those that are gone astray; in which the power and glory so irresistibly broke in upon them, that many of them were very much broken, and gave open testimonies against that spirit which had seduced them from the unity of Friends, very much to the satisfaction of the faithful: and the power wrought so effectually among them, that Friends had little need to set forth the evil of the courses they had followed; for they themselves gave sufficient testimony of the evil thereof: and the bowels of Friends were so enlarged towards them, that I believe there will be meetings appointed for the gathering of them, so long as any, that are honest among them, are left ungathered. Thy dearly loving brother.

J. R.

*From the original apparently.*

[The writer mentions his mother and Rachel being there, and of Rachel going to Shacklewell school. G. Fox had advised the establishment of this school the year before, "for instructing girls and young maidens in whatever things were civil and useful in the creation."—*Journal* (1667.)]

[George Fox in his *Journal*, under date of this year, writes: "We had great service at London this year, and the Lord's Truth came over all; and many that had been out from Truth, came in again this year, confessing and condemning their former outgoings." And again,—"several meetings we had with them, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all, and set judgment on the head of that which had run out. In these meetings, which lasted whole days, several who had run out with John Perrot and others, came in again; and condemned that spirit which led them [with him] to keep on their hats when Friends prayed, and when they themselves prayed. Some of them said, that—if Friends had not stood, they had been gone, and had fallen into perdition."—

Thomas Ellwood also mentions the "memo-

orable meeting appointed to be holden in London, through a Divine opening in the motion of life, in that eminent servant and prophet of God, George Fox; for the restoring and bringing in again those who had gone out from Truth, and the holy unity of Friends therein, by the means and ministry of John Perrot."—*Friends' Library*, vol. vii. p. 397.

The brief allusion to the subject of this General Meeting in the foregoing letter, comprehends much that is striking and instructive:—further extracts from Thomas Ellwood upon the same subject, well deserve to be here added. After giving some information respecting John Perrot and his notions, Thomas Ellwood proceeds to confess, that in the time of his own infancy and weakness of judgment as to Truth, he was himself caught "in that snare:—but the Lord in tender compassion to my soul, was graciously pleased to open my understanding, and give me a clear sight of the enemy's design in this work; and drew me off from it." "But when that solemn meeting was appointed at London, for a travail of spirit in behalf of those who had thus gone out, that they might rightly return, and be sensibly received into the unity of the body again,—my spirit rejoiced, and with gladness of heart I went to it; as did many more of both city and country; and with great simplicity and humility of mind, did honestly and openly acknowledge our outgoin, and take condemnation and shame to ourselves."—"Thus in the motion of life were the healing waters stirred; and many, through the virtuous power thereof, were restored to soundness; and indeed, not many were lost. And though most of these who thus returned, were such as, with myself, had before renounced the error and forsaken the practice; yet did we sensibly find, that forsaking without confessing, (in case of public scandal,) was not sufficient: but that an open acknowledgment (of open offences,) as well as forsaking them, was necessary to the obtaining complete remission."—*Ibid.* p. 397–8.

## No. LXIII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 10th of Eighth month, [tenth mo.] 1669.

DEAR G. F.—My dear love in the everlasting Truth is unto thee and to M. F. This is to let thee know, that yesterday morning our dear friend Joseph Fuce laid down the body at Kingston.

This day week the Parliament comes to sit: I thought we might have seen thee here about that time. An account of Friends sufferings printed and given them, might be very serviceable at their first coming [together.] I hear the Bishops intend to have a new Act made

against us, if they can, at the Parliament;—the first offence to be imprisonment, and the second offence confiscation of goods. E. H.

*From the Original.*

[Both Houses of Parliament, in the spring this year, addressed the King to suppress Conventicles in and near London and Westminster. The next year, 1670, they proceeded to renew the Act against Conventicles, after a lapse of three years from its expiration. It is remarkable how earnestly both Houses of Parliament pressed on this work of persecution. The King however once more issued his declaration of indulgence in 1672; and at the meeting of Parliament in 1673, the House of Commons again took into consideration the King's declaration of indulgence, and presented another address or rather a remonstrance against it; after which the King, desirous to please the House, again revoked it in 1673-4.]

#### NO. LXIV.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL\* [now Fox.]

London, 16th of Eleventh month 1669 [first mo. 1670.]

DEAR M. F.—My dear love to thee in the everlasting Truth, which is much in my heart that I cannot express.

I received thy letter from Bristol, and shall be as ready to answer thy desire to write to thee sometimes as ever; for I honour thee,—very dear thou art unto me as ever in the precious Truth. I parted with G. F., but now I have been with him all this day; he is very well. I received a letter yesterday from Arthur Cotton at Plymouth, and he informs me, that there lately arrived at that place, several Friends from beyond sea, viz.: Robert Hodgson, Christopher Bacon and Christopher Holder, Ann Clayton and two other women Friends. Ann and the other women and C. Holder are gone towards Bristol.

Yesterday, there was a Friend with the King, one that is John Grove's mate:† he was the man that was mate to the master of the fisher-boat, that carried the King away, when he went from Worcester fight; and only this Friend and the master knew of it in the ship: and the Friend carried him [the King] ashore on his shoulders. The King knew him again, and was very friendly to him; and told him he remembered him, and of several things that

were done in the ship at the same time. The Friend told him, the reason why he did not come [forward] all this while was,—that he was satisfied, in that he had peace and satisfaction in himself, that he did what he did to relieve a man in distress: and now he desired nothing of him, but that he would set Friends at liberty, who were great sufferers, or to that purpose; and told the King he had a *pay* [supposed a list] of 110 that were præmunured, that had lain in prison about six years, and none can release them but him. So the King took the *pay*,—and said, there were many of them, and that they would be in again in a month's time; and that the country gentlemen complained to him, that they were so troubled with the Quakers. So he said, he would release him six; but the Friend thinks to go to him again, for he had not fully [word not clear, supposed to mean relieved] himself.

All things are well and quiet here in relation to the Truth. I am in haste, and cannot write so large as I may when I have more time, it being late; but rest thy loving friend,

E. H.

*From the original; the letter bears the post-mark, and is addressed*

[“For Thomas Greene, shopkeeper in Lancaster. for M. F.” *It is endorsed by George Fox, thus:* [“e hookes to m ff of paseges consarning richard carver that carred the king of [on] his backe. 1669.”]

The particulars described in the foregoing letter, of what passed at this interview with the King, are curious and interesting, and, it might be said, full of character. On the restoration of the King, many and earnest were the applications for favours and pensions, by those who had hopes of making out any case of *personal service* towards the monarch in his distress, at a time when a large Parliamentary premium was set upon his head, and during his extraordinary escape from this country in 1654. This accounts for the remark of the Friend (probably in reply,) why he did not come forward earlier.\* The honest simplicity of his answer, and his appeal to the King on behalf of his suffering brethren in the gaols, will doubtless not be lost upon the reflecting reader.

From a volume entitled *The Boscobel Tracts, relating to the escape of Charles the 2nd after the battle of Worcester*, re-published in 1830, the following particulars are extracted, which seem to bear upon the occurrence mentioned in the foregoing letter; they are taken from that part of the work which contains the King's own account of *his escape, as dictated to S. Pepys*. After de-

\* The date of her marriage with George Fox in the Bristol Register of Friends, is 27th of eighth month, 1669.

† John Grove is spoken of by Thomas Ellwood in his *Life* (under date 1670,) as a choice Friend and sailor of London, who was master of a vessel, and who traded to the island of Barbadoes. He carried out a son of Isaac Pennington's, who fell onboard on the voyage home, and was lost.—See *T. E.'s narrative*, Friends' Library, vol. vii. p. 402.

\* Nine years had elapsed since the King's restoration.



scribing his reaching Brighthelmstone, through a succession of very extraordinary escapes from discovery, the King goes on to state—"About four in the morning, myself and the company before named, went towards Shoreham, taking the master of the ship with us on horseback, behind one of our company; and came to the vessel's side, which was not above sixty tons. But it being *low water*, and the vessel lying dry, I and Lord Wilmot got up with a ladder into her, and went and lay down in the little cabin, till the tide came to fetch us off." Their approach to the French coast is thus described. "We stood over to the coast of France, the wind being then full north; and the next morning a little before day we saw the coast. But *the tide failing us*, and the wind coming about to the S. W., we were forced to come to and anchor within two miles from the shore, till the tide of flood was done. We found ourselves just before an harbour in France called Fescamp; and just as the tide of ebb was made, espied a vessel to leeward of us, which by her nimble working, I suspected to be an Ostend privateer. Upon which I went to my Lord Wilmot, and telling him my opinion of that ship, proposed to him *our going ashore in the little cock boat, for fear they should prove so*: we accordingly both went ashore in the cock boat, and the next day got to Rouen."—*Boscobel Tracts*, p. 163.

It seems probable from this account, that the tide failing, the King was carried ashore, as usual, on the shoulders of a sailor—the Friend; whose name George Fox gives us in his endorsement of the letter; viz. Richard Carver.]

## No. LXV.

## ELLIS HOOKES TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 15th of Twelfth month, 1669, [second mo. 1670.]

DEAR G. F. — As for the Friend that was with the king, his love is to thee: he has been with the king lately, and Thomas Moore was with him; and the king was very loving to them. He had a fair and free opportunity to open his mind to the king: the king has promised to do for him, but willed him to wait a month or two longer.

I rest thy faithful friend to serve thee,  
E. H.

*From the Original.*

## No. LXVI.

## ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX (LATE FELL.)

London, 27th of Third mo. [fifth mo.] 1670.

DEAR M. F.—My dear love is unto thee in the unchangeable Truth, even the same as it

was from the beginning; the Truth is my life and delight above all things in this world. I have the most cause of any man to remember the Lord's love to me, because I have partaken of so many mercies both inwardly and outwardly, blessed be his name for ever! my heart is every day engaged more and more unto him: and the more I taste, the more I desire of his love and kindness.

The chief cause of my writing is, to give thee an account how it is with us. I do judge that thou hast heard ere this, how G. F. was taken on the first-day after the Act came forth, at Gracious street, for speaking in the court to the people. The mayor was very civil to him.\* The last first-day the meetings were very quiet everywhere, except at Gracious street: they took W. Warwick, and had him before the mayor, who fined him: all else was quiet within doors, and very full meetings; and every day else this week all was very quiet, and within doors in all places in and about the city. Last first-day they broke up Watson's meeting, the Presbyterian, at Devonshire House:—I stood by, and saw them take three away before the mayor; one of them seemed to be a young non-conforming priest.

G. F. is about Waltham, and I think may not come to town *while* next week. The king has been at Dover two weeks; he is expected in again this day; and then, they talk about the town we shall have toleration.

This is the sum of what I have to write at present, from thy lo: friend,

E. H.

*From the Original.*

This was a period of renewed severities and persecutions against Friends, and also other dissenters. The Act against Conventicles of 1664, continued in force for three years or thereabouts: many were the sufferings of our Friends under the operation of this cruel law. "The execution of it," (G. Whitehead remarks) "tended to the great oppression and ruin of many of the king's innocent peaceable subjects and families, especially of the people called Quakers, whom the persecutors in that three years' time, (while the said Act was in force,) furiously endeavoured to rid the nation of by banishment, or to force them to conform to that church, whereof those persecutors were members."

In the year 1670, this Act was again renewed: it received the Royal assent on the "11th of April," and came into force the "10th of May," answering to the 10th of Third month, 1670. There were clauses added to this renewed Act, of yet greater rigour than before; it was to be "construed most largely and beneficially for

\* See George Fox's *Journal* under date 1669—1670, for a detailed account of his arrest on this occasion.

the suppressing of Conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof." [*Extract from the Act.*] "The agents chiefly employed for that work, were generally a company of idle, profligate, and mercenary *informers*," who were thus let loose upon Friends: one-third of the fines imposed by the Act, being set down to the informer, in cases of conviction. "Thus were we exposed and laid open by a law, to be devoured by beasts of prey, (writes Wm. Crouch,) and neither our own innocence, nor our own houses (according to the old maxim in law, a man's house being his castle) could defend us, or preserve us from being ruined by unreasonable and wicked men.

Neale, in his *History of the Puritans*, speaking of the cruel consequences of this Act against Conventicles, thus expresses himself:

"Great numbers were prosecuted under this Act, and many industrious families reduced to poverty."—"The Act was executed with such severity in Starling's Mayoralty [in London,] that many of the trading men of the city were removing with their effects to Holland, till the king put a stop to it: informers were every where at work, and having crept into religious assemblies in disguise, they levied great sums of money upon minister and people." In an Archbishop's letter to his Bishops in this day, (quoted by Neale,) he thus writes, in allusion to the Act and its effects: "I have confidence under God, that if we do our parts now at first seriously, by the assistance of the civil power, *considering the abundant care and provision the Act contains for our advantage*, we shall in a few months see so great an alteration in the distraction of these times,"—"as that the seduced people would be returning from their seditious and self-seeking teachers, to the unity of the Church," &c. &c.

After alluding to the various contrivances of the non-conformist ministers to evade the effects of this Act, Neale proceeds to describe the conduct of Friends under it.

"The behaviour of the Quakers was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the spirit of martyrdom. They met at the same place and hour as in times of liberty; and when the officers came to seize them, none of them would stir; they went all together to prison; they staid there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison fees. When they were discharged, they went to their meeting-house again as before; and when the doors were shut by order, they assembled in great numbers in the street before the doors; saying, they would not be ashamed, nor afraid, to own their meeting together in a peaceable manner

to worship God; but in imitation of the prophet Daniel, they would do it the more publicly, because they were forbid. Some called this obstinacy, others firmness; but by it they carried their point, the Government being weary of contending against so much resolution."—p. 673—676. vol. ii. *History of the Puritans*.

Neale does not appear an unprejudiced writer, when speaking of the Friends of that day; the foregoing testimony coming from him, may therefore be deemed the more worthy of notice.

## No. LXVII.

JOHN ROUSE TO SARAH FELL.

Wansworth, 15th of Sixth month [eighth mo.] 1670.

DEAR SISTER,—Meetings yesterday were pretty quiet, to what they have been sometimes. I was yesterday at Gracious-street meeting, which was in the street;—and as near as I could judge several thousands [were] at it; but by reason of the multitude of rude people who came mostly to gaze, it was more like a tumult than a solid assembly; which was no small grief to me to see. William Penn was there, and spoke most that was spoken: there were some watchmen with halberts, and musketeers came to take him down while he was speaking; but the multitude crowded so close about him, that they could not come to him: but to prevent further disturbance, he promised, when the meeting was done, to come to them; and so he and one Mead [William] who is lately convinced, went to them: they carried them before the mayor, and he committed them for a riot. I hear the mayor was very rough with William Penn.\* Thomas Beedle was committed from Horsleydown meeting for speaking. Many of the professors' meetings were broken up, and some committed; but they skulk very much up and down in holes and corners, and when they are discovered, fly away.

I have not much to add for thee, but that we are all well; and remember our dear love to my mother, thyself, our sisters, our little ones, and the rest.

Thy dearly lov: brother,

J. R.

*From the Original.*

## No. LXVIII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, the 5th of the First month, [third mo.] 1671.

DEAR M. F.—My dear love in the everlasting Truth is unto thee and to all thy family: my soul is bound up with thee in the covenant of love and life; and I hope I shall never give

\* See the account of their memorable trial at the Old-Baily, in W. Penn's Works, &c.: also Friends' Library, vol. v. p. 40.



thee occasion to forget me, but that I may be still in thy remembrance when thou callest upon the Lord: for my trials and exercises are many; and my bodily weakness is a great exercise to me; but I have left off all my employment in printing books, by reason of my weakness.

Dear Margaret, all my care is, that I may lay my head down in peace and rest with the Lord Jesus, whom I have loved from a child, and in whom my trust is for evermore; who hath still supported me in all my trials, troubles, and exercises, that I have met with,—blessed be the Lord! who is a present help to all that trust in Him in the time of their need.

Here is a ship lately arrived from Barbadoes; and I suppose thou wilt receive some account from some others concerning thy dear husband,\* who, I understand, is very well again. I saw a letter from John Hull, who intends to come over again in William Baily's or J. Freeman's ship. It seems the council there have been very busy, in endeavouring to make an Act, in imitation of the Act here, against conventicles; but they find some opposition against it, so that, it may be, it may come to little. There is great pressing of seamen, and beating up for volunteers to send to France; so that it is like to be a dismal summer. Here are two ambassadors from Holland, and very fair offers, as I hear, for an accommodation, and from Spain likewise; which makes a rumour as if our king would stand neuter, and not assist either France or Holland; but this is much doubted by many.

Things are pretty well and quiet here, in relation to Friends and Truth; only [we are] kept out of our meetings at Ratcliff and Wheeler street still, but not by soldiers; and sometimes [we are] let in, when the constable is moderate. Things are pretty quiet generally in the counties also; and the good seed grows up and increases, in the midst of the troubles that are in the world.

—— I rest thy loving friend.

E. H.

*From the Original.*

#### No. LXIX.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 3rd of Eighth month [tenth mo.] 1671.

DEAR M. F.—My dear love is unto thee, in that which is beyond expression: and though I am outwardly but weak, still the Lord knows that my heart is fervent unto him: and he lifts up my head, else I should faint and fall under. —

Ann Travers and her daughter's dear love is to thee.——Things are pretty quiet and well here at present. The parliament is prorogued till the 20th of October, 1672. There is like to be war again, some talk, between Holland and England; but France and Holland go certainly to war. There has been a great deal of hurt done by the last great storm; above an 100 sail cast away: Samuel Ellis is judged to be lost, also two more Friends' vessels, men and all. William Baily and J. Tip-lady were in the storm, but were preserved: it has broke down the banks in Lincolnshire, and drowned the country for twelve miles, and carried away their corn and cattle and goods, and some were drowned: the like storm hath not been heard of for many years. This is the most from thy loving friend.

E. H.

*From the Original.*

#### No. LXX.

#### ON THE KING'S DECLARATION FOR THE RELEASE OF FRIENDS OUT OF THE PRISONS IN 1672.

[GEORGE WHITEHEAD, in his *Christian Progress*, Friends' Library, vol. viii. p. 348, states, "There was but little respite from persecution in twelve years time, from the year 1660 unto 1672, in which was the last war at sea between the English and Dutch; so that one judgment and calamity followed another, plague, fire, and war, unto great depopulation and devastation; showing God's heavy displeasure against persecution and cruelty, and that spirit which had been so highly at work, against innocent, conscientious, and honest people, (some of whom the Lord delivered by death;) yet many persecutors were so hardened, that they repented not of their cruelties; and we have observed in our times, how suddenly the Lord swept away many of that sort.

"Howbeit by this time [A. D. 1671-2,] the king did seem to bethink himself to take other measures, than to continue persecution to destroy his own subjects, not knowing what issue the Dutch war against him might come to; insomuch that he published a declaration of indulgence to Dissenters, to suspend the execution of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical."

The king, by this declaration, suspended the execution of all penal statutes against all sorts of non-conformists immediately; and all judges and justices, &c., were to take notice of the same, and pay due obedience thereto.

Soon after the said declaration of indulgence was published, George Whitehead addressed the king on behalf of his suffering friends in prison, to the number of 400 or upwards; some of whom had endured ten or eleven years' im-

\* Then in Barbadoes, who had been very sickly there.—*See Journal*, 1671.

prisonment. After further exertions, he and his friend Thomas Moore, (for whom the king had some respect,) were permitted to appear at the Council, to be heard on the case. G. W. proceeds:

"Then Thomas Moore, myself, and our friend Thomas Green, attended at the Council Chamber, Whitehall; and were all admitted in before the king and a full Council. Being called to go up before the king, who was at the upper end of the Council board, I had a fair opportunity to open the case of our suffering Friends as a conscientious people, chiefly to show the reason of our not swearing allegiance to the king;—that it was not in any contempt, or disrespect, either to the king's person or government; but singly, as it is a matter of conscience to us *not to swear at all*, nor in any case, and that, in sincere obedience to Christ's command and gospel ministry; (Matt. v. and James v.) When I had opened, and more fully pleaded our suffering Friends' case, the king gave this answer, viz: "I'll pardon them," &c. Whereupon Thomas Moore pleaded the innocency of our Friends, that they needed no pardon, being innocent, &c., the king's own warrant in a few lines would discharge them: "for where the word of a king is, there is power;" said T. M. The king answered, "Oh! Mr. Moore, there are persons as innocent as a child (or children) new born, that are pardoned, that is, from the penalties of the law; you need not scruple pardon," &c.——After which G. W. made this answer: "It is not for us to prescribe, or dictate to the king and his Council what methods to take for our Friends' discharge; they know best their own methods in point of law; we seek the end thereof, namely, the effectual discharge of our suffering Friends out of prison; that they may live peaceably, and quietly enjoy their own, &c. Whereupon they all appeared satisfied."—*Christian Progress*, Friends' Library, vol. viii. p. 350.

After the occurrence of these proceedings, circular letters were addressed to the sheriffs of the counties, requiring them to make return to the Council board, lists of our Friends confined in their respective gaols. A copy of the circular, sent down to Friends in the counties, is here given.

#### CIRCULAR TO THE SHERIFFS FROM THE COUNCIL BOARD.

"AFTER our hearty commendations—Whereas request hath been made unto his Majesty, in behalf of the Quakers, who remain at present in several gaols and prisons of this kingdom, that his Majesty would be pleased to extend his mercy towards them, and give order for their relief; which his Majesty taking into conside-

ration, hath thought fit, in order to his clearer information, before he resolve anything therein, to command us to write these our letters unto you: And, accordingly we do hereby will and require you to procure a perfect list or calendar of the names, times, and causes of commitment of all such persons called Quakers, as are remaining in any gaol or prison within this county, and to return the same forthwith to this Board. And so nothing doubting of your ready performance of this his Majesty's command, we bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, the — day of March, 1672.

Your loving friends."

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO STEPHEN CRISP.

London, 3rd of First month, [third mo.] 1672.

DEAR S. C.—Before thy letter came to my hand, I had drawn up a paper containing the substance of thine, which (before I had thine) Thomas Moore had given to the king, together with a list of the præmunired Friends, and of those sentenced for banishment, &c.; which hitherto has been effectual, in order to a further inquiry about Friends, &c. How far the king and Council have proceeded, in answer to the request, I leave it to William Crouch to inform thee. Thy paper is kept for a further occasion, if need be, if our end be not answered by them. But we are encouraged to hope well for divers reasons. I could not well send to write to thee before, being much exercised for the sufferers. The Council yesterday signed the letters to the sheriffs for a return of Friends' commitments, &c., to the Board; so that they are like to be had with expedition into the several counties.

My very dear love to thee, thy wife, R. Crouch, and Friends.

In haste, thy dear brother,  
G. W.

*From the Original.*

No. LXXI.

JOHN ROUSE TO MARGARET FOX.

London; 4th of Second month [fourth mo.] 1672.

DEAR MOTHER, ——— Last sixth-day the two women took the grant out of the Attorney General's office, and he gave them his fee, which should have been £5; his clerk took but 20s.; whereas his fee was 40s. Yesterday they went with it to the king, who signed it in the Council; and Arlington also signed it, but would take no fees, whereas his fees would have been £12 or £20; neither would William-son's man take anything,—saying, that if any religion were true, it was ours. To-morrow it is to pass the signet, and on sixth-day the privy



seal, and afterwards the broad seal, which may be done on any day. The power of the Lord hath wrought mightily in the accomplishment of it; and the Lord hath bowed their hearts wonderfully in it,—blessed be his name for ever!

Thy dear son in the Lord,  
JOHN ROUSE.

No. LXXII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 13th of Sixth month [eighth mo.] 1672.

DEAR M. F.—My dear love in the pure Truth, in which is my stay and trust in all exercises, and over all fading things whatsoever. Oh! the Lord keep me in his power, that I may answer his requirings at all times.

I received thy letter, dated the first of this month, wherein I was much refreshed. The weakness of my body is such, that it makes the exercises I meet with much more hard; [so that] I am often ready to fall under, by reason thereof.

G. W. and myself have been much employed this summer in the business of the prisoners' liberty; and it is such a troublesome business to go through, as I have not met with the like: it lies now in the Secretary's hands, ready signed by the king, and wants only dating: I have engrossed it once already, and it contains six of the largest skins of parchment I could get; and I must engross it once more for the Signet Office; and from thence it is to go to the Crown Office, or Patent Office, and to be engrossed in Chancery hand, when I suppose it will make at least twelve skins. If we could once get it passed the Signet and Privy Seal, I hope it would soon be done; in the mean time, we must attend in patience.

Our meetings here and in most or all parts are very quiet, so far as I know. I have not much more to acquaint thee of. My dear love is to thy daughters and to all Friends.

I rest thy lo: friend,  
E. H.

*From the Original.*

No. LXXIII.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 1st of Eighth month, [tenth mo.] 1672.

DEAR M. F.—My dear love in the precious Truth is unto thee and to all thy family.

This is chiefly to acquaint thee, that now our business, which G. W. and myself have taken so much pains and care about this summer, is accomplished, and under the great seal, and two duplicates of the same under the great seal also; the original contains eleven skins of

parchment. There were about 500 persons contained in it: how we shall dispense it to the several counties, as yet we are not fully resolved; but expect that a letter from the king's principal Secretary to the respective sheriffs, signifying the pardon, may be effectual to discharge them; but of this thou may hear more in the next.

I suppose thou heard that the Parliament is prorogued. Things are very quiet here, and a great openness there is in the nation, blessed be the Lord; who is establishing his Truth in the earth, and makes use of weak and contemned instruments in his hand, to confound the great and mighty things of the world. I hear that John Stubbs and Solomon Eccles are prisoners in Boston, New England.

Friends here did at the Quarterly Meeting take into consideration my pains and care in the service of Truth, and are willing to allow me a man to assist, which is some encouragement to me;—and I hope, through the Lord's assistance, to perform my office in faithfulness to the end. So this is the most at present.

From thy lo: friend,  
E. H.

*From the Original.*

[For a full account of the progress and completion of this business of the king's pardon, see *George Whitehead's Christian Progress*, Friends' Library, vol. viii. p. 350–355. The original patent deed is preserved, with the other records of the Society, in London:—a copy of it is given in the Appendix to *George Whitehead's Christian Progress*.

Among the names of prisoners discharged by this patent, is included the noted John Bunyan from the prison at Bedford. It has been matter of some surprise to the Editor, to discover recently, through a public channel, how little this circumstance respecting John Bunyan being discharged with Friends in 1672, appears to be known in the dissenting community. In *J. Bunyan's Life*, it is stated, "In 1672, Mr. Bunyan was discharged from imprisonment; [from Bedford Gaol, after having been confined there twelve years.] This event is generally ascribed to Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln." The author of this *Life* (published by the Religious Tract Society, and compiled from Scot, Burder, and Ivey), then enters into particulars, in what way assistance was supposed to have been afforded in this instance; but no allusion is made to Friends, or to the instrument under which his discharge was actually effected. George Whitehead, in his *Christian Progress*, *Ibid.* p. 353, explains the circumstance:—"When the instrument for the discharge of the prisoners was granted to our Friends, there being other dissenters besides Quakers, in some pri-

sons, as Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents, some of their solicitors, seeing what way we had made with the king for our Friends' release, desired that their friends in prison might be discharged with ours, and have their names in the same instrument, and earnestly requested my advice or assistance; which I was very willing to give in compassion to them. Accordingly I advised them to petition the king (with the names of the prisoners in it,) for his warrant to have them inserted in the same patent with the Quakers; which accordingly they did petition for and obtain. So that there are a few names of other dissenters, who were prisoners in Bedfordshire, Kent and Wiltshire, (as I remember,) in the same instrument with our Friends, and released thereby; which I was very glad of, that they partook of the same benefit through our industry: for when we had made way and beaten the path, it was easy for them to follow. And indeed I was never backward to give any of them advice (if I could) for their help, when any of them have been in straits, and come to me for advice or help. Our being of different judgments and societies, did not abate my compassion or charity, even towards them, who had been my opposers in some cases: Blessed be the Lord my God, who is the Father and Fountain of mercies, whose love and mercies in Christ Jesus to us, should oblige us to be merciful and kind one to another; we being required to love mercy, (yea, to be merciful, as well as to do justly,) and to walk humbly with our God."']

## No. LXXIV.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 10th of Tenth month, [twelfth mo.] 1672.

DEAR M. F.—My dear love is unto thee: I received thy letter, and am always glad to hear from thee and of thy welfare; and am glad to hear thou art well returned to thy home.

We have had no letters lately from thy dear husband, [then in the West Indies,] nor from any with him: the last was sent from John Stubbs out of New England: I suppose he is now in Virginia or Maryland. As concerning the business of Friends' liberty, it is fully executed in all counties, except Durham, Cumberland, Lancashire, and Monmouth in Wales, which are still to do; all the rest of the counties are discharged. For Cumberland I sent down a liberate to the sheriff about three weeks since; but it seems by a letter I received from Thomas Stordy, the sheriff was discharged his office the day before; so this night by the post I dispatched another liberate to the new sheriff, which I hope will do effectually. For Durham we have waited till Gilbert Gerrard came, who came last fourth-day; and I expect a liberate

to discharge those Friends in a few days. In Lancaster there are but two Friends in that gaol inserted in the patent: G. W. and I have been many times to seek the sheriff of that county, but cannot meet with him; but his deputy saith, that it is a county palatinate, and he hath no power over the prisoners, but the gaoler hath it by patent; so I think we must be forced to send down one of the patents which must be showed to him, by the first opportunity we can.

I have been concerned this week or two with the Council, concerning Thomas Hutson and James Strutt, whose ships, and two more, are stopt by order of the Duke [of York(?)]; for they have made an order in Council, that from that day forward not any vessel, little or great, shall go to sea out of any port in England, without guns; great guns, if great ships, and small guns and granadoes, if small ships; and must give bond to fight, if occasion be. This order is procured by the envious petition of some Barbadoes merchant in this city; which will tend to the great damage of many Friends, whose whole maintenance depends upon the sea trade.

Thy lov: friend,

E. H.

*From the Original.*

*Extract from a Letter of Ellis Hookes to M. F., dated London, 24th of Tenth month, [12th mo.] 1672.*

DEAR M. F. — I wrote to thee this day two weeks; and I have not much now to write, only to acquaint thee, that after much solicitation I have been instrumental to get an order for Thomas Hutson and James Strutt to pass to Barbadoes, who are gone to the Downs; which was a great satisfaction to many Friends; — for nobody would believe they should be suffered to go. I have drawn up another *pay* [list] of about fifty more [Friends,] still left in prison through omissions and oversights of the clerks [of the peace(?)] and of sheriffs in their returns; which I intend to present, when the Council sits again after *the idle days* are over.\*

I have not much more at present, but my love to thy children Sarah, Susan and Rachel.

I rest thy lov: friend,

E. H.

G. W. is out of town at present.

*From the Original.*

## No. LXXXV.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 9th of Eleventh month, 1673, [first mo. 1674.]

DEAR M. F.—My dear love is unto thee, and to all thy children.

\* Now commonly called *holidays*, as is supposed.



I received thy letter, and I am glad to hear of thy safe arrival at thy home. And as concerning thy husband, and T. L.\* [Thomas Lower] G. W., Thomas Moore and myself have been much concerned about it: Thomas Moore read thy paper to the king in his chamber, and had an hour's time with him. It will be too large to relate all that passed between them: only thus, he was very kind to Thomas, and told him he was not willing to do any such thing of himself; but wished him to come to the Council, (which was last sixth-day was a week;) where we attended, and the paper was read in the Council, and the matter debated. And Thomas spoke to the king after the Council; and he told him the result of the Council, which was to this effect,—that there being no law broken by them, he could do nothing; but they were left to the law to right them: so no relief we could have in the case then. The king is very timorous (it being just at the pinch of the Parliament's coming on,) of doing anything to displease them, his occasions being so great for money, which might something impede the business. This day week we sent down a letter from Wm. Penn's mother to the Lord Windsor, who is Lord Lieutenant for the county,† which is received, as we do understand by G. F.——We hope that the Lord Lieutenant will be wrought upon by the letter of L. Penn, who is well acquainted with him; that the old snare of the oath may be waived at the Sessions.—G. W. and myself have not been deficient in turning every stone that might be advantageous for obtaining their liberty, nor yet shall we desist in the matter; but I fear there is nothing can be done till the term; except they should præmunire at the Sessions, and then we must apply ourselves again to the king.‡

I was this day at the Lord Treasurer's, and I have a grant to have orders for each County, to remit the King's part of the fines (levied by force of the last Act) [in the case of the released Friends (?)] If Friends in Lancashire will have one, send me word, they will cost about forty shillings a piece.

The House of Commons sat last fourth-day, and the King was there, and made a speech to them; and the keeper [Lord Keeper (?)] made an eloquent one, pressed them earnestly for a speedy supply of money to carry on the war, showing the danger if delayed, and of the ill consequence the disaffection of his people would be to him in this juncture, and that he had never more need of their concurrence; and

that whatever was wanting to secure religion or property more than what he had done, let them propose what reasonably they would, and he was ready to receive it.

So, dear Margaret, I have given thee an account of things as they stand at present, and in that true and sincere love, which was always in my heart to thee, I remain thy friend,

E. H.

*From the Original.*

GEORGE WHITEHEAD AND ELLIS HOOKES  
TO MARGARET FOX.

London, 27th of Eleventh month 1673 [first mo. 1674.]

DEAR M. F.—Our dear love in the truth and sincerity of our hearts, salutes thee and thy family.

E. H. having given thee an account before, of our endeavours and labours for thy husband's liberty before the Sessions, it is our business now to mention what has passed since. At Sessions they tendered him the oath, through the instigation of Parker,\* after some discourse, and fair carriage from the Justices; but they released Thomas Lower, pretending that he had good friends as before: we suspected that Doctor Lower's† soliciting only on his brother's behalf, and procuring a letter to the Lord Lieutenant only for him, might be some impediment to G.'s liberty. But now at the beginning of the term, we have procured Habeas Corpus, and sent down to Worcester last seventh-day, to remove G. and his cause to the King's Bench, within ten days' time; since which we could not as yet hear, but expect shortly to hear whether the Sheriff allows of it; if not, we think to proceed on for another. We have done in this, according to G. F.'s desire; not doubting if he come up, his bonds will be easier here; for in all likelihood they intend to run him to a præmunire at the Assizes at Worcester.

We are in haste; so with our love to all thy children and Friends that way. Thy dear friends and brethren,

G. W.

E. H.

No. LXXVI.

GEORGE FOX TO HIS WIFE.

London, 6th of First month, [third mo.] 1674.

DEAR LOVE,—To whom is my love, and to T. L. [Thos. Lower] and his M. [Mary] and S., R., and I., [daughters of M. F.] and the rest of Friends, in that which is over all, and changeth not.——

\* Imprisoned in Worcester Goal.

† Worcestershire.

‡ Refers to the commitment of George Fox and Thomas Lower to Worcester Gaol, as narrated at large in G. F.'s Journal, under date, 1673-4.

\* The Justice who was so severe against them, and who committed them.

† G. F. states that Dr. Lower was one of the King's physicians.

There hath been a book\* given to the King and Council, and both the Houses of Parliament; and they do generally acknowledge the reason of the thing: and Friends did attend the Parliament; and they were so taken with the thing, that they had intended to have done something, had they sat longer. And Friends gave some of them to the Mayor and Aldermen and Common Council; and they called them into the Mayor's Court, and were very civil, and did generally confess the reason of the thing. I have sent to Barbadoes, and Scotland, and Ireland, and Virginia, for Friends to take the substance, and give to their parliaments, assemblies and governors: and they sing them about the streets: and I desire that you at your monthly and quarterly meetings would send for some of them, and give them on [the] assizes [to] all the justices, and them that be in power, and bailiffs, or mayors; for they do give a great light to dark people: and it was given to the judges and the men of the jury; and Friends have distributed many of them to under officers.

That which S. [Sarah (!)] writes, of some of them [the family (!)] coming up to me, I can say little how I may be ordered; for they moved the Court to have me down to Worcester, and have got a *habeas corpus* and a warrant for the same purpose; and a great jumble and work there hath been about it: but the Truth is over all, and I am in the Lord's hands. The King can do nothing, it being in the judges' and the sheriffs' hands; so they do suppose that I must go to Worcester assizes or sessions.

The salmon thou speaks of, is not yet come, neither do they know by what carrier; nor where he inns.

I had written to you before, but there hath been a great jumble [!] about me, and is still: but the Lord is at work among them, and it will be well; blessed be the Lord.† So in haste, my love to you all.

G. F.

London, mo: 1, day 6, 1674.

*From the original, the whole being in G. F.'s handwriting, with post-mark.*

#### ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FOX.

Southwark, 5th of Third month [fifth mo.] 1674.

DEAR M. F.—My dear and tender love is unto thee in the Truth, which is pure for ever. Blessed be the Lord, whose mercies endure for ever, and who has always had regard to his tender seed; which the enemy has always sought to root out, and to hinder the growth of,

inwardly and outwardly: but the Lord has been the stay and strength of his in all their exercises.

Dear Margaret, I suppose thou wilt hear by other hands that thy dear husband is discharged of his imprisonment at the Sessions;\* so I need not write much: he is coming for London I hear. — My dear love is to all thy children. I hope we shall see thee here at the General Meeting.† From thy loving friend and brother,  
E. H.

*From the Original.*

#### No. LXXVII.

[THIS next letter refers to G. Fox's further imprisonment in Worcester gaol under sentence of *præmunire*‡:—whilst laying in this prison he was taken very ill, so that his life was despaired of. His wife, however, interceded with the King for his release, which he was willing to grant by a pardon; this G. F. could not accept, as it implied guilt. He was then a second time brought up to the King's Bench bar on *habeas corpus*, the eleventh day of twelfth month, for the trial of the errors in his indictment, which were found so many and so gross, that it was quashed; he was then freed by proclamation, after about fourteen months' restraint in or out of the gaol.]

#### WILLIAM PENN TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 1st of Tenth month [twelfth mo.] 1674.

DEAR G. F.—My fervent upright love salutes thee. Thine per post and [by] E. M., I have. For thy business it becomes me not to say what I have endeavoured; but I have with much diligence attempted to get all done as I should desire: I am yet resolved to make one push more about it; so that I cannot write a positive and conclusive account till next seventh or second-day; by which time I hope to have an answer of this great man: his uncle lately died, and left him £3000 per annum, and [he] just married, which did divert the matter. I wrote concerning the writ of error, that it must be received in open session, and the record of the judgment certified by the clerk to the judges of the King's Bench; and if then it appear that there is error, to bear an *habeas corpus*, thou shalt have one.—The King knows not that thou refuseth a pardon, only that we choose rather a more clear and suitable way to

\* He "had liberty only to go at large till next Quarter Sessions."—*Journal*, 1674.

† Which was held in London, the 16th of 4th month [6th mo.] 1674.

‡ The penalties of which were very severe, viz.—to be put out of the King's protection, and forfeit lands and goods to the King, and the body of the sufferer to remain in prison at the King's pleasure or during life, and under this reign, banishment.

\* This book may have been the following: "The Case of the People called Quakers relating to Oaths or Swearing." 1673.—*Whiting's Catalogue*.—See also G. F.'s *Journal* under this date.

† See G. F.'s *Journal*, under 1674, for the satisfactory termination of his imprisonment and trial.



thy innocency : I am, and *in stay*, in town, to do my utmost. The Lord God knows I would come in thy place to release thee ; but the Lord's will be done.

Dear George, things are pretty quiet, and meetings very full, and precious, and living ; blessed be the Lord God for ever !

—As for the sufferings I have spoken to G. W. ; they say there is not stock for such a work ; that they have neither press nor materials for such a considerable work ; and that £1500 will scarce do it.

—The name of the everlasting Lord God be blessed and praised, for His goodness and mercies, for ever, saith my soul :—He is our blessed rock,—the life, joy, and length of our days,—the blessed portion of them that believe and obey.

My unchangeable love flows to thee, dear George, and in it I salute thee, thy dear wife, and T. L., and M. L., with Friends. I am, thy true and respectful friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

*From the original: addressed to Edward Bourne, Physician, in Worcester. For G. F.*

From an original letter of William Penn to George Fox, (which came to hand whilst this sheet was in type,) "dated 20th of ninth month [eleventh mo.] 1674," the following extract is made :—"—A Lord, a man of noble mind, did as good as put himself in a loving way to get thy liberty. He prevailed with the K—— [King] for a pardon ; but that we rejected : then he pressed for a more noble release, that better answered Truth ; he prevailed, and got the King's hand to a release : it *sticks* with the Keeper [Lord Keeper ;\*] and we have and do use what interest we can. The K—— is angry with him ; and promised very largely and lovingly : so that if we have been deceived, thou seest the grounds of it. — Things are brave as to Truth in these parts,—and great conviction upon people."

No. LXXVIII.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 27th of Tenth month [twelfth mo.] 1675.

DEAR G. F.—My very dear and sincere love in Christ Jesus, is hereby manifested to thee ; even that pure unchangeable love, which the God of my life did shed abroad in my heart in the dawning of his blessed day ; and which lives in my heart, and flows to thee : in which I dearly salute thee, and M. F. with T. and M. Lower, I. [Isabel] Sara, Susan and R. [Rachel] Fell, with all in that family, whose hearts are sincere and upright to God.

Dear George, by this thou may know that Friends here are generally well, and our meetings [are] very full and peaceable ; and the power and presence of the Lord is in the midst of our assemblies.

We have of late been exercised with Pennyman, Boyce, and Chadwel [opponents :] but the power of the Lord is over them, and of late we have been quiet. Yesterday, Boyce and Chadwel were at Gratia street [Gracechurch street] meeting ; but there was very little disturbance, and the meeting ended in peace ; and all the rest throughout the city were peaceable. That which at present is weighty upon our spirits is, the division betwixt the two Johns [John Wilkinson and John Story,] and Friends of the North ; and though there has been much writing to and fro, and endeavours used, yet little is yet brought forth to put an end to these sad rents.\* It has been some time in my mind to write to thee, concerning the choice of the six Friends to go down into the North, to have a rehearsing of matters and things now in difference ; of which number I am chosen one, whom the Friends in the Second-day's meeting did nominate : though I was not present at the beginning of the meeting, for I came that morning from Rickmansworth. When I understood how things had been in the meeting that day, and that I was chosen, &c. the thing fell as a weight upon me ; and I told Friends my mind, that I could not then consent, and desired time to weigh the thing. And truly, George, to this very day I have a straitness in my mind, seeing very little likelihood of a reconciliation ; for the former judges I understand are satisfied in their judgment, and are resolved to stand by it, as some have said. Now if we should come and join with them, and if it should so fall out that they and we should differ in some things, my fear and godly jealousy is, that instead of making up breaches, more may be made ;—for which God knows I would not be an instrument ; for I have loved peace from my youth, and hated strife.

—In the first appearance and work of God in our souls, there was a reconciliation to God in our souls and spirits, before we were reconciled and cemented in heart and mind one to another. Also something is further to be minded, whether in this juncture of time, such a meeting can be borne in the country, without disturbance ; for it will be hard to have such a meeting so private, (Friends coming from hence, and from Bristol,) but it will be taken notice of. These with other things are straits and difficulties in my way ; though I stand resigned, and could be willing to travel hundreds of miles to

\* Sir Heneage Finch ; who was sometimes rather stiff with his Royal Master.

\* See John Burnyeat's Journal (*Select Series*) p. 223, 226, respecting these Separatists.

be serviceable for the good and peace of the church.

Dear George, I desire to have a few words from thee: I shall not add further at present, but leave all things to the Lord, desiring to be guided by His wisdom in all things; that so long as I have a being in this world, I may live to his glory, who gives me life and being.

I rest thy brother in my measure of grace received from God. A. P.

*From the Original.*

This dear Friend died in 1689:—the entry in the *London Burial Register of Friends*, respecting him is the following:

“Alexander Parker of Edmonds, Lumbard street, London, (minister of the gospel) aged about sixty years, died, as the common searchers report, of a fever, the ninth of first month, 1688–9, and was interred in Friends’ Burying Ground in Bunhill Fields.”

#### No. LXXIX.

ROBERT BARCLAY TO STEPHEN CRISP.

London, 3rd of Fifth month [seventh mo.] 1676.

DEAR S. C.—I know thou art glad to hear of Truth’s prosperity in these parts: I have notice from some that have lately been with the Princess Elizabeth, that she speaks much to Friends’ advantage, and saith that the Friends have been falsely reported of.

I have at last, after long and tedious attendance, near finished my business; for the D. of Lauderdale told me yesterday, he had received order to give me a letter to the Council for Scotland, in order to grant Friends their liberty;\* which he has promised to give me tomorrow: so that I purpose in two or three days to be going homewards. My love is with thee and thy wife, &c. I rest thy brother in the Truth,

R. B.†

*From the Original.*

The death of Stephen Crisp is recorded in the *London Register of Burials*, as follows:—

“Stephen Crisp, late of Colchester, in the county of Essex, since a lodger at William Crouch’s in Gracechurch-street, London, aged about 64 years, died the 28th day of the sixth month called August, 1692, at Wansworth, in the county of Surrey, and was buried in Chequer Alley, the 31st of sixth month [eighth mo.] 1692.”

\* Relates to the imprisonment of his father and other Friends.—See *Jaffray’s Diary*, p. 338, 339.

† The initials only of R. B.’s signature are most commonly met with at the foot of his letters; they are joined together as in the fac-simile given in a subsequent page.

#### No. LXXX.

FROM THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS TO FRIENDS.

London, 21st of Eleventh month 1680. [first mo 1681.]

DEAR FRIENDS,—As we ought not to be discouraged in our endeavours for the relief of the oppressed by any present disappointments, so we desire that all Friends who are in capacity, (as they have freedom and clearness,) may appear and make what good interest they can, in this election of Parliament men, for sober, discreet and moderate men: such as live in love with their neighbours, that are against persecution and popery, and that deport themselves tenderly towards our Friends. Be very cautious of giving any just occasion of offence. We desire God’s wisdom may be with you, in the discharge of your duty and conscience in these things.

And whereas this vote was passed by this Parliament, the day they last prorogued, viz. “Lunæ, 10–mā, die, January, 1680. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that the persecution of Protestant-Dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom:” we desire that Friends may take a special account of all persecutions and sufferings, which any Friends in your country undergo, contrary to this resolve of Parliament, since the passing thereof, or since the beginning of this last Session of Parliament; and send up an exact and plain account thereof, in order to present it to the next Parliament.

(Signed) on the behalf of our Meeting for Sufferings, ELLIS HOOKES.

Addressed “For John Heywood, at his house in Amersham, Bucks.”

Ellis Hookes died about ten months after the date of this letter: in our *London Register of Burials* he is described “of Horsleydown in Southwark, scrivener,” and that he “died the 12th of ninth month, 1681, of a consumption (having been clerk to Friends in London about twenty-four years:)—he was buried in Chequer Alley.”

#### No. LXXXI.

[THE first of these two Letters relative to the decease of George Fox, is probably known to Friends; but the latter it is believed has not been before in print.]

London, the 15th of Eleventh month, 1690.

To Henry Coward, Thomas Green, Thomas Dockrey, Richard Barrow, William Higginson, and Thomas Widders, [probably of Lancaster.]

My dear Friends and well-beloved brethren, with whom my life is bound up in the covenant



of God's gracious, glorious light, wherein consisteth our life and peace: as we keep our habitations and dwelling places therein, we shall be preserved near unto the ocean of all love and life, and know the fountain unsealed, and the springings of it to bubble up in our own particular bosoms: wherein we may drink together into the one Spirit, by which we are sealed, in the enjoyment of the heavenly power that sanctifies;—in the living sense and consoling virtue of which, according to measure, I do dearly value you all.\*

Well, dear Friends, before this comes to your hands, I [conclude] you have an account of the departure of our ancient Friend and honourable elder in the church of God, George Fox; who was this day buried, in the presence of a large and living assembly of God's people, who did accompany him to the ground, and was supposed to be above 4000 Friends. The meeting-house at Gracechurch-street could not contain them, nor the court before the door,—many could not get to within hearing of the testimonies. Many living, open, powerful testimonies were published in the meeting-house, and many in the grave-yard, among many tender hearts, watery eyes, and contrite spirits. The London Friends were very discreet, to order all *passages* and concerns relating thereto with great wisdom every way: there being six monthly meetings belonging to this city, six chosen Friends were nominated and appointed out of every monthly meeting, who were to carry the corpse, and none else; and that his relations should all go next the corpse; that all Friends should go on one side of the street, three and three in a rank, as close together as they could go,—that the other side might be left clear for the citizens and coaches, that were going about their business. The grave-yard is a large plot of ground, yet it was quite full, and some of the people of the world were there.

The last week George Fox was at the Quarterly meeting, the Second-day morning meeting, the Meeting for Sufferings, and at two meetings for worship; besides the first-day morning meeting, which was at Gracechurch-street meeting-house. On the seventh-day, he came to lodge at Henry Gouldney's, [in White Hart Court,] to be near on the first-day where he kept the meeting; and said he was as well that meeting as he had been a long time before: yet he began to be ill in the evening, about the fifth hour that first-day; and departed before the tenth hour in the evening of the third-day following. I was with him most of the time; wherein he spoke many living powerful sentences, to the tendering of the com-

pany present. There was no sign of any great pain upon him, neither did he ever complain. Robert Widders' manner of departure and his were much alike, for I saw them both; only George shut up his eyes himself, and his chin never fell, nor needed any binding up, but lay as if he had been fallen asleep,—one would have thought he had smiled: he was the most pleasant corpse that I ever looked upon, and many hundreds of Friends came to see his face, having the most part of three days' time to behold him, before the coffin was nailed up. Friends carried the coffin on their shoulders, without any bier, cloth, or cover, but the natural wood; yet the coffin was very smooth and comely.

Well Friends, about two hours or less before he died, he took me by the hand, and bid me remember his love to Friends where I travelled. I intended to go out of the city on the morrow after he began to be sick; but seeing him ill, it was Friends' mind I should stay, and see how it might be with him; and I had more freedom to stay than to go: and I was glad to see such a heavenly and harmonious conclusion as dear George Fox made; the sense and sweetness of it, will, I believe, never depart from me: in the heavenly virtue of which, I desire to rest; and remain your brother.

ROBERT BARROW.

P. S.—I go towards Oxfordshire to-morrow.

I shall now give you an account of the Friends that declared, and as they spoke, one after another, viz., James Parke, Robert Barrow, Ambrose Rigge, Joseph Batt, William Penn, Francis Camfield, Charles Marshall, John Taylor of York, Francis Stamper, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp; and Thomas Green ended in prayer.\*

The Friends who spoke at the grave [were] as follows:—William Penn, Joseph Batt, George Whitehead, John Vaughton, and William Bingley.

I would have a copy of this go to Yallowes, [*perhaps* Yealand,] and another to Kendal.

Robert Barrow was born in Lancashire. He was a zealous labourer in the gospel for twenty-six years, and a faithful sufferer for the same in London. On his voyage from Jamaica to Pennsylvania he suffered shipwreck on the coast of Florida, and with his companions was forced to land among the savage cannibals of the country; there he underwent very grievous sufferings, being often in great danger of death from them. He at length reached Carolina, and from thence got to Philadelphia. Here his health having been so impaired by the se-

\* Some disadvantage is felt, as regards the copy of this Epistle, in not having had the original to transcribe from.

\* "Notwithstanding the number of preachers, it appears the meeting lasted only about two hours."—*H. Tuke's Biographical Notices*:—concerning George Fox.

vere treatment and trials he had endured in Florida, gave way, and he shortly after peacefully departed; testifying that the Lord had been very good to him all along to that very day. From *Piety Promoted*, vol. i.

## No. LXXXII.

## LETTER TO JOHN AIREY,\* GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE DECEASE OF GEORGE FOX.

London, 15th of Eleventh month, 1690, [first mo. 1691]

LOVING FRIEND JOHN AIREY,—This comes to acquaint thee, that that ancient, honourable, and worthy man, George Fox, is departed this life. He was at Gracechurch-street meeting on first-day last, and gave in his testimony amongst others: after meeting he fell into cold shivering fits, and grew worse and worse, and weaker, until third-day last at night, between nine and ten, he died. In his weakness he desired to be remembered to all Friends, and advised and admonished Friends to fly to the power of God: he died sweetly and quietly, and was sensible to the last. After the meeting on fourth-day at Gracechurch-street, all or most of the Friends of the ministry there, went into a chamber hard by; as well to condole on the loss and death of that good man, as also to take care about his burial, which is ordered from this meeting-house to-morrow, [sixth-day,] about four in the afternoon. In the chamber was Wm. Penn, Stephen Crisp, Geo. Whitehead, J. Taylor of York, Wm. Bingley, John Vaughton, Fras. Stamper, John Field, Samuel Waldenfield, John Boucher, and others; and only, as I remember, three of us not preachers. While we sat together under the deep consideration of the loss of that good man, the wonderful power of God fell upon all in the room; insomuch that not one could contain themselves, but was broken down by the weight of that glory; so that for a considerable time there was nothing but deep sighs, groans, and tears. And after that all had [given vent to their feelings] and grew quiet in their minds, several of them, under that great sense, gave testimonies concerning him, too large here to insert: One said, “a valiant is fallen in Israel this day, and his place there would be vacant, if some faithful ones did not supply that glorious station he was in.” Another, “that it was his faith, and that it was with him, that that Spirit and power which [had] in so large a measure, dwelt in that body, should extend itself into thousands.” Another repeated the antiquity of his standing, service, and faithfulness to the end. Another, that he was [as] a fixed star in the firmament of God’s glory, and there he should shine for ever.—I hope I

shall never forget that day; the remembrance of it is sweet.

It is ordered that the elders and ancients of Friends take up the corpse first, and six are chosen and matched out of each of the six monthly meetings about London to carry, of which I am one for our quarter, and J. Beliam.—

*This letter is without signature, and is stated to be recorded in a Register Book of Friends at North Shields.*

## No. LXXXIII.

## FROM THE SECOND-DAY’S MORNING MEETING IN LONDON, TO FRIENDS IN IRELAND.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Our dear love in the Lord Jesus Christ salutes you. Being sensible of your suffering condition under that public calamity,\* we cannot but sympathize with you, and pray God to relieve and ease you; your distressed condition being often in our remembrance before the Lord: to whom we desire you may daily apply your hearts, in fervent prayer with supplication for relief and support; and He will be near to strengthen and comfort you, who is a God that heareth prayer, and a present help in times of need; and [who] will hear and answer the cries of his elect, who cry unto him day and night; and in his own time will plead their cause, and arise in their defence.

Dear Friends, hereby we give you to understand, that the day after the date of this annexed Epistle to you from our dear brother George Fox, being the 11th instant, he was enabled to preach the Truth in our public meeting in White Hart Court, near Gratia’s street (London;) and the same day he was taken with some indisposition of body, more than usual; and on the 13th instant, being two days after, a little after the ninth hour in the night, it pleased God to take him out of the body, unto himself, whom he had so long faithfully served. On the 16th instant his body was buried from our meeting-house, in White Hart Court aforesaid; being attended with a vast concourse of Friends and people: and a very heavenly and blessed solemnity [was] held, both at the meeting and burying ground. His great love and care was for Friends and the spreading of Truth; and he particularly mentioned you, the very day of his departure; being sensible to the last, and ending his days in his faithful testimony, as our God in his wisdom ordered.

Unto whose divine power and care we commend you; and in his tender love in Christ Jesus, we remain

Your faithful friends and brothers,  
George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, James

\* Probably of Newcastle on Tyne.

\* Civil War in Ireland (?).



Parke, John Elson, Peter Price, Wm. Bing-  
ley, Francis Stamper, Richard Needham, John  
Field.

From our Second-day's Morning Meeting in  
London, the 26th day of Eleventh month,  
1690, by order of the meeting.

[*The Epistle is in G. Whitehead's hand  
writing.*] *It is addressed*

"For Friends in Ireland, to be annexed unto  
G. F.'s Epistle, dated the 10th of eleventh  
mo. 1690."

[This Epistle from G. F. to Friends in Ire-  
land, is inserted at the end of his Journal; it  
is preceded by the following paragraph: "Not  
long after, I returned to London; and was al-  
most daily with Friends at meetings. When  
I had been near two weeks in town, the sense  
of the great hardships and sore sufferings, that  
Friends had been and were under in Ireland,  
coming with great weight upon me, I was  
moved to write the following Epistle, as a word  
of consolation unto them."—The Journal then  
concludes, with an account of his peaceful de-  
parture and of his funeral.

The following is a copy of the entry in our  
*London Register of Burials*, respecting him:

"George Fox, minister of the gospel, aged  
about sixty and six years, departed this life the  
13th day of eleventh month, 1690—1, and laid  
down his head in peace with the Lord, at Henry  
Gouldney's house in White Hart Court, Grace-  
church-street, London; being viewed by the  
common searchers, they report he died of a  
stoppage in the stomach: and was buried in  
Friends' burying ground at Bunhill Fields, the  
16th of the same."]

No. LXXXIV.

[THE last letter to be brought forward under  
this division of the work, is from Thomas Ell-  
wood; it relates to the preparation by him for  
the press, of the *Journal* of George Fox, which  
was published in 1694. His other works, viz:  
his *Epistles*, and his *Doctrinal Collection of  
Writings*, followed—the former in 1698, the  
latter in 1706. It is believed that much dili-  
gence and exertion were used to collect toge-  
ther from various quarters the writings of George  
Fox, for the compilation of these works.]

THOMAS ELLWOOD TO JOHN FIELD.

Hunger Hill, 16th of Second month, 1693.

DEAR FRIEND,—Thine of the 11th instant,  
I received to-day; and I desire thee to acquaint  
the Friends, that dear G. F.'s Journal is (I  
hope) well near transcribed; for though some  
years remain still to be digested, yet being the  
latter part of his time, they will yield less mat-  
ter than the former years have done. I am  
now in the year 1684, and am just bringing  
him over out of Holland, from his second and  
last voyage thither. I wish I could have dis-  
patched it with more expedition; but can assure  
Friends and thee, I have not neglected it, nor  
been lazy at it. I have much other public bu-  
siness lying upon me, and some private, which  
may not be wholly neglected: but the main of  
my time has been spent on this service. As to  
hastening it to the press, Friends may do as  
they please; but if I may take leave to offer  
my advice, I think it were well that the whole  
were deliberately and carefully read over again,  
before it be committed to the press; that nothing  
may be omitted fit to be inserted, nor anything  
inserted fit to be left out. I left above two hun-  
dred sheets with W. Mead last summer, which  
I hope he has looked over since, at more lei-  
sure than we did then. So that, if Friends be  
urgent to set the press to work, I dare engage  
(if God be pleased to give me life and health)  
it shall not want copy, when they shall be  
wrought off: yet in a work of this kind, I  
would choose rather to answer expectation in  
exactness than speed. I am engaged (if the  
Lord permit) to attend the Yearly Meeting, and  
hope I may by that time, give a more full ac-  
count of what remains in my hands. Mean-  
while, in very hearty love to the Friends, with  
thyself and wife.

I remain thy true friend,

*Tho: Ellwood &.*

From the Original.

Addressed to "John Field, Haberdasher, at  
the sign of the Harrow, George Yard, Lum-  
bard street in London.

## LETTERS, &c., HISTORICAL;

CONCERNING EVENTS, SERVICES, &c.; IN THE COUNTRY.

UNDER this head a limited number of letters  
have been selected, out of a large variety:—  
they are placed, as before, in the order of dates.

The letters here following, respecting reli-  
gious services, &c., in the country, are neces-

sarily of a very detached character, compared  
with those we have just left; and in point of  
historical information or illustration, must not  
be expected to be of equal interest with them.  
Much allowance should, and doubtless will by

the candid reader, be made, for the style of writing in these letters of so distant a period; indeed he will expect they will *wear* their own *peculiar character*: it may be believed, that their religious value, and the devoted sentiments of brotherly love and deep piety scattered through them, will, to those readers, not be lost or passed by unappreciated.

No. LXXXV.

[JOSIAH COLE in his testimony concerning the author of the following letter, writes:—although he [Richard Farnsworth] was (before) a man of great abilities, and parts, and knowledge, and accounted of among men, even excelling many of his equals; yet he was content and willing, in obedience to the power of God, to become a fool to the world, and to be stripped and emptied of his own wisdom and knowledge, and to suffer the loss of all worldly reputation and favour, and the pleasures and delights thereof, that he might win Christ Jesus, and be found his servant, clothed with the righteousness of faith. His service was very great for the Lord in his day; for he was so furnished with heavenly wisdom and understanding through the grace of God, and so seasoned thereby, that his patience, meekness and humility exceeded many.—*Josiah Cole, The Last Testimony, &c.* p. 5. 7.

This letter gives an account of some very early services in Yorkshire.]

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO TWO FRIENDS.

1653.

DEAR BRETHREN,—My dear love to you both with the rest of our dear Friends that way: I am in good health, praises be to the Lord for his everlasting mercies to me.

I have gone through much, since I was with you; but I found the Lord exceeding large to me. I was at Stanley on the first-day; the power of the Lord was much manifested, very many were wrought on. There was one of Marshall's\* hearers wrought on, and one of the Baptists, that day, and Captain Siddall's wife with many others. The next day we went about sixteen miles to Wakefield, and the people followed us much. In the market place I was drawn forth to speak, and the people were very audible, till a schoolmaster came and stirred them up. Then as we were in the crowd, came Captain Siddall's wife; and she was wrought on in the tumult, and cried out,—“this is the power of the Lord:” she was very proud, but now is humbled. Doctor Hodgson was shaken a little, and he is very loving to

us; we went into his house, and there the people got in as many as could thrust. I was drawn forth much to speak unto them; they wondered at the work of the Lord. There was such confusion among the people, that I was moved to stand upon the table, and spoke with much power amongst them; they were all silent, and were very attentive to hear me a long time; neither did they speak anything unto me afterwards. But at night when we came out of the town, the devil did rage amongst them,—his kingdom being so struck at; so that they stoned us, stones flew as fast as bullets in a battle; but the Lord did carry every one above it, that not so much as one received any harm, but all were made to rejoice. But had not the Lord's power been much manifested, none could have escaped with their lives; had not the Lord been on our side, when the enemies rose up against us, we had been swallowed up quick. But all [were] made mightily to rejoice; praise and honour be unto the Lord for ever!

In the morning we went to York. Friends at York are very well, all but Jane Holmes, she is something weak in body. Friends are close shut up in prison, and none of us might come at them. There is one — Sikes at Knottingley, and two or three more in prison about tithes: this Sikes is a great man, of £300 or £400 a year by relation; he hath proclaimed against tithes. He is very loving to our Friends; he had us up into his chamber; I was brought to speak much to him, and he did receive it very lovingly.

We went from thence to Manton, and there are many dear hearts there: Balby Friends were with me; we were two nights and a day there; very many Friends came from other places, and the power of the Lord was much with us there.

We came on to Selby, and staid there till three o'clock in the morning, and came the first-day morning to Stanley; where there was a great meeting, very many from Leeds, and some from Wakefield, who had not been with us before. So I see the Lord glorifying himself every way to his own praise; but the world is all on a fire. I am much threatened of my life, but I fear not what man can do. I hear that there are warrants out against me for blasphemy. Ah! dear hearts, be valiant; the Lord rides on triumphantly; ever praised be his name!

All Friends hereaway are well, and desired to be remembered unto you, with the rest of our Friends. Thomas Killam and Mary Aldam, &c., &c., salute you in the Lord, and the God of love and power be with you.

[This letter is endorsed by G. Fox, as from

\* Marshall was the priest of Wakefield. *Sewel's History*, vol. i. p. 66.



R. Farnsworth, but the original is not signed: it was probably written from Balby or that neighbourhood, where R. F. resided.]

No. LXXXVI.

FRANCIS HOWGILL AND EDWARD BURROUGH  
TO MARGARET FELL.

Bristol, 1st of Ninth month [eleventh mo.] 1654.

DEARLY beloved sister and mother to many,  
who shall bless thee in the name of the Lord!

— On the first-day after we came to this city [Bristol,] we had a meeting in the castle of many hundreds; and afterward we went out (to get from the multitude) to a captain's house, about a mile [from the city;] but abundance followed us all along the city to that place, so that the house was filled, and it continued late. And every day of the week, either out of the city or in it, we had meetings. On the last first-day we had a meeting at one Captain Bishop's [George Bishop (!)] house in the city; a large house with large rooms, but all were too little; so in the afternoon we went to a place called the Fort. There were about 2000 people there, and many great men and women, and all silent; but we could hardly reach them with words, the multitude was so great: yet all was still, and we could not get from them; so that we were forced to go to a captain's house into a private chamber to hide ourselves. All this sounded through the city, and the priests and magistrates were in an uproar, because they sought something against us. On the second-day of the week we came into the city, and went to a merchant's house: immediately the Mayor and Alderman, and the Justices of the Peace, and the Priests assembled together into their judgment hall; and the magistrates sent a sergeant to desire us to come to the council; and we went freely, also many captains and great men of the city. We went into an inner room, and many great men, friends to us, went in; but they permitted them not to stay. Then we opened our mouths, and said, we were come thither according to their desire: and they questioned us if we knew who spoke to us; we answered that we believed we were before the magistrates or rulers of the city. And they were fired, that we bowed not, nor put off our hats; but we were bold, and told them we did it not in contempt of authority, but for conscience' sake. They asked our names and country, and we declared unto them; and we told them we had been in London about a quarter of a year. They asked us, how we came to the city; and we answered them, and told them the commands and motion of the Lord,—that we had to bear witness to his name, and to declare the gospel committed un-

to us.—And it was asked us whether our call was mediate or immediate; we answered, immediately; we denied all mediate calls, for they were carnal. They said, if we had the same immediate call, declare it. Then I declared what I had been, and what I was:—we declared where we had habitations, and that at the command of God we left them: and we spoke about a quarter of an hour, and they gave audience.—They asked if we accused all the ministers in England; we said no; there were many ministers of Christ in England, and we had unity with them: but all hirelings and such as sought for their gain from their quarter, we denied. [But] they pleaded for hire; and said the light was natural, and that every one had it not, and the like; they also said, we dishonoured the gospel. After much striving and contending, when they could not ensnare us, they all cast their ears together, and said, we had tumultuous meetings; to which one of their own [number] answered, there were many godly honest people without tumult. So they could get naught against us, and they commanded us to depart out of the town: but we were bold, and said, we were free-born men, and we knew no law we had transgressed, and therefore we should not be at any man's will; but when He moved us that called us, we should; and come in again as He moved. So we passed away, and all the people were silent, and the priests and magistrates were enraged. We stayed till night, and then went out of the city; and this day we were moved to come in again, and to walk in the streets.

Here is a *pretty* people and a great harvest: it is like that bonds will attend us; but all is one, in the will of God we stand free out of all. John Audland and John Camm we see not yet, but expect their coming.—Here is a thirsty land; and truly, the sound of the gospel committed to us is gone through all the regions round about. The living God of life preserve us in his eternal power and wisdom; in the will of the Lord we stand, and none can take away our joy.

Salute us dearly to G. F.; one hour with him would be great joy to us.—We have want of nothing without; the Lord reward thee (and thou hast thy reward) for thy care and love over all the church of Christ.

Salute us in the Lord to all the saints everywhere; and pray that the living God may be honoured, and his name exalted for evermore. The God of life and power be with thee, and keep thee and all thy dear family, in his eternal love and power to himself.—Thy dear brethren,

F. H.  
E. B.

From W. Caton's Collection.

## No. LXXXVII.

[GEORGE FOX under date of 1654 writes: "About this time did the Lord move upon the spirits of many whom he had raised up, and sent forth to labour in his vineyard, to travel southwards, and spread themselves in the service of the gospel, to the eastern, southern and western parts of the nation: as Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to London; John Camm and John Audland to Bristol; Richard Hubberthorne and George Whitehead to Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales."

The following letter is from Thomas Holmes, and is probably addressed to George Fox.]

Cardiff, 27th of Twelfth month 1654, [second mo. 1655.]

DEAR BROTHER,—This is to let thee know of my journey and service in Wales. I came out of Cheshire about five weeks ago, and I stayed two first-days in Radnorshire in the mountains, where I had divers meetings, where many of the people called Baptists are convinced of the Truth. There is a great conviction in that part; but the most are Welch, and some cannot understand English. There are three who have the Welch tongue, who are serviceable, and labour among them; which three Friends came out of the north of Wales. There is one who is a Justice of peace convinced, and is very faithful and serviceable in his place; I was five nights in his house, and had a great meeting at his house; he dwells in the mountains in Montgomeryshire. After I had been two first-days in Radnorshire I passed into Monmouthshire, to a town called Abergavenny, where I got a meeting that evening in the inn where I lodged; and the next day being the market day, I was moved to speak in the market. I drew the people into a convenient place, and spoke a pretty time to them; it cast a sound through the town and country, for not any Friend had spoken there before. The next day, I met with my wife and Alexander Birket, at a place where they had a meeting. Alexander Birket is in Monmouthshire: two Justices of peace are convinced there. The last first-day, I had a meeting four miles from Chepstow, and another on the third-day; and this day being the fourth-day, I had a meeting six miles beyond Cardiff at the sea side. Tomorrow I pass to a general meeting in Newport at a Justice's house. THOMAS HOLMES.

*From the Original apparently.*

## No. LXXXVIII.

[Of this valiant pious young man, James Parnell, the writer of the next letter, it seems scarcely needful to say anything by way of introducing him to the reader: his cruel imprisonment, barbarous treatment and consequent death in the gaol, from whence this letter is dated, are doubtless so well known to readers of our Society:—He was trained up in the schools of literature, (*Sewel* writes,) and was convinced when not quite sixteen years of age, through George Fox, when in the gaol at Carlisle, in 1653.

For an account of his services in Essex, and his imprisonment in Colchester Castle, see *Sewel's History*, vol. i. under 1655.]

JAMES PARNELL TO WILLIAM DEWSBERRY,  
(in Northampton Gaol.)

Colchester Castle, 16th of Tenth month,  
[twelfth mo. 1655.]

DEAR and precious brother in the eternal unchangeable truth of God, I do in my measure dearly salute thee. Thou art blessed of the Lord, dear brother; thy fatherly care over me do I own, and thy voice is a comfort to me. I am kept and nourished in the midst of mine enemies, glory be to God in the Highest, who hath counted me worthy to bear the bonds of the gospel.

Dear brother, glad am I to hear from thee, and of my dear brother Thomas Stubbs with thee, whom I do love in the Lord, and the rest of thy fellow prisoners,—the Lord hath set [thee] a father over them. I know thy burden is great, for the work lies upon thee; but thy joy is in thy children.

Truly there is a great appearance in these parts, but [there is] much want of ministers, since I was cast in bonds; but a pretty liberty I had amongst them, before they were suffered to lay hold on me. And great was the work of the Lord, and mightily did it spread to my great comfort.—And now these bonds have been very serviceable, to the piercing of the hearts of many, and the discovery of the spirits of my persecutors, and [to] the confirming of those in the Truth that were convinced;—they have laboured to make my bonds grievous, but my strength the Philistines know not. Friends are much barred from me, yet not all.—Our tender sister M. S. is here in bonds in the Town prison; she was put in last evening for speaking to a priest: she hath been in twice before this within a week, but they had not power to keep her in.—

So [may] the same power that keeps thee, keep me; and let thy prayers be for me.

I rest with thee in the brotherly unity, thy tender brother,  
JAMES PARNELL.

*From the original apparently. It is addressed*

"For my dear brother William Dewsbury, in the Common gaol at Northampton." &c.

[The following is the record respecting this



Friend, preserved in the Register Book for the Monthly Meeting of Colchester:]

"12th of fifth month, 1655. James Parnell [was] sent prisoner to Colchester Castle, by Dionisius Wakeing, Thomas Cooke, Herbert Pelham, and William Harlackenden; for speaking to Priest Willis in the Steeple House at Great Coggeshall; where he remained a prisoner about ten months, suffering much abuse from the jailor's wife; and there died, an innocent sufferer for the testimony of Jesus."

No. LXXXIX.

THOMAS ROBERTSON TO MARGARET FELL.

Basingstoke in Hampshire,  
this 30th day of Tenth month [twelfth mo.] 1655.

DEAR SISTER,—I dearly salute thee, and my love reaches to thee, even in that where we meet, and have sweet fellowship and unity.

The everlasting Truth of our God is much spread abroad in this shire, and many have received our testimony with great gladness and joy: at this our enemies are vexed, and are disquieted; and they gather together to battle against the Lord and his people. We are counted as sheep for the slaughter, even as the off-scouring of all things, fools and madmen; and are made a prey upon by this generation of evil doers.—Condemnation is prepared for them,—who slight the offers and tenders of his love,—even of Him, who would gather them, as the hen gathers her chickens; yet they will not. What could He have done more, who hath sent his servants, early and late warning them, even beseeching them to be reconciled to God through his dear Son. But none of the princes of this world know Him, neither will they hearken to Him; and so He is even rejected, disallowed of men, but chosen of God, and to us precious, yea even the chief cornerstone.

Dear sister, since our last writing to thee, Ambrose and I have been for the most part asunder; we have passed through part of this county, as we were moved. At Hampton there are a captain and two lieutenants,—they received the Truth gladly, and several others; and at Portsmouth there were several that owned us.—

There is a pretty people hereaways, and there is great need of labourers; pray therefore, that the Lord of the harvest would send forth labourers; for many are coming in, and the Truth is of good report in several places; and the Lord will gather in a people, that was not a people. Ambrose has been serviceable, he was at some steeple houses; and I believe we shall meet together ere it be long, and go towards G. F.

So in that which never changeth, do I remain thy brother in the unity of the Spirit,

THOMAS ROBERTSON.

*From the Original apparently.*

Ambrose Rigge, in the Account of his life states, that "a fellow traveller was prepared for me, which was Thomas Robertson of Westmoreland; who was made willing to leave his dear wife and tender babes, to go with me into the Lord's harvest."

No. XC.

THOMAS SALTHOUSE TO MARGARET FELL.

Plymouth, 30th of Eleventh month 1656, [first mo.] 1657.

M. F.—Unto thee is my heart united and joined in the everlasting covenant of light and life: receive my salutations as one of the fold and family. Let me be had in remembrance, when thy soul is poured forth [unto] thy Father; that, over all deceit and dissembling of unrighteousness, I may be kept, in this hour of temptation and day of trial; now when the voice is heard, saying, "Yet once more will I shake, not the earth only, but the heavens also."—No formed weapon can prosper against the Captain of our salvation and Prince of our peace; none can pluck us out of the Father's hand, who delivers his out of six troubles, and out of seven.—Our bread is sure, and our waters never fail; glory to the Lord for ever!

I am at Plymouth at present, and the next week it is like I shall go into the country; John Braythwaite [?] and Alexander\* are gone eastward, and George Bewley, I hear, is in Cornwall. These parts lie much on me at present. This business about J. N. [James Nayler] hath made a great tumult in the minds of many weak Friends; my work is to strengthen the weak, and press home to the foundation of God, and not to admire the persons of men.—

I am your brother and companion in tribulations, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus our Head; a servant in the church,

T. S.

*From the Original.*

No. XCI.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO GEORGE FOX.

Chesterton, near Cambridge, 11th of Fifth month,  
[seventh mo.] 1659.

DEAR G. F.—Dear brother, my dear and tender love in the Lord, doth flow forth unto thee, as unto a dear and tender father in the

\* Alexander Parker; from whom a letter is preserved, addressed to Margaret Fell, dated from Plymouth, the 22nd of fifth month of this year, also one from Austle, the 13th of seventh month.

effectual Truth; who art honourable, and had in esteem by them that fear the Lord and keep his covenant; wherein thy integrity and diligence for the Lord and his seed, I am truly sensible of.

It was upon me to acquaint thee with some proceedings relating to Truth, chiefly about Cambridge, since I parted from thee; where I had two meetings these last two first-days, besides other two we had the last week. [?] The first meeting I had there was very serviceable on the former first-day; where there were pretty many sober people, and several were reached. But towards the latter end of the first meeting, there came in many rude scholars,—however, they had not power to hurt any as I know; yet after we went out of the room they would scarce go out, but had a desire to make disorder. Whereupon presently the mayor of the town came into our meeting room, like a lion among the wolfish scholars, whom they expected had come to have broken up our meeting. But on the contrary, he chased out the scholars, and threatened them with imprisonment for their rudeness; and then the mayor went into the college, which is right over against our meeting place, and he complained of the scholars to the master or proctors of the college; and told the master, if they would not take a course with them, to keep them in better order, (he told me this of himself, and others, for I was with him and John Crook,) he must, or send them to prison. So he stood over them, and said that he must protect our meetings and their meetings. Whereupon the scholars and the masters are much troubled, that the mayor should offer to protect our meetings; and many of them have a great spite against him.

Yesterday, being the last first-day, we had, I think, a more serviceable meeting in Cambridge, than any we have had there yet; though towards the latter end, some of the scholars were rude, and made noises, and would have pulled me down: one tore at me to have done it; but there was a secret power over them, which they knew not. And many sober people were smitten to see their filthiness, when I let them see what such men as these were, that they make ministers of. Here is much to thunder down in this Cambridge; but there is much patience and wisdom to be exercised towards them.—I intend to be there the next first-day:—if the knock be not followed now, they will get advantage; for the Truth hath already gotten a name in the town. The power of the Lord is working over them, though they know it not; and it is the power only, that must overcome them.

Since I came from thence, I have had a precious service in the edge of Essex and Hertfordshire. I suppose thou may ere now have

heard of my service with the priest at Rickland, at the steeple-house, on the first-day next after I parted from thee; many of his hearers were much reached and overcome with the Truth that day. In the time that the priest was preaching, I took down some of his doctrine; after he had done his preaching, I laid open some of-it before his hearers, who were most of them quiet and willing to hear, except two or three professors, and the priest's wife. There was John Crook in Cambridge the last week, whose being there was of service: the scholars and priests are exceedingly tormented and quashed, when any such Friends come to minister against their deceits, as they look upon to be learned. G. Fox [doubtless G. F., Jun.] was here the last week, and had one meeting in Cambridge and went towards Essex. William Allen was with me in Cambridge yesterday; he had only leave of the gaoler at Colchester, to come a little time into Cambridgeshire and thereaway. There are great stirrings after the Truth in many places thereaways and other places; truly the harvest is great and the labourers are but few.—These things I was free to make thee acquainted with, in sincere love.

Thy dear brother in the work of the Lord,

*Geo. Whitehead*

My dear love is to E. B. and Gerrard Roberts, and the rest of the brethren there, [London]. I think this day to pass into Huntingdonshire, but I [propose] to be at Cambridge the next first-day, if the Lord will.

*From the Original, addressed to G. F. in London.*

## NO. XCII.

AMBROSE RIGGE TO MARGARET FELL.

Binscombe in Surrey, Ninth month [eleventh mo.] 1659.

—DEAR SISTER, often art thou in my remembrance, in my labour and travail in the vineyard of the Lord; which is grown sweet and pleasant to walk in, to the praise of God. I received thy lines in Hampshire, when I was in much weakness of body, by which I was much strengthened and refreshed; and truly, dear sister, I hope in the Lord, through his strength, we shall be clear of all: but our trials are many, especially among false brethren, which as for the particulars at present, I shall not commit to paper. Oh! dear sister, if it were not the living power of God, it could never abide all the blows that come against it: but in all this we faint not, but can truly say, our strength is renewed every morning,—glory to God on high!

Here is but one faithful brother with me, in



all these south coasts on this side London; nevertheless the Lord makes us able to water many tender plants. The Truth doth much prosper, and an addition daily here is, to the praise of God. We shall give up to spend and be spent for the precious Truth, which is more to me than all the world's glory. I have been [very] weak in body of late, but the Lord hath raised me up again to labour in his harvest.

My love is dear to thee, beyond what can be committed to paper, for the Truth's sake, and thy care over the flock of God; for which God will thee reward. So with my dear love to all thy dear children and servants in the Truth, I remain

Thy dear brother in the labour of the gospel,



*From the Original.*

No. XCIII.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

Grayrigg, 29th of Seventh month, [ninth mo.] 1661.

DEAR MARGARET,—In Him, who is become a place of broad rivers and streams unto us, and the portion of our cup, and the lot of our inheritance,—do I most dearly salute thee. —The former days are not forgotten by me, nor the years past, when we were all made to drink of one cup, and were baptised into the death and suffering of Christ: and were made to drink it willingly, knowing it was our portion allotted unto us of the Lord, which we could not pass, but must drink thereof. And though it was irksome and grievous unto us, when our strength was but small; yet God, out of his infinite love and mercy, strengthened us to bear, and to suffer, and to deny that which hid immortality and life from us. And [He] bore us up in his arms, and made us to endure with patience the sufferings and the death; that so we might obtain the resurrection of the dead: which indeed was a blessed time; though for a moment it seemed grievous. But now, having obtained the resurrection of the dead, being baptised into the resurrection and into the life, more blessedness is known, even spiritual blessings, which God hath given us to enjoy in heavenly places in Christ Jesus: that like as we suffered one for another and one with another, so we might be made to rejoice one with another and for another, and in Him alone: in whom all our fresh springs are, and from whom our joy and gladness and consolation spring. He hath opened the springs of the great deep, and hath made life spring up, whereby his little ones are refreshed, and

the young men strengthened, and the ancient and honourable confirmed and established.—Holy and reverend be His name for evermore, who is exalting his glorious mountain above the top of all the earth; and making Jerusalem the praise and glory and admiration of the whole earth. And let me tell thee, I am no more weary than the first day the sickle was put into the harvest; when we went out sowing the seed weeping and in tears: but seeing sheaves brought home, and full loads into the barn, and full draughts caught in the net, it hath made me look beyond fainting,—blessed be the Lord!—

I am glad thou stays so long in that city, [London,] in which we have had many a burden and weary day: but that fruit is brought forth unto God, plentifully countervails all, and makes me forget travail.—I have been northward in Northumberland, Bishoprick, and upon the east sea, and back to York: truly the garden for the most part is very pleasant, and gives a goodly smell, now when the south wind blows upon it.

Dearly farewell in the holy covenant of life.

FRANCIS HOWGILL.

*From the original.*


No. XCIV.

MARGARET FELL TO HER SON-IN-LAW  
JOHN ROUSE AND WIFE.

Lancaster Castle, 1st of Eighth month  
[tenth mo.] 1664.

—As I have said often to thee, give up to be crossed; *that* is the way to please the Lord, and to follow him in his own will and way, whose way is the best. Let nothing enter thy mind concerning any thing [about me,] for I am very well contented in the work of the Lord. I know your care and tenderness were not wanting to Friends: and so be all satisfied in the will of the Lord God. I hope in the Lord that you are all together, ere this come to you. Be all satisfied and content with the will of the Lord; and let neither murmuring nor repining enter any of your minds; and let not sorrow fill your hearts, for we have all cause to rejoice in the Lord evermore, and I most of all.

Colonel Kirby causes our bonds to be renewed, and straitened more and more; and they lock up G. F. under pretence of an order that should come from London. Get this enclosed letter of G. F.'s sent to Gilbert Latey, that G. Whitehead and they may draw out what they see convenient.



These are the sentiments of the mother of a

large family, separated from her home by imprisonment, for her religious testimonies: she was indicted for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and was told if she would not keep a meeting at her house, she should be set at liberty. But she answered the Judge, "I rather choose a prison for obeying God, than my liberty for obeying men contrary to my conscience." She continued a prisoner four years.—*From M. Fell's Works.*

## No. XCV.

JOSIAH COALE TO GEORGE FOX.

The Darkhouse in Lanston, [Launceston] 12th of Eleventh month, 1664, [first mo. 1665.]

DEAR GEORGE,— I hereby give thee to understand that I am every way well, in the work and service of the Lord; which doth prosper, and the Truth doth gain ground daily, and flourisheth in these parts; many have desires after it, and adhere to it. In this county of Cornwall, I have had fine service for the Lord; as also all the way down from London, by way of Portsmouth, Southampton, and Weymouth, and so down by the south sea. I know not that I left one meeting unvisited, between London and the Lands-end, but had every day a meeting or two for several weeks together, to the refreshing of Friends; and great comfort and satisfaction I have had in my journey hitherto. I was upon leaving this county, being returned as far as Lanston, where I had a small company together on the second-day last; at which time the Mayor of the town, with his officers and others, came in, and took us prisoners; and that night committed us to the town prison, called "the Darkhouse." On the morrow, [they] called me alone to the Town-hall, before the Mayor and the rest of the magistrates; and examined me of my place of abode, and of my business here: to which I gave them answer accordingly; and told them my business here was to visit my friends, &c. They told me I was a very dangerous person, and suspicious; and caused my pockets to be searched in the open court, and found in it a paper that was written by thee, "To the Ministers and Prophets," &c. about which they made a great stir, asking me if I knew thee, &c. After above an hour's discourse they set me by, and called Benjamin Lawrence, who travels with me for company, and examined him in like manner; and then called the rest of Friends, and committed them for refusing to pay 40s. a-piece fine, till they shall be delivered by due course of law. They told Benjamin and me, that they proceeded against us by the law made against Quakers; and fined us £5 a-piece for being at meeting. They intended to have taken away our horses

for the fine, and to send us away with a pass; which when Friends understood, they conveyed our horses out of the town, while I was before the magistrates. When they saw our horses were gone, their rage was so kindled against us, viz. Benjamin and me, that they sent us away alone to the Darkhouse without any mittimus; and gave strict charge that none must come at us, but only to bring in our victuals; and the keeper must hear what we say, and see that we do not write, (though way is made for this, contrary to their knowledge.) The prison we are consigned to doth not afford us the benefit of a chimney, nor [other necessary convenience.] But the power of the Lord God Almighty is above it all and over all; in which we are well content, and are at peace and rest: and this prison is to me as a palace of pleasure, for though we are as "having nothing, yet possessing all things" through Him that hath loved us, and gave Himself for us; by whose blood we are ransomed, to serve the Lord in the new covenant of life,—glory be unto the Lord God Almighty for ever!

And now, dear George, what they may be permitted to do further with us, I do not yet know; though this I know, the rage of some is very great, and [they] are bent to do wickedly. They talk to us of the oath: but if they can find our horses, I suppose they will take them, and send us out of the town; but if not, I cannot tell (nor do I believe they are yet resolved) what they will do with us. But, however, much is stirring in the minds of most people, against their cruel and inhuman dealing with us, to put us so close, in such a cold smokey place, at such a season of the year; [first month *by our reckoning*:] for they will not allow us to be in a room where a chimney is, though it be not otherwise made use of, and lies void over our heads. I hear that one of the magistrates of the town did proffer the Mayor to be bound body for body for us, that we might be at some chamber in the town fit for men, but it would not be adopted: but we are content, and well over it.

—I desire thee to salute me kindly in the Lord to M. F. and the rest of thy fellow prisoners; and in the love and peace of God,

I remain thine to serve thee,

JOSIAH COALE.

*From the original, addressed to Lancaster.*

## No. XCVI.

[THE Friend by whom this letter was written, is stated to have been a justice of the peace. In a letter from Alexander Parker, dated from Reading, 6th of fifth month 1655, he speaks of Captain Curtis of that place, and says, "he and his wife are very dear and precious: they



have formerly lived very high, and very rich in apparel, but are stripped of all: he hath ripped off his gold buttons, and his wife hath stripped off all her jewels and rich attire. She was very dear to us, and oftentimes said, all they had was ours. Thus is the Lord our God exalting himself, and bringing down the loftiness of man, and laying his honour in the dust.”]

THOMAS CURTIS TO GEORGE FOX.

Reading, 15th of Eleventh month, 1664 [first mo. 1665.]

DEAR GEORGE,—With true and unfeigned love do I heartily salute thee;—dear and precious is the remembrance of thee even to us all; and in our sufferings, a few lines from thee hath made our hearts right glad. Truly the rage of the wicked is not little in this place; yet hath the Lord so led us by his arm, that over it all we trample; and Truth is over the heads of this ungodly generation.

We were in prison about fifty odd prisoners, and now [are] brought this Sessions to our trial; about fifty upon the oath of allegiance; and yet the jury cleared us. But they had about fourteen of us again, and tendered the oath anew to us, and sent us to prison: we had four more, that (as they said) were in upon their third offence, and *they* were likewise cleared: so that though the justices (so called) were (some of them) wicked, yet the country set them [Friends] free; and those bad men have sent them to prison [again.] We are twenty-five in all, yet left. This day our meeting was quiet, contrary to all our expectations. *Our little children kept the meeting up, when we were all in prison*, notwithstanding that wicked justice [Armorer,] when he came and found them there, with a staff that he had with a spear in it, would pull them out of the meeting and punch them in the back, till some of them have been black in the face: his fellow-I believe is not to be found in England [as] a justice of the peace. And now we are so close kept, that no man must speak with me, but in the hearing of the gaoler:—yet the Lord supports us, and we are over all in true peace and unity. The bearer, my man, can give thee a large account of things.\* George Lamboll and his wife, and my Ann, [his wife,] and Joseph and Benjamin, are all prisoners with me:—their dear love is to thee, in the fellowship that is everlasting, and to Margaret Fell, and the rest of the prisoners [in Lancaster Castle,] and so is mine, who am, &c.

THOMAS CURTIS.

*From the Original.*

\* See *Besse's Sufferings*, vol. i. p. 19—24, for an account of the sufferings and persecutions of Friends at Reading.

No. XCVII.

GEORGE FOX TO THOMAS CURTIS AND FRIENDS IN READING GAOL.

[The following letter bears no date, but it was most probably written about this period of the very severe suffering of Friends at Reading. The whole letter (which is in the possession of the editor,) is written throughout in G. F.'s handwriting: two other original letters of G. F. to the said Friends during their imprisonment, have also been seen by the Editor.]

*To all the prisoners of the Lord, for the Truth and Christ's sake.*

OH! be valiant for the Truth upon the earth, that you may triumph in glory over the spirits of the world in the everlasting seed, that reigns and will reign, when that which makes to suffer is gone, before which it was. Therefore trust in the name of the Lord, which hath held and kept up your heads over all the storms and proud waves and floods, and who hath been your rock of life. Therefore sit under the shadow of the Almighty, that doth shade you from all heats and storms; rejoicing in all your sufferings, that you may come forth as gold seven times in the fire: and do not look at time, nor think your sufferings long; but look at Him that hath all time in his hand. All to be heirs of Him, and possess Him; and then have life eternal, and so to be God's lot. He to possess you and you Him, who is from everlasting to everlasting, blessed for ever! His presence be with you all. Amen.

So no more, but my love to you all in the life that changeth not. Remember my love to all, as though I named them.

GEORGE FOX.

Read this among the prisoners.

*Addressed to brother Thomas Curtis, prisoner in Reading.*

No. XCVIII.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

Apulby [Appleby] fifth-day of this week, 1666.

M. F.—Dear and well-beloved, whom I love in the Truth, and have ever so done since I knew it; being very glad to hear of thee, and from thee, and of thy well-being.

I received thy last, since the Assizes at Lancaster, which was acceptable unto me;—not forgetting the days of old, when we were comforted, refreshed and rejoiced together in the Lord, when we were present personally together: and being now absent outwardly, we know wherein our union with God stands, and with all the saints in light. I do indeed often rejoice in my heart, that God hath prolonged

my days so long, to see so much of God's power and glory brought forth in our age. I am freely given up; and I bless the Lord I am very well content, I am in perfect joy and peace: I bless the Lord, who hath been our refuge and preservation until now.

Dear heart, I thought to have written unto thee, when the Assize was done here; but so many Friends were here, and I was, as it were, encumbered with multitudes of people, and little room; and then, that news of the desolation of London coming in the neck of it, hindered me: and indeed people have been and are so mad and rude hereabouts, I can hardly either receive a letter or write one. I have so bad a jailer, who is very often the cause of detaining any stranger, and getting them into bonds for his gain, insomuch that I am sometimes more troubled for them than for myself. Of late he will let none speak with me, though [they come] but out of Cumberland; but I must bear all this, and much more, till God order it otherwise.

I am hearty glad of G. F.'s liberty, though these two years I have not written a line to him, for fear of troubling him in his strait bonds.

I am satisfied of the righteous judgment of the Lord upon that great rebellious city; and indeed I looked for great judgment to come some years since, and one woe came, that great pestilence; but I feared they had forgotten it, as though it had not been; hardness of heart and wickedness abounded, and behold, God had determined utter desolation. Oh! that all who yet remain, might go and inquire the cause, and consider and repent; and cease striving against the Lord, lest his hand be more and more stretched forth in judgment! Yet I cannot but rejoice, that many people were not destroyed in so sad a calamity. As for poor Friends, they have suffered many great evils and trials in it, and were imprisoned and shamefully ill-treated by most, and by them in power; and therefore, after many warnings, signs, and prophecies, God avenged himself of it; that all flesh might bow before Him, and dread his powerful name. And God that hath preserved the lives of them that believe, will, I believe, sustain them, and preserve them to his glory!—

I am no more weary of bonds than the first day I came in; yet if it be the will of God I desire liberty, that I might behold the faces of dear Friends again, and be comforted in them, that we might rejoice together in the Lord. I had but one companion, and he hath laid down the body this last week,—a good man; he hath suffered much, he was in for tithes, and made a sweet end. My wife and children are well I hear, blessed be God.

Remember me dearly to all thy children and fellow-prisoners and friends thereabouts; and signify if thou know where G. F. is now. Not more, but that I am thy truly loving friend and brother, in the fellowship of the gospel of Christ,

*Francis Howgill*

*From the Original.*

[Francis Howgill died about two years after the date of this letter in Appleby jail, after near five years' imprisonment; he is recorded in the Westmoreland Register of Friends, as of Todthorne (Grayrigg meeting); and that he was buried the 20th of eleventh mo., 1668.]

No. XCIX.

THOMAS SALTHOUSE TO MARGARET FELL.

Somersetshire, 21st of First month, [third mo.] 1668.

— THE proclamation was read last seventh-day at the High Cross, against Papists and Nonconformists; and we are preparing our minds for prisons in these parts: for the justices are in consultation about it: and though the Papists are named, yet we are like to bear the greatest part of the suffering, if it do any execution. We are resolved to meet, preach and pray, in public and private, in season and out of season, in city, town, or country, as if it had never been; well knowing that the same power by which we have been preserved and delivered out of the den, is with us, and will be with us to the end, if we abide faithful.

T. S.

No. C.

GEORGE FOX TO FRIENDS.

Swarthmore, 2nd of Eighth month, [tenth mo.] 1676.

DEAR FRIENDS,—To whom is my love, and to all the faithful who inquire after me.—The Lord God Almighty give you, in his power, dominion; that in it you may all strive to be of one mind, heart, and soul; keeping the unity in the one Spirit, which is the bond of peace; and drinking all into the one Spirit, by which you are circumcised and baptised into one body, to one heavenly and spiritual Head.

And now Friends, several ships are going out to Jamaica and New York; it would be well to send, or to see that books be sent there, or epistles. And it would [be] well, if some Friends did offer up themselves to the bishops and priests or magistrates, for their brethren that be in prison, to lie in prison a quarter of a year or a month or more or less, that they



might that time have their liberty; so that our brethren may not perish in prison, and so that the blood of the innocent may not come upon them, and their souls cry for vengeance against them, and so bring destruction upon them and others. So I shall leave it to the Spirit of God in all Friends in every country; and you may, as you pass up and down, inform Friends.

It would be well to prepare something of the sufferings of Friends, against the sitting of the next Parliament, and concerning oaths, and of Friends' yea and nay being taken; but to gather a fuller account than they had the last Parliament, for it was very short. And so dear William, [*perhaps Penn.*] thou may read this in the Second-day's morning meeting; and with my love to all Friends that inquire after me.—

Keep your habitations in the seed of life and salvation; *that* will outlast all that is out of it. So with love,

*From the Original.*

No. CI.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO GEORGE FOX.

London, 27th of Ninth month, [eleventh mo.] 1676.

DEAR G. F.—My dear and tender love is to thee, even that love which the God of my life shed abroad in my heart in the dawning of the gospel day, which is living and fresh in me at this time; in which I very dearly salute thee, with dear M. F. and her daughters, and all the rest of thy family who love and live in the Truth. My love in Christ reaches to every particular [individual] and to all the Friends of Truth there and thereaway.

Dear George, having been long out of this city, it is in my heart to give thee a particular account of our labours and travels, from our going out to our return to this city. The 30th of the sixth month 1676, I with my companion G. W. [George Whitehead, *doubtless,*] left this city and came to Hammersmith, where we had a very precious meeting: several Friends from London did accompany us thither. After the meeting we passed to Kingston, called at Robert Dring's by the way, who took our visit very kindly. I inquired for Friends' letters and papers, which were written in the beginning of the spreading of Truth, but could find none; they being burnt in the firing of London, as Dorothy did say. They inquired of thee in much love. On the 31st we had a large and open meeting at Kingston; and God's presence did appear with us. On the 1st day of the

seventh month, being the sixth-day of the week, accompanied by Gerrard Roberts we rode to Guildford, where was a monthly meeting for men and women; and having notice of our coming, it was the more large; and we had a good opportunity and service for God amongst them. After the meeting we came to Steph. Smyth's, and stayed there on seventh-day, and visited some Friends. On first-day; we rode about 10 miles, and came to a monthly meeting at Froile in Hampshire, which was large; the meeting room would not contain the people, so we met in an orchard: and God's holy and blessed presence did accompany us. On second-day, we had a good meeting in Friends' new meeting-house at Alton. On third-day, we rode about 15 miles, and came to Swanmore, where was a quarterly meeting: Friends were in good order, and carried on their business in love and unity: we had a good opportunity amongst them to our satisfaction, Friends being there from most meetings in the county; and from them we had opportunity to send to Ringwood and Poole. That night we lodged at George Ernbrie's in Southton [Southampton]; and on fourth-day, we had a solid weighty meeting: Ambrose Rigge was with us there. On fifth-day morning early, we left Southton, and travelled 16 miles, and came to Ringwood, where we had a good meeting: several Baptists and others came in, and Truth did reach them: we had a meeting in the evening also.

On the sixth-day we came to Poole, and had a very open, fresh meeting. On seventh-day, we travelled about 22 miles and came to Weymouth, where on the first-day we had a large meeting; Friends having notice came from several parts, and God's power and presence was with us. On second-day also, we had a meeting there. On third-day, we rode about 14 miles, and came to Bridport, where we had a meeting in Friends' hired place, where never any meeting had been; and many people came, both professors and profane, and filled the room. And after one of us began to declare, they were all very still, and gave attention; and God's power bound and chained down the loose wild spirits, and we parted in peace; we heard since that many did give a very good report of the meeting: Friends were glad of the opportunity. After the meeting we rode 16 miles; we were two hours within night, and came to Membury [Membury] where we found old Jean Pollexfen, who had lain there 10 weeks by a fall from her horse;—poor woman, she was in some distress of mind, being a prisoner, and not knowing how to get to Exeter; but since, she is gotten to her prison chamber, which is great satisfaction to her mind, though she continues lame.

On the fourth-day, we had a good meeting at Friends' meeting-house near Membry. On the fifth-day, we came to Topsham about 22 miles, and at Friends' weekly meeting there, and had a fresh, awakening time; but the meeting being small, we appointed another meeting there on the sixth-day, where were Friends from Exeter and out of the country; and the Lord's presence was with us.

On the seventh-day, we rode through Totness, and came to Kingsbridge, and lodged at honest William Hingston's. On first-day, we had a good meeting at their meeting-house near Kingsbridge; several strangers were there, and we had a blessed meeting. On third-day, we came to Plymouth, and on the fourth-day we had a large and blessed meeting in the Friends new meeting place, which is large and very convenient; and the people of that town have an ear open to Truth: we stayed on fifth-day, and on sixth-day we had another heavenly and blessed meeting. And seeing such an openness, Friends were very urgent for a first-day meeting; so G. W. finding a freedom from the Lord stayed on first-day, and we had a very large and precious meeting, and in the evening also a meeting of some Friends.

I passed over into Cornwall, and had a very full meeting at Thos. Deeble's house; and the Lord did open my heart in much love and tenderness amongst them. On the second-day, I visited some Friends in Liscard, and so came to Thos. Mounce's; where on the third-day we had a very great meeting, and God's blessed power was with us: old Thomas is very hearty, and glad of our visit. On the fourth-day we came through Bodenham [Bodmin (?)] and visited the prisoners there, being five on Truth's account, most for non-payment of tithes. Afterwards we came to Austle, where we were kindly entertained at Thomas Salthouse's. On the fifth-day, we came to Loveday Hambly's where we had a good meeting. We rested on sixth-day and on seventh-day, G. W. and Thos. Salthouse rode to Truro, and had a very good and serviceable meeting in their new meeting-house, and parted in peace. I stayed at L. H.'s, and had a large meeting; many strangers came in and were tender, and God's heavenly presence did accompany us. Poor old Loveday was even overcome, and gladdened in her heart to see her house (which she had lately enlarged,) so filled: she hath a zeal for God, and loves the prosperity of Truth.

On second-day early, I called on G. W. at Truro, and that evening we came to Market Jew, [Marazion,] where on the third-day we had a very sweet and heavenly meeting, though not very large: after the meeting we rode to

Jo. Ellis's house, where on the fourth-day we had a powerful meeting,—many of the eminent [or different] professors were there, and confessed to Truth; and Friends were refreshed and comforted in our visit. After the meeting, we came to Captain Whiddon's, near Penzance, who very lovingly received us. On the fifth-day, we travelled to Falmouth, where that evening we had a meeting at Jo. Scantlebury's house. On sixth-day, we had a meeting at the meeting-house in the country near Perin; and the Lord's presence did crown our assembly. After the meeting, we came to Truro, and lodged at Edward Hinks [?] an old disciple and faithful servant of God. On seventh-day, we called at Penzance, Thomas Lower's house; his servants have looked long for him there: afterwards we came to Loveday Hambly's, where on the first-day we had a very large, blessed, and heavenly meeting; the house would not contain the people, but several were without; and the Lord's power was manifest, and virtue went out; in due time we hope the effect will show itself: the priests' congregations were thin, and some said if we stayed awhile, they thought we should have most of the people of two parishes. We rested on the second-day, G. W. having sprained his foot; and on the third-day, we crossed the country to the north sea to Penvos, a farm belonging to Laurence Growdon, where we lodged, L. G. being with us. On the fourth-day, we passed through Padstow, and crossed the river, and came to a meeting at Minver, where we had good service for the Lord. After the meeting, I came to Humphrey Lower's, where I was very kindly and lovingly entertained; but none of the family came to the meeting but poor honest Jo. Bray. On fifth-day morning, I called at Jo. Billings' and spoke to him and his wife, who both confessed to Truth, but the way is too strait for them to walk in. I met G. W. at Camelford, who came from Abram Rowe's, and so we came to Lanconston [Launceston]; we had a very wet day, and got some cold. Arthur Cotton travelled with us through Cornwall: that evening we had a fresh but little meeting at Jo. Kerton's [?] house: there are a few in that town that hold the testimony of Truth.

On the sixth-day early, we left Launceston, and came to Ockingham [Oakhampton] and so to North Tawton, where we had a very fresh and open meeting; many of the townspeople came in, and were very tender, and confessed to the Truth. On the sixth-day, we came to Exeter, and visited Joan Poulton, and the rest of the prisoners; and after [-wards] we came to Cullhampton [Collumpton,] where on the first-day we had a large and precious meeting.



On the second-day, we came to ——ton,\* and on the third-day we had a large meeting at Jo. Allawaye's. On the fourth-day, we crossed the country, and came to Chard, where we had some service in the evening. On fifth-day, we had a meeting at Illminster; and on sixth-day at Crookhorn, [Crewkerne]; and God's blessed power and presence was with us. After the meeting we came to Illchester; and on seventh-day, we had good opportunities with the prisoners in the forenoon in the ward, where four or five are upon execution; and in the afternoon in the Friars (!) where John Anderton is prisoner, with divers other honest Friends. That evening we came to Puddimore, where on the first-day we had a large, blessed, and heavenly meeting; there were Friends from above twenty meetings, as some did reckon. On the second-day, we came to Shapton Mallet; and on third-day, we had a fresh and good meeting at Abram Clothier's. On fourth-day, we came to Hollowtrow, and had a meeting at their meeting-place: we lodged at Jo. Dando's. On fifth-day, we came to Cainsham, and had a heavenly meeting there, where we met several Bristol Friends: that evening, we came to Bristol, and lodged at Thomas Jordan's, who lives in old Den's house.

On sixth-day, we had a meeting at the Friars, and the Lord was with us; also on the first-day in the morning at Temple Street, and in the afternoon in the new meeting in the Friars. There is a great body of people in that city, and it is great pity that any hurt should come upon them. We laboured in all faithfulness amongst them, and the Lord was with us; and where we met with any opposition, we repelled it in the name of the Lord: we had a good meeting in the evening at our lodging. On the second-day, we visited several Friends, and in the afternoon we were at the women's meeting, which was somewhat larger than usual, because of our being there. On third-day, we had a good meeting amongst Friends, in the great meeting-house; on fourth-day at Frenchay; and on fifth-day at Ouston, [Olveston] to the great refreshment and satisfaction of Friends and others. We lodged at Wm. Rogers';† though in much straitness, but in Truth's dominion we stood. Jo. Story came out of Wiltshire, and G. W. had much discourse with him and Wm. Rogers, about many things too tedious to mention in this short relation: in the evening W. Rogers was moderate, and J. S. high and rough; but in the morn-

ing J. S. was very calm, and W. R. in a storm, not to me but to G. W.: we cleared our consciences to both of them, and left them. That day being sixth-day, we came again to Bristol, and had a good meeting in the Friars. On seventh-day we visited several, who have let in a sour leaven to their hurt; we cleared our consciences and left them. On first-day, we were at both meetings; and God's blessed power and heavenly dominion was with us: [*part torn off.*]——We came to Alesbury, but finding few Friends in the town, we came on to Isaac Pennington's——at a meeting at Thomas Law's where was a marriage, ——the meeting was——[*the Lord's presence (?)*] was in the midst of us: I may truly say, I have seldom been at such a marriage, and ——more of God's presence to my remembrance; to God alone be glory, &c.——[*parts lost.*]

On the sixth-day, being the 14th of the ninth month, we came to London, where we found our wives and families well; for which our souls do magnify and bless the name of God.

Thus, dear George, I have given thee a brief account of our travails in this our journey.

In this city things are well, and our meetings full and quiet. Glad would many be to hear of thy motion this way, which would dash and give the lie to many bad spirits, who have prophesied of thy downfall; and be a great comfort to the upright in heart. G. W. with several of the brethren dearly and tenderly salute thee: so with my, and my wife's, dear love to thee, and to all in thy family, I rest thine in the unchangeable love of Truth.

ALEXANDER PARKER.

P. S. I desire thee to mention my dear love to Thomas Lower, &c.

Addressed to Sarah Fell, at Swarthmore, this with care deliver for G. F., &c.

*From the Original.*

John Anderson, (as J. Whiting writes) "continued a prisoner here till death. He was a man of repute; a good scholar and scribe, instructed unto the kingdom, bringing forth of the treasury, things new and old. He was well skilled in the languages, especially Greek and Latin; and understood the law, so that many came for advice, but freely.—He had good service for the Lord in meetings, not only in prison, but other places abroad. He resided at the Friary, where many Friends were prisoners. He died the 20th of first month, 1685, finishing his course about the 60th year of his age, laying down his head in peace, a little before the troubles broke out in the West.—*Whiting's Memoirs*, p. 278.

\* Perhaps Taunton. John Alloway was of Wilvelcomb.—*Whiting's Memoirs*.

† The opponent and separatist, who wrote against Barclay's Anarchy, &c. John Story was another separatist:—See *Sewel's History*, under 1683.

## No. CII.

ROBERT BARCLAY TO SARAH FELL,  
AFTERWARDS MEADE.

Urie, 27th of Eighth month, [tenth mo.] 1678.

DEAR S. F.—Some days ago I received both thy letters, by Will. Taylor. I return thee this answer, chiefly to try an expedient, whether letters put in at the post-office at Edinburgh, will come safe to your hands; for which end I order this that way; and if it hit, let me have by the first post an answer, directing it for me to be left with David Falconer, merchant, in Edinbro'. I will not enlarge by this, because uncertain of its safe conveyance.

I have been a prisoner since I left thy sister, but was kept only two nights. P. L. [Patrick Livingstone, has been out and in again. G. K. [Geo. Keith] and Thos. Mercer were taken this day week.

From Holland I had last night a letter that gave me much satisfaction, in which was one enclosed from Herwarden from Anna Van Horne to Lil. Skeine, very loving; and a short postscript from Elizabeth [the Princess (?)] in these words:—"Dear friend, I love your upright intention to travail in spirit for your friends, though unknown to you; and doubt not but it will prove efficacious to them, in the Lord's due time; which is the wish of your loving friend, Elizabeth."—I refer other matters to a further occasion.

My entire love to thy father and mother, to Isabel my dear fellow-traveller, to Su. [Susan Fell,] and Rachael, as also thy brother and sister Lower, with Leo. [Leonard Fell] and others my acquaintance. Thou wilt excuse this briefness at this time to thy very affectionate friend

*Barclay*

## No. CIII.

ROBERT BARCLAY TO GEORGE FOX.

Edr. [Edinburgh] the last of the Tenth month,  
[twelfth mo.] 1679.

DEAR G. F.—To whom is my dear and unfeigned love in the unchangeable Truth, of whom to hear is always refreshing unto me. I know it will be acceptable to thee to understand, that at last the tedious persecution at Aberdeen seems to have come to an end; for Friends have had their meetings peaceable near these two months, and dear P. L. [Patrick Livingstone (?)] after having had several peaceable meetings, is now come away a noble conqueror from from that place, and is gone to visit Friends in

the west country, and then intends homeward by way of Newcastle. I doubt not, but that God will abundantly reward his courage and patience; for his stay has been of great service to Truth and Friends in these parts. I came here at the earnest desire of W. P. [William Penn (?)] and other Friends, to speak to the D. of York concerning the New Jersey business; but fear there will be little effectual got done in it. I doubt it has been spoiled in the managing at first.

Friends here are generally well, as G. K. [George Keith] and his wife, H. P., R. R. and others; and their love I know is to thee. I should be very glad, if thy freedom could allow of it, to see thee in this country in the spring: I know it would be of great service, for there are several things that would need it: several things go cross, and are so now in divers places; and I know no man's presence could so easily remedy it as thine. I heard from Holland lately, where Friends are well; but the brothers of the deceased Simon Tonsen of Rotterdam, are about to pursue his widow for his estate, as not being legally married to her; but it is hoped they will not carry it, and their judgment is, that it will be of great consequence to Friends hereafter, as to their marriages. My dear and entire love is to Margaret and all the family; and in the love of the unchangeable Truth, I continue

*Thy real friend Barclay*

From some correspondence which took place in 1683, between Friends in Holland and Stephen Crisp, also with the Morning Meeting in London, it appears that the widow's case was then undecided; and that some proceedings were on foot with the government of Holland, for legalizing the marriages of Friends, on their agreeing to give notice to the civil magistrate before the marriage, as well as afterwards of its solemnization. Some of the Friends in Holland scrupled as to the previous notice; and the advice of the Morning Meeting was requested. The answer was to this effect;—"it was not inconsistent with Truth's testimony," to certify the magistrate both before and after the marriage, "all things having first passed with clearness through the meetings of Friends;" that "if the like were proffered here, and to exempt and clear Friends' marriages from the penal laws, Friends believe it would be accepted by Friends generally." "We have been willing from the beginning, (writes G. Whitehead on this occasion,) that our marriages should be made known to the magistrates, and



published at market crosses, &c., as G. F. says."—The Morning Meeting further remarks,—"For though we cannot allow the right of marrying to the civil magistrate, "yet his right to take cognizance of offenders, covenant breakers, &c. (which are but a scandal to Truth and us), as well as to punish adulterers, &c.,—magistrates being set to be a terror to evil workers, and for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well, and to defend them in their rights and properties,—has always been our testimony. There-

fore, Friends being free to impart the simple knowledge of their intentions, will rather bespeak their innocence and clearness from all violations of contracts, clandestine proceedings, &c. than the refusal of such notice; and surely we would have our innocence appear both before marriage and after." These remarks are interesting, as being applicable to the course adopted by Friends in this country, on the late change in our marriage laws, before this correspondence turned up.

## LETTERS, &c., HISTORICAL;

CONCERNING EVENTS, SERVICES, &c.; IN IRELAND.

[The following Letters of very early dates relate to the first progress of Truth in Ireland.]

### No. CIV.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

Dublin, 30th of Seventh month, [ninth mo.] 1655.

DEAR M. F.—After we parted from thee at Swarthmore, we passed down to Warrington that first-day; and there was an exceeding great meeting. From Olmeschurch [Ormskirk] and near Leaverpole, [Liverpool,] divers [came:] but we were pressed to go on and make no stay; and so came to Chester, and visited the prisoners, and stayed in town all night. On the next day we came to the sea, but the wind was contrary.—[When they sailed] the wind blew softly, and so we were two days and two nights on the sea. On the fourth-day of the week, we came to Dublin; and on the fifth, we had a meeting at one Capt. Rich's; and on the first-day, at one Captain Alan's house; many people came, and all calm. They (the Captains) are loving, but there is not much in them.

E. B. [Edw. Burrough] went up to the *deputive house*, where was a meeting of Baptists; he hath been there three times, and spoke with Fleetwood himself, who was moderate, much like O. C. [Cromwell]: but the officers have bowed down to the idol baptism, for promotion; for it grew in great fashion a while here, but now it withers.—We have been here about three weeks, and we have *pretty* meetings on the first-day: but they are a careless, dissolute, proud people.—

E. B. went up to the Phoenix, and I stayed at the meeting; it was pretty large and calm, and there are [good] desires in many. But now, my beloved yoke fellow and I must part,

who have borne the yoke so long together:—the cross is great, in so strange and barbarous a nation; yet it is not so great, as if any other had parted us:—in the will of God we are. I am moved to go a hundred miles west in the nation towards Cork; there is a service, and a people to be gathered, that way; and at King-sale, and Bandon bridge, at the end of the land. E. B. must stay here: for this city we cannot leave yet; but I am given up to lay down all for Him, who hath made me a conqueror; glory unto Him for evermore!

— Salute me in the Lord to all thy children, and all the church there-aways; and as thou art free, write a word to my wife. So the everlasting arm of God preserve us in his power: and that, if it be his will, we may see one another's faces; that we may praise the Lord together.

Thy dear brother in the unchangeable life of God,  
FRANCIS HOWGILL.

*From the original, which is endorsed by G. F. 1655: it is addressed to Swarthmore.*

### No. CV.

EDWARD BURROUGH TO MARGARET FELL.

[Dublin (?)] 1655.

My dearly beloved sister, in whom my soul is refreshed by the remembrance of thee.—I dearly salute thee in the fountain of life, at which I do drink with thee, and am daily nourished and refreshed. But with heaviness of spirit I write unto thee, yea, and with my eyes full of tears; for I am separated outwardly from my dear beloved brother, F. H., who was my right-hand man in the war, before whom many Philistines have fallen. And truly when I consider what the Lord hath done by us, my heart is rent and broken; many glorious days

we enjoyed, and many pleasant hours we had together, in dividing the spoil of our enemy; for our hand was always strong in battle, and our ensign was lifted up above our enemies, and even thousands have fallen on our right hand and on our left. But according to the will of God we are now separated, he into the west of this nation, 100 or six score miles from Dublin; where I must stay a season, for aught I do see,—and truly under great suffering, for few here are that hunger after God, and blindness and deafness hath possessed all. Little Eliz: Fle: [Fletcher] is at present here, but I know not how long she stays; her dear love is to thee and to all the flock of God. Truly I suffer for her, she being as it were alone, having no other woman with her in this [ruinous or ravenous (?)] nation, where it is very bad travelling,—every way a foot, and also dangerous; but we are much above all that. If it were the will of the Lord that any women were moved to come over to her, it might be serviceable.

I was glad that F. H. had so good an opportunity of passing on his journey; he went with a cornet and some others, who were very loving to us, and came to meetings while they stayed in the city.

To all the family, and to the dear flock of God there away, salute us. We have not had any letter from you in the north, nor from London, since we came; we have written to London, but have had no return; here is a post weekly, if the wind lie not wholly contrary.

Let thy prayers be to the everlasting Father for us, that his dread may go along with us, over all. Our parting was a heavy burden upon us both, especially in this strange nation; but we saw it to be of God, and we bore the cross of it. As thou canst at opportunity, write to us, it will make me glad: one face of a Friend would rejoice my soul. Gladly would I hear of G. F. and J. N., and of the rest in the south, where I know the work of the Lord is glorious; and though some do rejoice, yet truly at present we are men of sorrows, but resting in the will of our heavenly Father.

I am thy dear bro: E. B.

Here is a Friend come from England, since I wrote this, from Oxford, [Thomas Loe (?)] who saith he was moved to come, and I believe it; I am refreshed by him.

*From the Original: the letter is without a date; but the year 1655 is endorsed upon it by G. Fox.*

No. CVI.

EDWARD BURROUGH TO MARGARET FELL.

[Waterford.] 5th of Eleventh month, 1655,  
[first mo.] 1656.

SISTER beloved, whom I forget not, but do

remember with kindness, and of whom I am not forgotten;—with my heart and soul, I do salute thee, being bound up with thee in the covenant of life everlasting.—We are joint heirs of the incorruptible inheritance in the Son, who in us liveth and worketh of his own will; in whom we are what we are, and by whom we do what is done; to Him we give his own, glorifying him with his own, world without end. Though far distant from one another, yet my love is hereby increased unto all the children of light; with tears rejoicing in the unity of the Spirit with you all,—who am to you a brother and companion in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, and in labours and travels and sufferings more abundant: but as in suffering with Christ I do abound, so my joy by him and consolation in him are increased also.

Only two letters have I received from thee since I came out of England: I am now at Waterford city, where is a *pretty* people gathering into the fold. Two weeks was I in Dublin city, in the ministry of Christ, labouring in season and out of season; and my suffering was not little in that place, and I had none to bear the yoke with me in my travails; and yet I was not alone, but the Father was with me in power and wisdom and boldness. It is a bad place, [Dublin,] a very refuge for the wicked: being moved I passed through it to this place, for our service lies only in great towns and cities; for generally the country is without inhabitant, except bands of murderers and thieves and robbers, which wait for their prey, and devour many; from which yet we are preserved.

I had great opposition in this city; five times opposed by the rulers, who are Baptists, and once was I tried for a vagabond, and once examined by them for a Jesuit: but to this day, out of snares and plots am I preserved, and walk as a bird among fowler's snares, and as an innocent dove which hath no mate, nay,—none unto whom I can open my cause, but the Lord my God only.—

About sixteen days was I at Kilkenny city, twenty miles from this; where I gave a warning to the inhabitants, and was twice among the Baptists; and one time by command from the governor of the city, was I haled out of their assembly rudely, in the manner of their generation; but a few in that city received our report.

I have not long heard from my chiefest companion F. H. [Francis Howgill,] whose love in the same measure salutes thee with mine. It is now four months since we parted at Dublin, and what I have said in respect of suffering and trials, he can seal the same with me; who have been companions in tribulation and in pa-



tience, and are now in joy and rejoicing; hoping to receive the end of our labour, and to see the travail of our souls, that we may bring in the [sheep (?)] with us into the fold, and may return to our camp with victory from our Lord. And we have not spared to wound on the right hand and on the left; and victory, victory, hath been our word of watch. And though this nation be as the heath in the desert, yet there is a seed and a remnant, for whose sake we are sent. Seldom have I heard from him [F. H.] since; but he is about Cork and Kinsale and Bandon, sixty or eighty miles from this place; and he hath written for me to come that way, if I had freedom, for there was service. But yet I have not had freedom to leave these parts, for here is a harvest and but few labourers; and a war is begun in this nation, and but very few on our part to manage it.

Our dear sisters E. F. [Elizabeth Fletcher,] and E. Smith are also in the west, valiant for the Truth; and some from London arrived at Dublin, who are gone into the north of this nation. —Of all our work and labour, which is doubled upon us since we parted, have we a reward into our bosoms; and herein will our joy be more enlarged, to hear how the war prospers in that nation [England]: write and let us know, that we may partake with you in your rejoicing; and assuredly you may praise the living God on our behalf. Here is great want of books in this nation, which might be very serviceable in spreading forth the Truth. Now I leave it to thee, my dear sister, what way thou sees [best,] that some books might be sent to this land: thus much was upon me to mind thee in general, with my dear love. I desire to be saluted to all the children of light, &c.

Edw: Burrough

No. CVII.

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL.

[Cork,] endorsed 1655.

—AT Kingsale, a great port town, Major Stoding, the governor of the fort is loving; I have been much there, but he is full of corrupt knowledge; all his soldiers, and some of the town will hear: but we preach the cross, and them that cannot own us *there*, we lay no hand on. At Bandon, a great market town, there are not many, but they are precious: one Cornet Cook and his wife, the most eminent house in the town, they are of the true seed: she was a Baptist, and they cast her out for heresy, as they say; a noble woman she is.

There are arrived at Dublin, seven Friends

out of England, two from London, gallant women, and some other I know not; four of them are gone towards the North.—

FRANCIS HOWGILL.

Since I wrote, a company of priests have gone up and procured a warrant or an order from Dublin, and sent it to the governor of Kingsale, and another to Colonel Phayer, governor of Cork; and they sent down divers questions to ask me. The order was general, to take up all Quakers, and send them to Dublin, which is 120 miles off; I was at Kingsale, at one of the governor's houses, when it came: and the governor of Cork sent a letter privately [for me] to come thither.—I am at this city at present: but none I think will meddle, unto whom the commission was sent. Major Stoding is turned out of the commission of the peace upon this account; and it is like they will do so with Colonel Phayer: but he is noble, and saith, more is done by the Quakers, than all the priests in the country have done a hundred years. And now many are moved daily to bear witness against the priests: the work of the Lord is great,—glory to Him for ever!

E. Fletcher is here.—E. B. I have not heard of these six weeks. I hear they imprison all at Dublin.—James Lancaster, R. Hicoke, E. Morgan, R. Ward, and two of Dublin Friends are in prison at Dublin.

*From the Original.*

Rutty in his *History of Friends in Ireland* (p. 84-5.) informs us, that Edward Cook of this place [Bandon] was “a man of great parts, a cornet of horse in Oliver Cromwell's own troop,”—“he embraced the Truth with his whole heart; and retained it,—was given up to serve the Lord, and lived and walked under the cross of Christ Jesus, in great self-denial to the world, and the glory and greatness of it to his dying day: he laid down his head in peace with God, and sweet unity with true-hearted Friends.”

In *Thurlow's State Papers*, (vol. iv. p. 508,) is preserved a letter to Secretary Thurlow, from Henry Cromwell, the Governor of Ireland, dated about this period; from which the following extract is taken. Henry Cromwell was the second son of the Protector; and is reported to have “governed Ireland with such a mixture of firmness, discretion, and tolerant indulgence in religion, that the Irish people, if not contented were at least quiet.”\*

In this Letter, he informs Secretary Thurlow, in London, that “the Quakers begin to grow in some reputation in the County of Cork;

\* Mackintosh's *History of England*, 1657.

their meetings being frequently attended by Colonel Phayer, Major Wallis, and most of the chief officers thereabouts. Some of our soldiers have been perverted by them, and amongst the rest, his Highness's Cornet to his own troop is a professed Quaker\*: Major Hod-den, the Governor of Kingsale is I fear going that way."—*February 6th, 1655—1656.*

Secretary Thurlow writes in reply: "I thank your Lordship for your's of the 6th instant; that was the first that mentioned anything of the Quakers in Ireland. They are a people who are much grown here in numbers."—*February 12th, 1655—1656.*

No. CVIII.

EDWARD BURROUGH AND FRANCIS HOWGILL  
TO GEORGE FOX.

Lancaster, First month, [third mo.] [1656 (?)]

DEARLY BELOVED,—It is now three weeks and some days since we were taken prisoners in the city of Cork, by the High Sheriff of the county, by order of the Council and chief ruler in Ireland: it was dated at Dublin, expressly for us two to be brought by some guards and convoys before the Council at Dublin; which was done accordingly. Great service we had in our journey, about 130 miles. We came prisoners to Dublin, and were severally examined before Hen: Cro. [Henry Cromwell] and his Council, but nothing charged against [us,] and only vain questions propounded; and mighty was the power of the Lord with us to the confounding of our enemies. That night we were committed to prison at the Sergeant-at-Arms his house; where we had a large chamber, and none was hindered to come to us. We sent forth many papers, and gave a haling to all the priests in the city, to give us a public meeting, but they answered us not. Six days we were in prison there, till the Council made an order to the mayor of the city, that he should with speed send us for England; which was done accordingly, to the grief of our spirits; who [were to be] so far separated from the dear babes, which are begotten in that nation, unto whom our souls wish grace and love. The 2nd of this month we arrived at Chester, where, we stayed one night, and heard of a meeting at Preston, to which we made haste, much desiring to be there; which also was brought to pass by the hand of our God. [The meeting] was to the great advantage of Truth; and contrary to expectation or thought, J. Audland, Alex. Parker (?) and we, were brought together. We are now going into the north.

Truly great service for the Lord we had in Ireland for near seven months; the particulars

would be very large; but in short, there is a precious work begun, and a seed sown, which shall never die. More largely at another time shall I write, but thus much in haste.—Truly shall we stand in the counsel of our God, to be [—word not clear] in his service, which we are wholly given up to do.—

Frs. H.'s dear wife, we hear, is departed this world, which will be a little hinderance to him at present, as to settle his children and the like; but truly he is wholly given up to do our Father's will, through great and many trials and dangers and sufferings.

I am thy dear,

E. B.

F. H.

*From the Original, in E. B.'s hand apparently.*

No. CIX.

THOMAS LOE TO GEORGE FOX.

The North of Ireland, 17th of Sixth month 1660.

DEAR AND MOST HONOURABLE,—Thine with much joy I received; and things here are at present pretty cool. I am now in the north, where all is quiet and still, and meetings enlarge daily. I came lately out of the west, from Cork, Bandon, Limerick, and those parts, where persecution hath been greater since these changes [political (?)]; prisons daily attending us, haling out of their towns, and breaking meetings, and blows and threats, and many other sufferings, Friends have sustained by them. Whole meetings have been carried to prison in several places; at Limerick they have kept Friends near four weeks together, and at Dublin the greatest part of a quarter of a year, and at Cork they have several times done the same: I was there a little while since at a monthly meeting, and near the end of our meeting they came with a guard of soldiers, and carried away all the men Friends to prison. And so about Waterford they have done the same, and almost in all parts of the nation; many sharp trials Friends have had by them. Things are generally well with Friends, and meetings fresh and living; a blessed presence is among them, and they are well got over their sufferings, and in wisdom have been well preserved in their several meetings. I do believe many of them are freely given up to suffer all things for the Truth's sake. Here is some increase lately, several are convinced since these revolutions [in government (?)] about the middle of the nation there is a meeting of near forty, and most convinced lately; at this time things are a little quieter, I know of none in prison but what are in for tithes. As to my own particular, dear G. F., I am well; and the Lord's blessing and pure presence are with me in my

\* Doubtless, Edward Cook, (before mentioned.)



labours. It is yet on me to stay in this nation, and the thing hath oft run through me—thou must travel through this storm with Friends here. I am truly and wholly given up into the will of God, and am content to suffer and endure all things for the Lord's sake. Abundance of threats in divers places are uttered against me, and they have had me in prison divers times; but way hath been made for my release in some short time. THOMAS LOE.

This Friend, who has been called "the apostle of Ireland," from his early and zealous labours in that land, "was a man of an excellent gift, sound, clear, and powerful in his ministry, elegant in speech, sharp and quick in his understanding; and his testimony was very convincing. It was through his ministry that William Penn became convinced: W. P. having a considerable estate of his father's in Ireland committed to his care, which occasioned his coming to the country; and being informed that Thomas Loe was to be at a meeting in Cork, he went to meet him. T. Loe began his declaration with these memorable words: 'There is a faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world:' upon which subject he enlarged with great clearness and energy; and by the living and powerful testimony of this man, (which had made some

impression upon W. P.'s spirit ten years before,) he was now thoroughly convinced; and afterwards constantly attended the meetings of the people called Quakers, even through the heat of persecution."—*Rutty's History of Friends in Ireland*, p. 112. T. Loe died in London, (as our Register states,) "the 6th of eighth month 1668, at Edward Mann's a hosier, within Bishopgate:" he is described as of Oxford.

No. CX.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON TO MARGARET FELL.

Maryboro', 2nd of Sixth month [eighth mo.] 1661.

M. F.—As concerning Friends here, I hear of many in prison at Waterford; at Cork and Limberick [Limerick] many Friends are fined in great sums of money, for meeting. I hear that Friends in the north have their liberty. We are six of our meeting prisoners, and fined for meeting: it is well with Friends here,—the Lord's presence is with us, and his power fresh amongst us, whereby we have strength to bear all. My dear love is to thy children and to Friends there.

Thy brother in my measure.

*Will Edmundson*

## LETTERS &c. OF EARLY FRIENDS.

### PART II.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE EARLY DISCIPLINE AND TESTIMONIES OF THE SOCIETY.

No. CXI.

[THE documents brought forward under this division of the work, are almost wholly of dates antecedent to the records of the established meetings of the Society at large, held in London: they will be found to possess much interest and value,—evinced the earnest concern and holy care of our Early Friends, in the first establishment of the Christian Discipline of the Society. It is remarkable how large a portion of the subjects of advice or of regulation, set forth in these early documents, have continued to this day to be acknowledged or maintained amongst us as a religious body:—the wisdom of Truth, it is believed, was at the outset closely sought after, in the building up of the edifice,—the only true foundation of

which, was often testified, and reverently owned, to be Christ,—the head of the church; and His Spirit the cementing bond of union, of edification, and the only right authority therein. In some matters of disciplinary regulation, variations or modifications are observable, (as would be expected,) when compared with the regulations of after times; but the directing principle of Truth, it is believed, was *the warrant* with our Early Friends for those subsequent modifications: the changes, however, were but few and comparatively slight, after the more general settlement of the several meetings for discipline, including those of Women Friends and of Ministers and Elders, throughout the Society, towards the close of the seventeenth century, or between the years 1670 and 1690.

THE following interesting document on the subject of our early discipline, is copied from an ancient manuscript in Thomas Aldam's handwriting (apparently,) found in the Warmsworth Collection. As it bears no date, neither signature, it is difficult to speak with confidence, as to the period in which it was issued, or by what body or meeting of Friends; but from the expression—"serving the Commonwealth" being used, (a state term doubtless generally avoided after the restoration of the Stuarts,) it is probable that the document was drawn up in the time of one of the Cromwells,—a period very ancient as respects disciplinary records in the Society; on that account, the Editor places it the first in this part of the volume. It is within the verge of probability, that it was a paper issued by the General or yearly Meeting, held at John Crook's house in Bedfordshire in the year 1657, to Friends in the North.]

*The Elders and Brethren send unto the Brethren in the North these necessary things following; to which, if you, in the light wait to be kept in obedience, you will do well. Fare you well.*

1.—That the particular meetings, by all the children of the light, be duly kept and observed, where they be already settled, every first-day of the week; except they be moved to other places. And that general meetings be kept in order and sweet in the life of God, on some other day of the week than on the first-day, unless there be a moving to the contrary: that so in the light and life, the meetings be kept, to the praise of God.

2.—That care be taken, that as any are brought into the Truth, meetings be in such places amongst them, as may be for the most convenience of all, without respect of persons: and that hands be laid on none suddenly, lest the Truth suffer.

3.—That if any person draw back from meetings, and walk disorderly, some go to speak to such as draw back; to exhort and admonish such with a tender, meek spirit, whom they find negligent or disorderly. And if any, after admonition, do persist in the thing not good, let them again be admonished and reprov'd before two or three witnesses; that by the mouth of two or three witnesses, every thing may be established. And if still they persevere in it, then let the thing be declared to the church: and when the church hath reprov'd them for their disorderly walking, and admonished them in the tender and meek spirit, and they do not reform, then let their names and the causes, and such as can justly testify the truth therein, and their answers, be sent in writing to some whom the Lord hath

raised up in the power of his Spirit to be fathers, His children to gather in the light,—that the thing may be known to the body; and with the consent of the whole body, the thing may be determined in the light.

4.—That as any are moved of the Lord to speak the word of the Lord at such meetings, that it be done in faithfulness, without adding or diminishing. And if at such meetings, any thing at any time be otherwise spoken by any out of the light, whereby the seed of God cometh to be burthened; let the person or persons in whom the seed of God is burthened, speak in the light (as of the Lord they are moved,) in meekness and godly fear, to him; but let it be done in private, betwixt them two, or before two or three witnesses, and not in the public meetings, except there be a special moving so to do.\*

5.—That collections be timely made for the poor, (that are so indeed,) as they are moved, according to order,—for relief of prisoners, and other necessary uses, as need shall require: and all moneys so collected, an account thereof to be taken; from which every need may be supplied, as made known by the overseers in every meeting: that no private ends may be answered, but all brought to the light, that the gospel be not slandered.

6.—That care be taken for the families and goods of such as are called forth into the ministry, or [who] are imprisoned for the Truth's sake; that no creatures be lost for want of the creatures.

7.—That as any are moved to take a brother or a sister in marriage,—(marriage being honourable in all, and the bed undefiled,) let it be made known to the children of the light, especially to those of the meeting of which the parties are members; that all in the light may witness it to be of God. And let them be joined together in the Lord and in His fear, in the presence of many witnesses; according to the example of the holy men of God in the Scriptures of Truth recorded, (which were written for our example and learning;) that no scandal may rest upon the Truth, nor anything be done in secret; but all things brought to the light, that Truth may triumph over all deceit; and that they who are joined together in the Lord, may not by man be put asunder, whom God hath joined together. That there may be a record in writing, witnessing of the day, place, and year, of such things, kept within that meeting, of which the one or both of them are members; under which writing the witnesses present may subscribe their names, or so

\*It will be seen by a subsequent document, how earnest was the advice (afterwards) of the General Meeting in London, against judging or reflecting on the ministry publicly.



many of them as be convenient; for the stopping of the mouths of gainsayers, and for the manifesting the truth to all who are without.

8.—That a record be kept in every meeting of the births of the children of such who are members of that meeting, and of the burials of the dead (who die in the Lord,) as they depart out of the body; which be done after the manner of the holy men of God, recorded in the Scriptures of Truth; and not after the customs of the heathen, who know not God.

9.—That husbands and wives dwell together according to knowledge, as being heirs together of the grace of life. That children obey their parents in the Lord; and that parents provoke not their children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and fear of the Lord, walking before them as good examples, in gravity and godliness; providing things honest in the sight of God and man.

10.—That servants be obedient to them that are their masters in the flesh, in things that are good, in singleness of heart as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ; doing the will of God from the heart: with good-will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men; knowing whatsoever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And that masters give to their servants that which is just and equal; forbearing threatening, knowing that their Master is also in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with Him.

11.—That care be taken that none who are servants depart from their masters, but as they both do see in the light: nor any master to put away his servant, but by the consent of the servant: and if any master or servant in their wills do otherwise, it is to be judged with Friends in the light.

12.—That the necessities of the poor, widows and fatherless, may be truly supplied, and that such as are able to work, and do not, may be admonished: and if, after admonition, they refuse to work, then let them not eat. And that the children of such as are in necessity, be put to honest employment; that none be idle in the Lord's vineyard.

13.—That care be taken, that as any are called before the outward powers of the nation, that in the light, obedience to the Lord be given.

14.—That if any be called to serve the commonwealth in any public service, which is for the public wealth and good, that with cheerfulness it be undertaken, and in faithfulness discharged unto God: that therein patterns and examples in the thing that is righteous, they may be, to those that be without.

15.—That all Friends that have callings and trades, do labour in the thing that is good, in faithfulness and uprightness; and keep to their

yea and nay in all their communications: and that all who are indebted to the world, endeavour to discharge the same, that nothing they may owe to any man but [to] love one another.

16.—That no one speak evil of another, neither judge one against another; but rather judge this, that none put a stumbling-block or occasion to fall in his brother's way.

17.—That none be busy bodies in other's matters, but each one to bear another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ; that they be sincere and without offence, and that all things which are honest, be done without murmurings and disputings: that they may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, amongst whom they may shine as lights in the world.

18.—That Christian moderation be used towards all men; that they who obey not the word, may be won [by] those that in the word dwell, to guide in an holy life and godly conversation.

19.—That the Elders made by the Holy Ghost, feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof willingly, not by constraint, but of a willing mind; neither as lords over God's heritage, but as examples to the flock of Christ.

20.—That the younger submit themselves to the elder,—yea all be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility; for God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.

From the Spirit of Truth to the children of light, to walk in the light; that all in the order be kept in obedience to God; that He may be glorified, who is worthy over all, blessed for ever—Amen!

Dearly beloved Friends, these things we do not lay upon you as a rule or form to walk by; but that all, with a measure of the light, which is pure and holy, may be guided: and so in the light walking and abiding, these things may be fulfilled in the Spirit, not in the letter; for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life.

There is in this brief concluding paragraph, something remarkably instructive: the true spirit of our church discipline, not the letter of it, is upheld,—reference being made to the only right authority of it, instead of to any outward sanction or authority.

#### No. CXII.

[This next early record was discovered in a register book of a monthly meeting in Hampshire, since the last document was prepared for the press. It is dated 1659, and contains portions of advice similar to those in the preceding article, and occasionally so in the same words:

thus proving that some general advice of the kind, had been issued from some influential body or meeting of the Society, at or previous to that early period.]

*At a meeting of Friends of four counties, Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire, at the Lodge near Horsham, these as followeth were judged necessary by Friends there met, and by them owned, and tendered as their counsel and advice unto all Friends in those places.*

The Third Month, 1659.

1.—That all Friends at their several meetings in the aforesaid counties, do make their collections orderly and timely for the use of the poor, or such other necessary uses that shall be seen in the wisdom of God to be serviceable for the good of the body: and what is remaining over in the particular, to be brought into the general stock, at the general meeting in each county, to them entrusted for the whole.

2.—That all Friends intending marriage, or witnessing a motion of the Lord unto that thing, (before they go outwardly together,) bring it to the body or that church to which they are joined; that all in the power of the Lord may feel, and in that particular nothing be done hastily or rashly, but in the fear of the Lord; and in the presence of many witnesses they may be united, according to the example of the holy men of God in the Scriptures of truth recorded; so that no scandal or blemish may be laid upon the Truth, but all to the light may be brought, which maketh manifest deceit; and that a record in writing of the day, place, and year of such things, be kept within that meeting, whereof one or both are members; under which the witnesses may set their names, or some of them.

3.—That a record be kept (as Friends are moved) of the births of children of such as are members or Friends, and of the burial of the dead who die in the Lord, (as they departed out of the body;) which be done after the manner of the holy men of God recorded in the Scriptures, and not after the custom of the heathen that know not God.

4.—That burying places be provided as soon as conveniently may be, in convenient places distinct from the world, as Friends are moved in it.

5.—That if any person or persons draw back from the Truth and walk disorderly, some to speak to such as draw back, to exhort and admonish such with a tender and meek spirit, whom they find negligent and disorderly; and if any person or persons after admonition persist in the thing not good, let them be again (as moved) admonished, and before two or three witnesses reproved, that by the mouth of two

or three witnesses every thing may be established; and if still they persist and come not to the Truth, then let the thing be delivered to others that be in the Truth, that it may be known to the body, and with the consent of the whole, in the light be determined; and that nothing be done in haste or rashly.

6.—That a tender care be taken of all such children, wives, servants, soldiers, or others, who are turned out of their places and families, for the Truth's sake. And that all single persons, men and women, (who are not called forth in the public or general service in the work of the Lord,) be ordered in the wisdom of God to several places, whereby they may glorify God in their conversations, and the Truth may be preserved by them without blemish, and them in it; that all Friends may be kept in duty.

7.—That all Friends in their several places (as they are moved,) observe their general and particular meetings on the first-days and others, (except any of them be moved forth by the Lord unto some other places for the furtherance of Truth, as in the wisdom of God shall be seen and judged serviceable, or just cause showed, if desired, to the contrary;) for they who forsake the assembly of saints lose the unity.

8.—That if any be moved of the Lord to speak in the steeple houses, streets, markets, meetings, or beyond the seas, [they are] not to quench the Spirit of the Lord; and that no Friends judge one another in meetings; but if any be moved to speak [to such,] to do it after meeting in private. And all Friends take heed of slothfulness and sleeping in meetings; but live in the power of the Lord, that you may be kept in the unity: that all things that are done, may be, in the moving power of the Lord God, and nothing out of it.

*An addition of Friends who met together from the counties aforesaid, since the said meeting in the third month, 1659.*

[—That care be taken that all sufferings of Friends, who suffer for conscience and Truth's sake, of what nature or kind soever, be from time to time gathered up and recorded; and to that end some Friends of every meeting convenient, be desired to record the same; and that such Friends who suffer as aforesaid, do bring the whole matter, with all material circumstances, speedily to him who is to record the same: and that all such records of sufferings as aforesaid, be by him returned at the next general meeting of Friends for that county, there to be recorded in general for the whole county, by him who is desired to record the same.

—That if collections be made in the seven-



ral counties as aforesaid, and [if] the money collected in every particular county is not sufficient to supply the necessity in the same county, that then the other of said counties, who have any collections in the general stock, do contribute towards the necessity of that county or counties which is in want.

The names of Friends met together the third month 1659, above-mentioned, viz.

*[Then follow the names of many Friends arranged under the four counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hampshire.]*

Whilst the above was in type, the following documents were met with, among our ancient records in London, which, from their very early date and rarity, are curious, and their contents interesting.

*At a meeting of Friends out of the Northern counties of York, Lincoln, Lancaster, Chester, Nottingham, Derby, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland, at Scalehouse,\* the 24th of the fourth month, 1658.*

HAVING heard of great things done by the mighty power of God, in many nations beyond the seas, whither He hath called forth many of our dear brethren and sisters, to preach the everlasting Gospel; by whom he hath revealed the mystery of His Truth, which hath been hid from ages and generations, who are now in strange lands, in great straits and hardships, and in the daily hazard of their lives:—our bowels yearn for them, and our hearts are filled with tender love to those precious ones of God, who so freely have given up for the Seed's sake, their friends, their near relations, their country and worldly estates, yea, and their own lives also; and in the feeling we are [have] of their trials, necessities and sufferings, we do therefore in the unity of the Spirit and bond of Truth, cheerfully agree, in the Lord's name and power, to move and stir up the hearts of Friends in these counties, (whom God hath called and gathered out of the world, with one consent, freely and liberally, to offer up unto God of their earthly substance, according as God hath blessed every one,—to be speedily sent up to London, as a free-will offering for the Seed's sake; that the hands of those that are beyond the seas in the Lord's work, may be strengthened, and their bowels refreshed, from the love of their brethren. And we commit it to the care of our dear brethren of London, Amos Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts, John Boulton, Thomas Hart and Richard Davis, to order and dispose of what shall be from us sent unto them, for the supply of such as are already gone forth, or

such as shall be moved of the Lord to go forth, into any other nation; of whose care and faithfulness we are well assured.

And such Friends as are here present, are to be diligent in their several counties and places; that the work may be hastened with all convenient speed.

Signed by many Friends; amongst them are Thomas Aldam, John Killam, Thomas Bewley, Thomas Taylor, Marmaduke Storr, John Richmond, William Smith.

*The next document is addressed simply as follows:*

#### BRETHREN AND FRIENDS,

IT having pleased God, in his marvellous love, in these latter days to reveal the mystery of his gospel, which hath been hid from ages and generations, and to make manifest his glorious Truth, which hath been long lost in the dark night of apostacy, since the days of the Apostles,—and chosen England before all the nations of the world, as the land of his delight, and to bring forth many thousands therein, (as a kind of first fruits to the glory of his name,) unto whom He hath given to see those days that many righteous souls long waited for and thirsted after;—let us all, in the simplicity of Truth, (which at the first was made manifest to us,) abide and dwell, and in the liberty [wherewith] Christ Jesus hath made us free, stand fast; that we be not again led back into the errors of those that went before us, who left the power and got into the form, who brought in that darkness which hath so long covered the face of the earth, that no footsteps may be left for those that shall come after, or to walk by example: but that all they may be directed [by] and left to the Truth, in it to live and walk, and by it to be guided: that none may look back at us, nor have an eye behind them; but that all may look forward, waiting in the Spirit for the revelation of those glorious things, which are to be made manifest to them.

It is needful that we call to mind, how long, and in what manner, the world has been distracted and divided about those things which the Apostles practised; and what sad calamity (besides the loss and departure from the Truth) has come upon many nations, about forms and ways of discipline and government of the church (so called;) some saying the Apostles made bishops, and gave them power, and they ordained Elders: others saying, nay, it was by the laying on the hands of the presbytery; and others pleading it was the election and choice of the churches. And how have men gathered themselves into forms and sects, according to their divers persuasions; and how are others setting up committees to approve and send forth preachers, and give them maintenance, seeing into the errors of the former: but all being

\* Scalehouse is understood to be situated within the district of Richmond Monthly Meeting.

ignorant of the life, or of the true power. And thus have men usurped one over another, and intruded into those things they understood not; and by human policy and invention, set up a carnal, worldly religion and worship, which has for many hundred years overspread the whole face of the earth.

Wherefore, in love and tenderness, and in the fear of the Lord, we exhort, that we may all in the unity of the Spirit, dwell in the pure wisdom, which is from above; which *comprehends* that which would lead out to the setting up persons or things: that the power of the Godhead may be known in the body, in that perfect freedom which every member hath in Christ Jesus; that none may exercise lordship or dominion over another, nor the person of any be set apart, but as they continue in the power of Truth. And that none exercise any authority, but such to whom it is freely given in the Lord for the good of the body; that all the world's images and ways, and forms and sects, may be condemned and confounded; and the glory of Christ's body made manifest, in that wisdom and in that power, which the world cannot comprehend; that Truth itself in the body may reign, not persons nor forms: and that all such may be honoured, as stand in the life of the Truth; wherein is the power, not over, but in, the body; that our path may be as the way of a ship in the sea, which no deceit can follow or imitate.

That for the better ordering of the outward estate of Friends, in all relations in and to the world and to one another, in wisdom and as becomes the Truth, and for making collections for the needs of the church,—[let] as many particular meetings, or some Friends from each of them that are near, and can conveniently, meet together once a month, or as occasion shall require: and as many of such Monthly Meetings, or some Friends from each of them in the northern parts of England, as can conveniently come together in a General Meeting twice or thrice in a year, or as occasion requires, be joined and united: and that we may not tie up ourselves to the world's limits of counties and places; but join together as may conduce to the union and fellowship of the church, and to the mutual help of one another in the Lord; and we wish the like may be settled in all parts, and one General Meeting of [or for] England.

That for the supplying the needs of the church, and relieving such as are in want, it may be laid upon Friends in every meeting to take care of their own poor; to supply such as are aged and infirm in body; to provide employment for such as want work, or cannot follow their former callings by reason of the evil therein; and to help such parents for the educa-

tion of their children, as have more than they can maintain: that there may not be a beggar amongst us, nor any whose soul need be oppressed with care for food or raiment. And where Friends of one meeting are overburthened, and under a greater charge than they can bear, that Friends at each Monthly Meeting, take care to contribute to their assistance.

That Friends at each Monthly Meeting do take care to provide supply for such as are in the ministry amongst them, where there is need; as also for the relief of Friends in prison, or any other, suffering for the Truth's sake, according to their several wants; and to make collections from time to time for the same. And where Friends of any Monthly Meeting are under a greater charge and burden than they can well bear, the General Meeting of Friends in the North to take care to contribute to them; that we may all bear one another's burdens, and walk in love as becomes brethren.

That all collections made by any particular meeting, be paid to such hands, and disposed to such ends, as Friends of that Meeting shall appoint; and the same likewise to be observed by each Monthly Meeting with their collections; and the like also by Friends of the North, at their General Meetings: that the true power of the whole body, and of every part thereof, may be preserved; that every member may act in its own freedom, and every meeting in its own authority, as part of that body which Christ Jesus hath set free. And none to usurp over another; but let him that would be greatest, be servant unto all: that as Friends according to their freedom do contribute, they may be also satisfied it is laid out by the power and in the wisdom of the body to whom they commit it.

That all collections made by Friends at their Monthly Meetings, as also at their General Meetings, be for the needs of the churches in general, and not limited for those only that are in the ministry; who will be as much grieved, as others offended, to have a maintenance or hire raised on purpose for them.

That for the more clearness of Truth, and satisfaction of Friends, two or more persons be still appointed in all trusts about moneys, and be privy to all receipts and disbursements; that the innocency of the upright may be known, and all deceit be prevented.

That all Friends that receive any collections, do from time to time, make account to Friends of the particular meeting, Monthly Meeting or General Meeting, by whom they were entrusted; and in order thereunto, that a note under two or more hands be sent out of every county, with such collections as are appointed by the General Meeting, to be produced, together with an account how it hath been disbursed [at] the next General Meeting, together with an account



how such are entrusted therewith; and that particular notes from every Meeting, under two or more hands be sent with their collections to such persons as are appointed by the Monthly Meeting to receive the same, to be produced together with the account how it hath been discharged, at the next Monthly Meeting after: and after every account so made and cleared, all papers to be concealed, and no further remembrance thereof to be had, which may beget many offences in future time, but cannot be of any service to the Truth.

Dear Friends, these things being agreed and [*words indistinct*] in clearness of Truth, which hitherto have taken up much time at the General Meetings, to the loss of many precious opportunities,—you will see greater things before you, which more chiefly concern the state of the church, and will be of greater service to the Truth; as our Friends who bring this from us may lay before you, as there is freedom and opportunity.

*From Friends met together at Durham, from several Meetings in and adjoining to the county of Durham, the 1st day of the eighth month, 1659: to Friends who shall meet together out of the several Northern Counties, at Skipton, the 5th of the eighth month, 1659.*

[Signed by twenty names; amongst them, Anthony Pearson, Richard Wilson, Christopher Richmond, &c.]

THIS letter was presented and read at the General Meeting at Skipton, the 5th-day of the eighth month, 1659; and was by all Friends owned and approved, and agreed to be observed; and copies thereof to be sent to all Monthly Meetings: Thomas Killam, Samuel Watson, Henry Ward, William Gandy.

[*This document is endorsed.*] “*To Thomas Doudney, at the Bell Savage in London, deliver this; and for him to give or send it to G. F., with speed and care to be delivered to him, where he is.*”

[Another document of a similar kind recommends a collection to be raised for the service of Truth abroad, dated from the General Meeting, held at Skipton, the 25th day of the second month, 1660; it commences thus:]

“DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

“WE having certain information from some Friends of London, of the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas, in several parts and regions, as Germany, America, and many other islands and places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, [?] Newfoundland; through all which,

Friends have passed in the service of the Lord, and divers other countries, places, islands and nations; and among many nations of the Indians, in which they have had service for the Lord, and through great travails have published His name, and declared the everlasting gospel of peace unto them that have been afar off; that they might be brought nigh unto God.” &c.

[A collection is then recommended in every particular meeting, to be sent “as formerly to London, for the service and use aforesaid.”]

### No. CXIII.

*A testimony concerning the beginning of the work of the Lord, and the first publication of Truth, in this city of London; and also concerning the cause, end, and service of the first appointment and setting up of the men's meeting at the Bull and Mouth; that it may be known to all perfectly, how the Lord hath begun and carried on his work to this day.*

[THIS highly interesting document, signed by Edward Burrough, and dated 1662, is taken from a collection of copies of letters and papers, in four folio volumes, entitled “*John Pennington's Collection of his father's Manuscripts*,” and preserved in London. These volumes (which are very closely written) contain a large number of Isaac Pennington's letters and papers; many of them have at different times been published. The Editor is not aware that the document in question has ever been printed or referred to in any treatise upon our early discipline: it is not only valuable as an ancient record, but very instructive. Respecting the primitive meeting alluded to, held at the Bull and Mouth, London, William Crouch gives us the following account:

“After the taking of the house called Bull and Mouth, for a meeting place, as aforesaid, the ancient men Friends about the city, did sometimes meet together, to the number of eight or ten, (sometimes a few more added,) in an upper room belonging to the place; there to consult about, and consider of the affairs of Truth; and to communicate to each other what the Lord opened in them, for the promotion thereof; and also to make such provision to supply all necessary occasions, which the service of the church might require. And now also, some ancient women Friends did meet together, to consider of what appertained to them, as their most immediate care and concern; to inspect the circumstances and condition of such who were imprisoned on Truth's account, and to provide things needful to supply their wants: and what did or might more immediately concern men Friends, the women would acquaint them therewith: and all was done in great

love and unity ;—no jar or discord amongst them, — no repining or murmuring ; but a sweet harmony and agreement was preserved in all things. These women did also inquire into and inspect the wants and necessities of the poor, who were convinced of the Truth : and they sat not still, until the cry of the poor came to their houses ; but when they did suppose or discover a want of help, their charity led them to inquire into their conditions, and to minister to their necessities. And thus things were carried on with cheerfulness and brotherly kindness, in the infancy of the church : all whisperings and backbitings were shut out, and love and good will to all were promoted and cherished. And afterwards as Truth grew and prospered, and many came to be added to the faith, the meetings came, through the Providence of God, to be settled in order and method as at this day.”—*Memoirs of William Crouch*, Sect. III.]

THE FOLLOWING IS A COPY OF THE TESTIMONY.

It having pleased the Lord God of heaven and earth, by his Spirit and power to move the hearts and spirits of divers of us, the ministers of his everlasting Gospel of truth and salvation, to come to this great city of London, to publish and declare the message of eternal life, which we had received power from the Father to do ; that people might be warned of the day of their visitation, and turned from darkness to the light, and from Satan's power to God, and be converted to the knowledge of the way of salvation, that their souls might live ; for our testimony was and is the same, as ever was held forth by the holy prophets and apostles of old. To which moving of the Lord in us, we were obedient ; and though in much weakness, and not without many trials, tribulations, and difficulties, we entered this city, and as the wisdom of God prepared our way, we began to publish and declare the things of the kingdom of God, as we had received the gift thereof, in power and authority,—to the wounding and piercing of many consciences, and to the quickening and awakening the witness of God in many hearts, as is well known to the faithful this day. And though we met with, and were exercised in, many trials and much opposition from men of all conditions ; yet we were not discouraged, nor of fearful hearts, nor fainting in the work of the Lord, nor overcome by oppositions ; but we went on in boldness and confidence in God, holding forth the perfect way of salvation to all, both by doctrine, practice, and conversation ; which have been to this day, every way according to the ancient and true gospel of peace, and there is not any other.

And we being carried on in faithfulness to

this work, unto which we were thus called and ordained, it pleased the Lord to bless us and prosper his work in our hands ; and our labour and travails were successful, to accomplish the good and happy end of converting and turning many to the Lord, and to walk in his way of truth and peace ; wherein they found perfect rest and peace to their souls, and assurance in his mercies for ever, through faith in the gospel held forth by us. The Spirit of the Father doth testify this in the hearts of many in this city, in whom the seed of God is raised up by his power, by the ministry of Christ sent unto them ; insomuch that they with us, are now both partakers of the grace, love, wisdom, and inheritance of the everlasting Father ; and have no master but Christ, and are all brethren ;—no lord nor commander, no shepherd, nor preserver, but the Lord Jesus Christ alone ; and he is become all in all unto us all, who have believed and received him, and are gathered into his fold, and born of his seed elect, which is blessed for ever.

And though some few of us were at first particularly called and chosen of God to this work, and have been instruments to publish his name, and preach his gospel in this city for these divers years ; and the Lord by us hath gathered many people to himself, to know him, and be taught of him, according to his covenant of promise, in conversion and regeneration ; yet of all this happy and blessed work accomplished and still carrying on, the praise and worth thereof pertains not unto us, but unto the living God, who is the fulness and fountain of all good things ; and hath only chosen us as vessels of his glory, and instruments in his hand, to bear and publish his name in the world ; having endued us with power, wisdom, and strength, from himself for such a work : and his alone is the honour and renown of all his own works, now and for evermore. Yea, the Holy Spirit of the Father is witness, and bears full proof in us and for us, that we have not sought ourselves in any thing in this case, nor taken too much upon us, nor been as lords over God's heritage, nor exalted ourselves among them, nor preached ourselves, but Christ Jesus, and ourselves their servants for his sake. We have been no otherwise in any case, than becomes such a calling and profession in the gospel ; and are only to be accounted of, as stewards of the grace of God, and dispensers of his holy word, and ministers of Christ ; and such as are instruments in his hand to gather the flock, and go before them in truth and righteousness, in meekness and uprightness and all the fruits of the Spirit, both in doctrine and conversation, and also in sufferings, tribulations, and afflictions for the same. Thus ought we to be es-



teemed, loved and obeyed, and not otherwise: and the Spirit of Christ thus witnesseth, in us and for us, in the hearts of the faithful in this city; to which we can, in all boldness and confidence of our pure consciences, commend ourselves to be approved and justified,—for to that testimony are we known.

And though we appeared at first in much weakness, and for the name of Christ were despisable amongst men, and were liable to reproaches, necessities, and afflictions for his sake, and had no men to stand by us, or to help to bear our burdens, at our first coming to this place, as being strangers both in body and spirit to the whole city; yet the Lord appeared for us, and his power and wisdom were manifest through us in a large manner; his strength, authority, dignity and riches were exalted and administered through our weakness and poverty in spirit; and many were made truly sensible thereof in their own souls, in whose hearts the word of the Lord had place, to his own praise. And as we began, so we went on, in the name and power of Christ Jesus, in the work of the Lord in this city; and it prospered daily, and grew honourable and fruitful in the hearts of many, who believed our testimony, and received the Truth: and all such gave up themselves in soul, body and estate, to obey the Truth, and to follow Christ as they had received him. And in the space of about two years' time, Truth was much spread, and many were convinced, and turned to the Lord, to believe, obey, and acknowledge the message of eternal life: and he kept us faithful in those times, as at this day, to hold forth the testimony of his Truth in all trials, through all tribulations, and against all oppositions. And God hath made his Truth to prosper through our ministry, from the beginning until this moment; and we have in a measure seen the blessed effect of the travail of our souls, and are satisfied.

And, as I have said, in some space of time after our coming to this city, the work of the Lord was much increased, and had grown into good esteem with many; and it advanced greater and greater daily, in respect of the service pertaining to it. And many occasions happened, and divers matters came to pass daily in relation to the Truth, all which occasions and matters so coming to pass, were to be ordered and managed with all heavenly wisdom and prudence, for the prosperous carrying on the good work of the Lord, so happily begun in this city and nation. And the occasions and matters happening in relation to Truth to be managed as aforesaid, were such as so properly did not belong or appertain to us of the ministry to be exercised in, as to the Friends of the city who had believed in the Truth; (to wit;)—con-

cerning providing convenient meeting-places for the publishing of Truth,—and how the poor people that believed, should be honestly taken care for, that no want should be amongst them,—and that the sick and weak and impotent should be visited and provided for,—and that such servants as were put away out of their services for receiving the Truth, should be looked after, and placed in some honest employments. These occasions, with many more of the like kind, relating to the service of Truth, were administered to be looked after and managed in God's wisdom and power, as Truth grew in the city and increased: which occasions and services, as I have said, were not so proper for us of the ministry, as for the Friends of the city: neither had we the opportunity of such exercises, being wholly devoted to the work of the ministry, to which we were ordained of God, and were continually exercised in preaching the gospel, in answering books and manuscripts put forth against us, and in disputes and contentions with such as opposed the Truth. These and the like services have been our continual work and exercise for these divers years, faithfully performed by us in the sight of God; for which our reward is with us, in our peace and comfort with the living God for ever. Therefore seeing such occasions, as aforesaid, fell out to be managed for the service of Truth in this city, and that they were not so proper for us, as for the Friends of the city, to look after and serve in; and also seeing necessity (for the carrying on the work of the Lord) required the prudent and orderly management of such affairs;—we therefore, in the name, power and wisdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, as we were endued with the same, and as he had given us power and authority so to do, for the furtherance of the gospel and prosperity of the work of the Lord, committed to our charge,—did by virtue of the same, ordain and appoint,—that the men Friends of the city, or the ancientest of them in the Truth, (not excluding any,) should meet together at the Bull and Mouth or elsewhere, once in the fortnight, or once a month, as they in the wisdom of God should find it necessary, for the management of Truth's affairs. And in such their meetings they should wisely consider and determine, in and concerning the matters and occasions and such like before-mentioned; and that they should order in outward things relating to Truth; and be assisting one to another, for the good and honour and service of the Truth, and the Friends of it, so much as in them lay, according to that measure of the wisdom of God given to them, in perfect love and unity together; bearing one another's burdens, and helping together in mutual concord and good will: that in all things in the respects before men-

tioned, good and wholesome order and government and management might be carried on among the flock of Christ; so as that Truth might be honoured, and have a good report among all men, while they behold the comely and honest order and government of all outward affairs in the wisdom of God amongst us.

Thus for these causes, and for these ends, to the service and honour of the Truth, was your meeting of men as aforesaid ordained and appointed; that ye in your places according to your gifts, as well as we in our callings to which we were ordained and sent forth, should be helpful and assistant one to another; and in unity together, advising, and counselling, and agreeing, and assenting one to another, for the management of Truth's affairs, and to the carrying on of the blessed work of the Lord God begun in this nation and city:—not to be divided, I say,—ye not contrary to us, nor we to you, in any case relating to the good and wholesome ordering of affairs pertaining to Truth; but we to go on in the ministry of the gospel, in our gifts and callings and works, as aforesaid, to the gathering of more to the Lord; and ye to be faithful in your services and works appointed you in the wisdom of God, and to go on in and by the counsel and instructions of the power, wisdom, and authority of Christ Jesus, which gave you your power, and ordained you to your service,—which through us, (as ministers of the same,) was communicated to you from the Father: that these gifts might dwell in you also, and enable you as well as us, in dear and tender unity together, for the work of the Lord in our generation; which he hath appointed to be effected in his own power and Spirit dwelling in his people, in the union and fellowship together,—in advising and consenting unto one another, in what we are each of us called to manage and perform on the Lord's behalf, for his service: not acting for self-ends, apart, reservedly, or oppositely one to another, in any work pretendedly for the Lord; but going on in unity together, asking, giving and taking counsel, advice and information one of another in the Lord; and all for the better carrying on his good work, that it may prosper in the earth.

And accordingly, in the counsel and authority of God, and for the causes and ends aforesaid, that meeting was first set up, now some years ago; and then entered upon its work and service, and began to consider and order concerning the things and occasions before mentioned, relating to the service of Truth: in which service the Lord blessed the meeting, and made it in some measure prosperous, (as at this day,) to the good government and well ordering of the affairs of Friends in outward things: and all this effected through the power

and wisdom of the Lord God manifest in the hearts of his people, and in our concurrence together in the same; that we together one with another, may give our judgment and advice, for the just and righteous determination of all affairs in the service of Truth. Thus we assisting one another in the work of the Lord, we in our callings and places, and you in yours,—each one walking in the integrity of his heart to the Lord, and concurring together in the consideration and judgment of things pertaining to the Truth; not you against us, nor without us, to proceed in the determination of Truth's affairs; but in the same power, Spirit, and authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is with us,—and in which we have been instrumental to turn you to the Lord, and to watch over the flock of Christ unto this day;—nor we to judge nor determine in the affairs of Truth otherwise than may answer the testimony of Christ in your consciences, in which ye may have unity.

Thus hath it been, and shall it be manifest, that the one Spirit of love and unity guides us, and rests with us in all our ways; and that every one of us by that same Spirit do walk with the Lord, and serve him faithfully, in whatsoever we are called unto, each one in his place. And this way is of the Lord, to our everlasting peace, and the honour of his name, to go on together in love and unity, and without the least grain of contempt one of another, or lordliness over one another; for this is not of the Father, but tends to destroy and confound what we have wrought for the Lord in our day. If, I say, there be any such spirit of slighting or contempt on your part, of the ministry and ministers of the gospel, who have been faithful instruments to beget you to the Lord, and do faithfully go before you in afflictions and persecutions for the Truth's sake at this day;—or if on our part do arise any lordliness or self-seeking over and among the flock of Christ, which God hath made us overseers of, to watch over their souls, of which we must give an account unto Him;—this kind of spirit is not from above, but is devilish; and its effects will be destructive, and bring the wrath of the Lord against such as shall ever give place unto it. Wherefore it behoves all the saints, always to be watchful against the spirit of the power of darkness, lest at any time there should be a withdrawing or turning aside from the paths of peace and prosperity; which may also dishonour the God of heaven, who hath thus far marvelously wrought for us, in gathering us to be his chosen people to his praise; who were sometimes strangers to him, as others, but now are called and faithful and chosen. Let us therefore stand always armed with his power and patience—with his meekness, innocency



and righteousness; and be in true subjection to him, and one to another, each one minding to fulfil the will of the Father, in what he calls unto; not intruding without the Lord's call into anything, or to judge one of another beyond the measure of the Spirit of true judgment; but every one to live and walk in the particular measure of the life of righteousness, begotten in him of the Father; and in that let us all be joined to concur in judgment and practice, in carrying on the work of the Lord, according to his purpose in our day; being all of a weighty and careful spirit to do his will: and this is a charge in the presence of God our heavenly Father, to all concerned; and to whom I am moved of the Lord to write this for the service of Truth.

And this may truly inform all who desire it, concerning the cause, end, and service of the aforesaid meeting; and may be as an answer to the question, why, for what use and service, was that meeting at first appointed, and what was the power and authority of it? Herein, I say, is the same resolved, which may be for the service of our age,—that all who are young in the Truth, and have not frequented that meeting from the first beginning of it, and such also as shall unite yet in that same assembly, both in our age and in ages to come, may not be doubtful, but certainly know the very just cause, end, and service, and extent of this said meeting, and upon what ground it was first ordained; and [that] this meeting still be continued and preserved in all wisdom and sincerity, in the fear, and name, and authority, and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, as it was ordained and begun at the first; that is to say:

First, that the meeting do consist of just and righteous men, all believing in the Truth, and walking in the same,—men of sound principles and judgment in the truth of Christ,—of good and blameless conversation amongst men,—and such that have kept their integrity and first principles, and abide in love and unity in the Lord among themselves; the meeting not limited to a number of persons, but freedom for all Friends in the Truth, (none excepted,) as they are moved to come for the service of Truth,—to assist in counsel and advice for the good of the body, and carrying on the work of the Lord. But if any person out of the Truth and of another spirit, contrary to the faith of Christ professed and practised by Friends, come to the meeting, such are not members thereof, but are excluded from having their advice and judgment taken in matters of Truth, pertaining to the service of the Lord.

Secondly, that the meeting be kept once a week or fourteen days, as service and Truth's necessities do require, as the Friends see cause when and where to appoint it: and being or-

derly come together, not to spend time with needless, unnecessary and fruitless discourses; but to proceed in the wisdom of God, in such things as may upon occasion be moved amongst you, for the service of Truth and good order of the body; to hear and consider, and if possible to determine the same in justice and truth,—not in the way of the world, as a worldly assembly of men, by hot contests, by seeking to outspoke and over-reach one another in discourse, as if it were controversy between party and party of men, or two sides violently striving for dominion, in the way of carrying on some worldly interests for self-advantage; not deciding affairs by the greater vote, or the number of men, as the world, who have not the wisdom and power of God;—that none of this kind of order be permitted in your meeting. But in the wisdom, love and fellowship of God, in gravity, patience, meekness, in unity and concord, submitting one to another in lowliness of heart, and in the holy Spirit of truth and righteousness, all things to be carried on; by hearing and determining every matter coming before you, in love, coolness, gentleness, and dear unity;—I say, as one only party, all for the Truth of Christ, and for the carrying on the work of the Lord, and assisting one another in whatsoever ability God hath given; and to determine of things by a general mutual concord, in assenting together as one man in the spirit of truth and equity, and by the authority thereof. In this way and spirit all things are to be amongst you, and without perverseness, in any self-separation, in discord and partiality; this way and spirit is wholly excepted, as not worthy to enter into the assembly of God's servants, to give any judgment or counsel amongst them, in any case pertaining to the service of the church of Christ; in which his Spirit of love and unity must rule.

Thirdly,—And if at any time, any matter or occasion be presented to the meeting, which is doubtful or difficult, or not within the judgment of Friends then assembled, they not having full knowledge or experience of the matters depending,—that then on such occasions the judgment be suspended, lest any unfruitful contest should arise through want of full knowledge and discerning in that case, or any determination be made unsoundly or untruly; till more Friends that are anciently grown in the Truth have the understanding of the matter, as it hath been from the beginning: and that we may be present, assisting in counsel and judgment with that meeting in all such things, for the carrying on the work of the Lord; and that all things may be ordered in all verity and soundness of judgment, for the honour of the Lord and happiness of his people, in all outward affairs relating to the Truth. For the proper work and

service of the meeting is, for the well ordering of the affairs of the Truth in outward things, among the body of Friends; and that a general concord and assent may be among the ancients of them, for the government of the whole, by hearing and considering of things fitting for the advancement of Truth.

Fourthly,—But if at any time, any strife or division shall happen to fall out amongst Friends, as between any two Friends, or between a Friend and a stranger, concerning any outward things, as bargains, debts, or the like,—that then the said meeting, in the wisdom of God, make inquiry or search into the same, if the matter be presented to them; otherwise they may send two persons of the meeting, or send for the parties, concerning whom such divisions are, before them; and to inquire diligently into the cause and ground of the same, and to use all possible fair means, in the wisdom of God, for the ending of all such strifes and contentions, which may happen among Friends aforesaid; that the body may be preserved in peace and love together, and not rent with divisions about outward things, which are of no moment in comparison of the eternal substance. And inasmuch as divisions and contentions of that kind are exceeding prejudicial to the wounding of the body, and have woeful effects to the dishonour of the name of the Lord and his Truth, professed by us,—therefore in the authority of Christ it is enjoined that meeting, to take care upon it, and to be diligent as much as in you lies, to stop and prevent all divisions and contentions among Friends, that at any time may arise or happen to be; that peace and concord may flourish among us, and the name of the Lord be kept undefiled, and the work of the Lord may be carried on in all wisdom and power.

Fifthly,—That cognizance be taken, and records faithfully kept, of all births, marriages, and burials, that shall happen to be of, and among Friends. That marriages particularly, be carefully ordered in the wisdom of God, according to the honest beginning used amongst us; and by so much the more, as false and self-corrupted persons and ends may creep in amongst us, upon pretence of motion from God in that case, to the hurt of the persons themselves, and the dishonour of Truth,—the more diligent care is to be had concerning the same. And that such marriages only be recorded, and none else, of such persons believing, professing, and walking in the truth of Christ Jesus; and such as are known to be of just, upright, and blameless conversations; and of whom it is believed they are moved of the Lord, or otherwise proceed upon reasonable causes, in the fear, counsel, and wisdom of God, in their undertaking to come together in mar-

riage: so that their going together may be justified to be, in and according to the truth of Christ; that so it may be recorded among Friends in the light, and testified to by them in prosperity or adversity, as occasion shall require; otherwise not to be recorded, but rather the parties reproved and rebuked in the power and authority of Christ Jesus.

Sixthly,—That especial care be taken concerning provision for the poor that believe and profess the Truth; and that such who are of ability of body to labour, that have not whereon to work, nor wherewith to maintain themselves; as servants, who may happen to be put forth of their places, or otherwise,—to be set to some employment to serve themselves in the creation: for the end that all things of this kind may be wisely ordered among the flock of Christ, and for the honour of Truth in the world; that as on the one hand, there may be no want of complaining of necessity, by such as be poor and weak in body and estate,—so on the other hand, no sloth or idleness be permitted in any that profess the way of Truth, by depending on Friends for maintenance. Thus shall the Truth be honoured, and the work of the Lord promoted in city and nation. And that the meeting of the women Friends be assisting to help the prudent ordering of affairs, particularly in this case; for which end that meeting was appointed in the wisdom of God by us on this occasion, viz., some years since the first appointment of the men's meeting, as before was showed. It was seen and considered by us, that the affairs concerning Truth being grown more large daily, and that it was not so proper for the men as for the women to visit the sick, and to search out the necessities of the poor, weak, widows, and aged,—that therefore the women Friends should keep a like meeting at such convenient times and places, as they in God's wisdom should see cause; to be assisting, in what was convenient, to the men; especially in that particular of visiting the sick and weak, and looking after the poor, widows, and fatherless,—and that provision should be made for them, how and after what manner, as they in God's wisdom should be taught; and this was the very occasion of the first setting up that meeting of women, which since hath continued for the body, and been happy and prosperous in the work for which it was appointed; and it is in the same manner ordered, in the authority of Christ, to be continued in the service aforesaid.

Seventhly,—That care be taken in the meeting of men, for the collecting and preserving all Friends' sufferings, past and to come, which have been or shall happen to be, in and about this city and country; and that the same, with what remarkable passages falling out in relation



to the Truth as it is judged fit, be prudently recorded, plainly, fully and amply, for the service of this age, and for the ages to come.

These also and what other things in relation to the service of Truth, pertaining to the outward affairs thereof, as is found fitting, [are] to be considered and managed by the Friends of Truth in the said meeting; and that in unity and love, in the counsel and wisdom of the Lord God, every person be diligent in his place to fulfil the service required of the Lord, for the service of his Truth in general.

These things was I moved of the Lord to write forth, in the name, and power, and authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the service of Truth; and in the same name, power, and authority, and by virtue of the love of Christ and the testimony of his Spirit which I have received, do I enjoin the free and perfect observation of the things herein signified; and that Friends in the Truth be diligent and careful, every one according to the grace and wisdom of God given, in that meeting; and all this for the honour of the Lord God, and the promotion of his blessed work in the world.

Written, as moved of the Lord, in the ninth year of the publishing of Truth in this city, and is to be presented to the meeting of men to be read amongst them in the fear of the Lord.

By one that from the beginning hath travelled in the work of the Lord in this city.

1662. EDWARD BURROUGH.

#### NO. CXIV.

[THE document to be next presented to the reader, is taken from an early manuscript, apparently a copy: it is imperfect, which is greatly to be regretted; yet the Editor is not easy on that account to reject it, seeing that it bears all the appearance from its style, of having been drawn up by George Fox; and from the tenour of the last paragraph, it is probable that not much more remained to be added, to complete the document. This interesting account of the first establishment of meetings, the Editor, after diligent search, does not find to have been published or referred to, by any of our authors who have written upon the subject.

Since the above was written, the Editor, has found this document entered in a catalogue of George Fox's Writings, preserved in London. This catalogue, (which appears in a handwriting very like that of Thomas Ellwood,) commences with the year 1644; and under each successive year, are entered the pieces written by George Fox; and frequently the first and last concluding words of each, are also introduced. Under the sixth month, 1689, is found the title of the present document, with the first sentence of it, and the last, viz.—“who is over

all, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.” A postscript is added, viz. “*It may be serviceable for them that come after.*”]

*Concerning our Monthly and Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, wherein the Lord hath owned, prospered, and blessed them; which hath been of good service, to his glory, and the comfort of his people.*

THE first Monthly Meeting was on this wise in the North:—though we did meet concerning the poor, and to see that all walked according to the Truth, before we were called Quakers, about the middle of the nation in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and part of Leicestershire, where there was a great conviction.

In 1653, in Cumberland many of the Elders came to me at Swarthmore in Lancashire, and desired that they might have a Monthly Meeting, to look after the poor, and to see that all walked according to the Truth, &c.; and they had a meeting settled there for the same purpose.

Then after [wards,] when the Truth was spread in Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, Northumberland, Bishoprick and Yorkshire, and the edge of Wales, there was a meeting at Swarthmore, of some of the Elders of most of these places; where we did consider to have Monthly Meetings, ordered by the power of the Lord, in most of these places. And then there was a Yearly Meeting settled at Skipton in Yorkshire, for all the northern and southern counties; where in the wisdom of God, they did see that all walked according to the glorious gospel of God, and that there was nothing wanting among them; and if there was, one county assisted another, either in relieving the poor, (in the Lord's counsel,) or in advice in sufferings, or any other matters.

After [wards] many Friends the Lord opened their mouths, and some of them went to London, and some to Bristol, and other places. The substantial men and Elders in the Truth came to the Yearly Meeting at Skipton, both from Bristol and London, and other places; and there they gave an account of the prosperity and the spreading of the Lord's blessed Truth, and of what Friends the Lord [had] moved to go beyond the seas: for all that did travel into any parts, (in the motion of the Lord,) or beyond the seas, they made the Monthly, Quarterly, or Yearly Meeting acquainted; so that all went in unity in the Spirit and fellowship of the church of Christ, and power of the Lord: and if there was occasion, Friends assisted them with that which is *the least love*. And all these meetings looked to see that all walked according to the gospel of Christ, and were faithful; and that all the poor

in all the counties were looked after. And then the Yearly Meeting was removed to John Crook's; and all things there were looked into as before. And many that were there, were moved of the Lord to go beyond the seas: and marriages were looked into there, and settled, as they had been before at the meeting at Swarthmore, when many Friends met together out of many counties. And after [wards] the Yearly Meeting was kept at Balby in Yorkshire, where there were many thousands of people: and likewise at Skipton the same year, by the Elders there ordered from all parts, in the year 1660. And from thence, it was removed to London the next year, where it hath been kept ever since, as being looked upon a more convenient place.

And there we had intelligence from all parts beyond the seas, how Truth prospered and spread, both in England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, America, Holland, and Germany; and how Friends did walk in the Truth, in their conversations, both ministers and others, and as becomes the gospel; and to see that the camp of God was kept holy and clean, to his glory; and if there was any need of books concerning spreading the Truth beyond the seas, or any other parts; and all the sufferings were brought or sent up hither (viz. to the Yearly Meeting,) from all parts of the world where Friends were. And Friends [were] to assist and relieve them, in what they could, at the Yearly Meeting, (or the Meeting for Sufferings in their absence,) with the King, Council, or Parliament, that were in his dominions; and they that were of other kingdoms or governments out of his dominions, we applied to the ambassadors or great persons here, or wrote unto them beyond the seas, to the Kings, Princes, or Governors, &c., to relieve Friends in their sufferings, &c. assisting them in what we could for their relief: and such as were taken captive by the Turks, the Yearly Meeting assisted and relieved, or in their absence the Meeting for Sufferings; and if there was any occasion for a collection, to help, to refresh and relieve captives or prisoners, or for other needful services. And there was not any public collection, but what was done at the Yearly Meeting (with the consent of all Friends from all parts,) for all general services; and there it was agreed upon in unity and in the Lord's power, by the consent of all Friends that came out of all counties to the Yearly Meeting. And then, in the absence of the Yearly Meeting, if there was any occasion for the relief of any captives, or prisoners, or sufferers, either in Turkey or any parts beyond the seas, or here in England, to help the sufferers, concerning Truth's affairs, and other public services,—the Yearly Meeting did desire the Meeting for

Sufferings, between Yearly Meeting and Yearly Meeting, to assist and relieve poor Friends in their sufferings, both in England and beyond the seas, and all other needful services; and to give them a true account next Yearly Meeting of what they had laid out, and to whom, and for what services; and at the Yearly Meeting they made up their accounts, and had discharges under their hand. So once a year the number of all the prisoners, both in England or beyond the seas, and that are captives in all other kingdoms and dominions, Friends are to have an account: [also] the number of all Friends that have died prisoners for Truth; and of all Friends in the ministry that have died every year. And at the Yearly Meeting, Friends have an account once a year from all the Yearly Meetings in the world, which are about twenty-six;\* and Friends at the Yearly Meeting write to them again at their Yearly Meetings: so that once a year at the Yearly Meeting, God's people know the affairs of Truth, how it spreads, and how all walk according to the Truth; having a heavenly correspondence one with another in the heavenly society and fellowship. And also if there be any differences from any part about any matter, that cannot be ended at their Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, then they present it to the Yearly Meeting, where some are chosen to make an end of it: or any matters concerning sufferings, there it is answered at the Yearly Meetings, sent thither from the Quarterly Meetings; for what the Yearly Meeting receives is from the Quarterly Meetings, by them that are ordered from the Quarterly Meeting to the Yearly Meeting, that be substantial elders, that know the affairs of the church of Christ in their county; they bring up their sufferings or any other case: but for private or particular letters, they seldom receive any, unless it be upon necessity or urgent occasions that fall out after the Quarterly Meeting; for in all counties their sufferings or any other case, are first brought to their Monthly Meetings; and if not ended there, then it is brought to their Quarterly Meetings; and if not ended there, then it is presented to their Yearly Meeting; where some are chosen out to hear it, and make a final end of it in the Lord's wisdom, in truth and righteousness, without respect to any.

For, in the first conversion to Christianity,

\* In this number were doubtless included the Circulating or County Yearly Meetings in this Country. The following Yearly Meetings have been found mentioned in our records—Lancashire, Bristol, Wales, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Dublin, Maryland, Jamaica, Long Island, Rhode Island, Burlington—West Jersey, East Jersey, Pennsylvania, Bermudas, Holland, Dantzic, London; and it is probable there were also Yearly Meetings of Colchester, Norwich, Virginia, Antigua, Barbadoes, Nevis; besides other Country Yearly Meetings in England.



after Christ was ascended, there were seven men of honest report and full of the Holy Ghost, and of wisdom, chosen out to be deacons, &c., and to look after the poor, and widows, and to see that nothing was wanting; then all was well: and Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch was one; and you may see how he run out into bad things, and drew a company after him, that were called Nicolaitanes, whom God hated, as in Rev. ii. 15. And when the Gospel was spread abroad in the world by the apostles, and any difference was in the churches, they went up to Jerusalem to the apostles and elders; and they declared all things that God had done with and by them; and there they decided the differences: and the apostles and elders, the church at Jerusalem, wrote Epistles and sent them by Paul and Barnabas: as they went through every city, they delivered them the decrees to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem: and so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily, Acts xvi. 4, 5. And the apostles, the ministers of Christ, ordained elders in every church: so there was not a church but they had their elders also, Acts xiv. 23: so you may see there was not a church but they had their elders; then there was more than seven deacons, when elders were ordained in every church. And the apostle saith to Titus, "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting," or left undone; "and ordain elders in every city, as I have appointed thee:" Titus i. 5. Concerning both the aged men and aged women,—men "sound in the faith," &c., and "holy women," &c.: Titus ii. 3. And Peter writes "to the elders:" 1 Peter v. 1: and John writes, "The Elder unto the elect lady and her children;" and said, "I rejoice greatly, that I found of thy children walking in truth:" 2 John i. 4: and many other scriptures might be brought to the same purpose; but this is sufficient to them that are in the same power and Spirit that gave them forth, and to correct the opposers of the order of Truth, by the same Spirit that was in the apostles, to the praise and glory of God:—the Lord increase his Truth and his order. Amen!

Much more I could write of the passages of Truth and its order: but these are short heads and memorandums to Friends that have not known the beginning of it: for many of that separate spirit have talked of things in the beginning, and yet have opposed the order of Truth;—

#### NO. CXV.

*A testimony from the brethren, who were met together at London in the third month, 1666, to*

*be communicated to faithful Friends and Elders in the counties, by them to be read in their several meetings, and kept as a testimony amongst them.*

WE, your friends and brethren, whom God hath called to labour and watch for the eternal good of your souls, being at the time aforesaid, through the Lord's good hand which hath preserved us at liberty, met together in his name and fear, were by the operation of the Spirit of Truth brought into a serious consideration of the present state of the church of God; which in this day of her return out of the wilderness, hath not only many open but some covered enemies to contest against; who are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, and despise government; without which, we are sensible our safety and fellowship cannot be kept holy and inviolable. Therefore, as God hath put it into our hearts, we do communicate these things following unto you, who are turned from darkness to light, and profess fellowship with us in the glorious gospel, throughout nations and countries where we have travelled; as well for a testimony against the unruly, as to establish and confirm you, to whom it is given to believe the Truth; which unto us is very precious, as we believe it is also unto you, who in love have received it, and understood the principles, and felt the virtue and operation of it; in which our spirits breathe, that we all may be preserved, until we have well finished our course and testimony, to the honour and glory of the Lord God, who is over all, blessed for ever.

First.—We having a true discerning of the working of that spirit, which under a profession of Truth, leads into a division from, or exaltation above, the body of Friends, who never revolted nor degenerated from their principles; and into marks of separation from the constant practice of good ancient Friends, who are sound in the faith which was once delivered unto us; and also into a slight esteem of their declaration or preaching, (who have and do approve themselves as the ministers of Christ,) and of the meetings of the Lord's people, whereby and wherein Friends are, and often have been precious revived and refreshed: and under pretence of crying down men and forms, do cry down the ministry and meetings, or encourage those which do the same.—We say, the Lord having given us to see, not only the working of that spirit, and of those that are joined to it, who bring forth those ungrateful fruits, but also the evil consequences and sad effects of the same, which are of no less importance than absolutely tending to destroy the work of God, and lay waste his heritage:\*

\* The spirit of disaffection and separation prevalent at this period through the influence of John Perrot, is here

we do unanimously, (being encouraged thereto by the Lord, whose presence is with us,) declare and testify, that neither that spirit, nor such as are joined to it, ought to have any dominion, office, or rule in the church of Christ Jesus, whereof the Holy Spirit, that was poured forth upon us, hath made us members and overseers: neither ought they to act or order the affairs of the same; but are rather to be kept under with the power of God, till they have an ear open to instruction, and come into subjection to the witness of God;—of the increase of whose kingdom and government there shall be no end.

Secondly.—We do declare and testify, that the spirit of those that are joined to it, who stand not in unity with the ministry and body of Friends, who are steadfast and constant to the Lord and his unchangeable Truth, (which we have received and are witnesses and ambassadors of,) have not any true spiritual right, nor gospel authority to be judges in the Church, and of the ministry of the gospel of Christ, so as to condemn them and their ministry: neither ought their judgment to be any more regarded by Friends, than the judgment of other opposers, which are without; for of right the elders and members of the church, which keep their habitation in the Truth, ought to judge matters and things which differ; and their judgment which is given therein, to stand good and valid amongst Friends, though it be kicked against, and disapproved by them who have degenerated, as aforesaid. And we do further declare and testify, that it is abominable pride that goes before destruction, that so puffs up the mind of any particular, [individual,] that he will not admit of any judgment to take place against him; for he that is not justified by the witness of God in Friends, is condemned by it in himself; though being hardened, he may boast over it in a false confidence.

Thirdly.—If any difference arise in the church, or amongst them that profess to be members thereof, we do declare and testify, that the church, with the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, have power, without the assent of such as dissent from their doctrines and practices, to hear and determine the same. And if any pretend to be of us, and in case of controversy, will not admit to be tried by the church of Christ Jesus, nor submit to the judgment given by the Spirit of Truth in the Elders and members of the same; but kick against their judg-

ment as only the judgment of man,—it being given and manifested according to Truth, and consistent with the doctrine of such good ancient Friends, as have been, and are sound in the faith, and agreeable to the witness of God in his people; when we testify in the name of the Lord, that if judgment so given be risen against and denied by the party condemned, then he or she, or such as so far partake of their sin as to countenance and encourage them therein, ought to be rejected, as having erred from the Truth.

Fourthly.—That the ministry may not be justly blamed, we declare that if any go abroad hereafter, pretending to that weighty work and service, who either in life or doctrine grieve good Friends that are steadfast in the Truth and sound in the faith, so that they are not manifest in their consciences, but disapproved by the witness of God in them; then ought they, whatever have been their gifts, to leave them before the altar, and forbear going abroad, until they are reconciled to the church, and have the approbation of the Elders and members of the same. And if any, that have been so approved of by the church, do afterwards degenerate from the Truth, and do that which tends to division, and countenance wickedness and faction, as some have done, then the church hath a true spiritual right and authority to call them to examination; and if they find sufficient cause for it by good testimony, they may judge them unfit for the work of the ministry, whereof they have rendered themselves unworthy; and so put a stop to their proceedings therein: and if they submit not to the judgment of the Spirit of Christ in his people, then ought they publicly to be declared against, and warning given to the flock of Christ in their several meetings to beware of them, and to have no fellowship with them, that they may be ashamed; and the lambs and babes in Christ Jesus preserved.

Fifthly.—And if any man or woman who is out of unity with the body of Friends, print, or cause to be printed, or published in writing, anything which is not of service for the Truth, but tends to the reproach or scandal of faithful Friends, or to beget or uphold division or faction; then we do warn and charge all Friends that love the Truth, as they desire it may prosper and be kept clear, to beware and take heed of having any hand in printing, publishing, or spreading such books or writings; and if at any time such books be sent to any of you that sell books in the country, after ye, (with the advice of good and judicious Friends,) have tried and find them faulty, send them back from whence they came. And, we further desire that, from time to time, faithful and sound Friends and brethren, may have the view of such things as

doubtless in view. Several addresses were issued by faithful Friends to warn and exhort the flock against this deceitful and wasting snare of the enemy; amongst them might be mentioned an Epistle of Stephen Crisp, as very instructive and affecting, viz. "*An Epistle to Friends, concerning the present and succeeding times.*" &c. 1666. On referring to the *Historical Letters* in this volume, page 372, the subject will also be found adverted to.



are printed upon 'Truth's' account, as formerly it has used to be, before they go to the press; that nothing but what is sound and savoury, that will answer the witness of God in all people, (even in our adversaries,) may be exposed by us to public view.

Sixthly.—We do advise and counsel, that such as are made overseers of the flock of God by the Holy Spirit, and do watch for the good of the church, (meeting together in their respective places, to set and keep the affairs of it in good order,) to beware of admitting or encouraging such as are of weak and of little faith, to take such trust upon them; for by hearing things disputed that are doubtful, such may be hurt themselves, and hurt the Truth; not being grown into a good understanding to judge of things. Therefore we exhort that you, who have received a true sense of things, be diligent in the Lord's business, and keep your meetings as to Him; that all may be kept pure and clean, according to that of God which is just and equal. We also advise that not any be admitted to order public business of the church, but such as are felt in a measure of the universal Spirit of Truth, which seeks the destruction of none, but the general good of all, and especially of those that love it, who are of the household of faith.

So dear Friends and brethren, believing that your souls will be refreshed in the sense of our spirits and integrity towards God, at the reading of these things, as we were, whilst we sat together at the opening of them; and that ye will be one with us in your testimony on the behalf of the Lord and his precious Truth, against those who would limit the Lord to speak without instruments, or by what instruments they list,—and who reject the counsel of the wise men, and testimony of the prophets, whom God sanctified and sent among you in the day of his love, when ye were gathered,—and would not allow Him liberty in and by his servants, to appoint a place wherein to meet together, to wait upon and worship Him, (according as He requires) in spirit, but call this formal, and the meetings of man;—we say, believing that ye will have fellowship with us herein, as we have with you in the Truth, we commit you unto God, and to the word of life, that hath been preached unto you from the beginning; which is neither limited to time, nor place, nor persons, but hath power to limit us to each, as pleaseth Him:—that ye with us, and we with you, may be built up in the most holy faith, and be preserved to partake of the inheritance, which is heavenly, amongst all those that are sanctified.

Richard Farnsworth, Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, Thomas Loc, Josiah Cole, John Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, Thomas

Green, John Moon, Thomas Briggs, James Parke.

## No. CXVI.

### THE WRITTEN EPISTLE FROM THE YEARLY MEETING, 1668.

#### DEAR FRIENDS,

In the seed of life and in the Truth of God, in whom our love is to you all, in that which changeth not,—this is to let you understand, [that] at the last meeting of Friends in the ministry which met in London, and who came out of most counties in England and Wales, at the time called Christmas last, (when we had several glorious meetings in the life and power of God,)—we did conclude among ourselves to settle a meeting, to see one another's faces, and open our hearts one to another in the Truth of God, once a year, as formerly it used to be; and once in two years for Friends in the ministry, that go in all parts beyond the seas, to come up and meet with us at London.

The next meeting will be about the time called Easter, in the year 1670, at London; when [we] shall desire to see your faces,—that we may see in all meetings that the — [word doubtful] be supplied, and that nothing be lacking;—then all is well: and that all walk as become the order of the gospel, which is the comely order in the power of God, which all uncomeliness is out of.

This is to be sent to C. Holder [and others named;]—and if there be any other that labour in the work of God, let them have notice, and copies of this;—and into all the plantations beyond sea, from one to another; and also to Holland, Scotland, Ireland and Wales.

G. Fox.

Leonard Fell, Stephen Crisp, John Story, George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, John Stubbs, Thomas Briggs, John Whitehead.

*London, the 16th of Eleventh mo. 1668.*

## No. CXVII.

*At a General Meeting of Friends, for managing the public affairs of Truth throughout the nation, held at Devonshire house, London, 29th of third month, 1672.\**

It is concluded, agreed, and assented unto, by Friends then present, that for the better ordering, managing, and regulating of the public affairs of Friends relating to the Truth and the service thereof, there be a General Meeting of Friends held at London, once a year, in the

\* The first part only of this minute is printed, as the introductory article in the volume of the Epistles of the Yearly Meeting in London, 8vo. This copy is taken from one of the circulars issued on the occasion.

week called Whitsun-week, to consist of six Friends for the city of London, three for the city of Bristol, two for the town of Colchester, and one or two from each and every of the counties of England and Wales respectively. [*So far only printed in Book of Epistles.*] That the Quarterly Meetings in London, Bristol, Colchester, and all and every the counties of England and Wales respectively, at their Quarterly Meetings immediately preceding the said week called Whitsun-week in every year, do take care to nominate and appoint the number of Friends aforesaid, to be present at the General Meeting aforesaid; there to advise about the managing of the public affairs of Friends throughout the nation. That the Friends so to be chosen for the purpose aforesaid, be desired to be at London by the second-day night of the Whitsun-week, so called, in every year at furthest. And upon their arrival there, the six Friends for the city of London, together with a competent number of the other Friends of the country, may then examine and appoint the time and place for the then meeting of the said General Meeting, sometime in the said week, called Whitsun-week, in every year accordingly, until further orders be taken therein. That as many Friends that labour in the Truth, as have freedom thereunto, may be present at the said General Meeting: that all others, except such as are nominated, appointed, and chosen, be desired to forbear to come to the said General Meeting, except such Friends as they, when met together, shall see meet to admit.

That copies hereof be sent to the respective Quarterly Meetings throughout England and Wales, for the better regulation in the matter.

#### DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

IN that universal love, wherein we are mutually concerned in the service of Truth and one another, do we dearly salute you; and therein do signify unto you, that upon consideration had, of the public charge relating to Friends and Truth, at a General Meeting for the city and country, held this day at this place, it was found of absolute necessity, that a public collection be again made amongst Friends, in the several counties throughout England and Wales, for the management of Truth's affairs; particularly for Friends' supply who are called into the service of the Lord beyond seas; and for books that are disposed of and given away for the public service, to the chief rulers and others concerned: as likewise considerable charge hath been, and may be, for packets of letters, together with accounts of Friends' general sufferings, with the charge of recording and often transcribing the same.

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Friends of London having made it appear, that for several years past, they have laid out near one hundred pounds a year upon these general services aforesaid, (besides that of the service beyond seas,) which do equally concern [Friends] in the country, as well as in the city, to bear, especially for the future. Wherefore we desire you that are concerned in the Quarterly Meetings, to take care that a collection be made accordingly in your county, for the intent and purpose afore-mentioned; and sent up, with as much convenient expedition as may be, to the hands of Gerrard Roberts, Gilbert Latye, Edward Man, John Nelson, Arthur Cooke, or any one of them.

So not doubting your care herein, for the Truth's sake, desiring that Friends may be open-hearted, cheerful, diligent therein, as God hath blessed and prospered them; we remain your faithful friends and brethren.

Signed in the name and by the appointment of the said General Meeting,

George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, John Whitehead, Thomas Gouldney, Francis Rogers, John Crook, William Welch, Stephen Crisp.

*Devonshire House, London,  
29th of Third month, 1672.*

#### No. CXVIII.

*Epistle from Friends of the General Meeting  
held in London, the 31st of Third month,  
1672.\**

#### DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

FROM that universal love and care, which the Lord our God hath begotten in us towards one another, his church, and people, these things following are opened in us by His Holy Spirit, to present both unto you, who are called forth in a measure of the heavenly gift to labour and travel abroad to minister unto others, and unto you who are more resident in the several counties and meetings, who have a care and oversight committed to you by the Lord, in your respective places, counties and meetings, for the good order and comfort of the Church.

First.—To those that are called forth with a testimony for God, and those that are endued with an heavenly gift for that end,—our tender advice and counsel in the Spirit of life and true love is, that you all wait and dwell in the heavenly life and Spirit of the gospel, wherein both true judgment and mercy are; that thereby you all may be made manifest in men's consciences, and be a good savour to God, both in

\* This Epistle seems to be specially addressed to Ministers, and those filling the responsible station of overseers of the flock; the duties subsequently assigned to *Elders*, probably devolved at this time, on the faithful, perhaps in both the stations above mentioned, but more especially on overseers.



life and doctrine: that your conversations, as well as your words, may preach Truth, and shine in your sobriety and holy examples; and so be instrumental in His hands for the conversion, salvation, comfort, and establishment of others. And our earnest desire is, that you all may be so preserved, in diligence and subjection to the power of an endless life, as that none may run on too hastily or forwardly in any exaltation of spirit, away from the sense of the arising of the pure life and testimony: nor yet any to quench its arising, motions, or testimony, through fear, negligence, doubtings, secret dispute, or backwardness: but that every one may dwell in that living sense, willingness and diligence, as tends to your enlargement and growth, and to the increase of your gifts and measures in the life. And that every one who ministers, may be kept in the lowliness, in subjection and tenderness of spirit to the Lord and his counsel; so that a clear and heavenly understanding may be opened and increased in them, and so in true meekness and humility retained, as that in the Spirit of the gospel, they may be enabled gradually to demonstrate the Truth, to the opening the understandings, and for the conviction of the consciences of the hearers; before either they pass positive judgment upon Truth's adversaries, or their principles. Also, that the first principles of the true light, repentance, and remission of sins through the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, be kept to, held forth, and preached to the world, for the preparing their hearts for God: and none suddenly to rush into, or strive out of God's counsel, to speak of the high mysteries of the gospel, nor cast pearls before swine. Neither hastily, or at first entrance, out of their own measures and attainments, to assert the highest doctrines, as that of perfection, or height of attainments, before people's minds are prepared by the secret power of God for the first principles or beginnings; that they may not be stumbled, nor their minds biassed against Truth, by any hasty or untimely asserting matters beyond their measures and capacities; that is, without a deliberate progress in the work and travail of the Gospel: and that Christ, his death, blood, and resurrection, be reverently spoken of, according to Scripture expressions.

That none be forward or hasty in traversing the ways and principles of professors; to propose objections, nor to make or raise more in preaching, than they clearly answer by the plain evidence of the Spirit; lest any lose their matter, entangle themselves, and leave the hearers more dark and doubtful than they found them. And we warn and charge all concerned, both in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, in the presence of the living God, to take heed of

*coming too near* the disobedient hypocritical spirit of contentious professors, to gratify them with unsound words and nice distinctions; which tend to darken knowledge, and veil the simplicity of the gospel, and to pervert the holy Truth.

Again, when any one in speaking, comes to feel both strength of life and matter of ministry to be wanting, we advise such not to strive to bring forth and enforce words; but then to be still, and wait till life arise to bring forth its own testimony: for that is the way to be enlarged, and to be further accomplished in the work. And not to run over or beyond the living sense of the heavenly life, nor into vain repetitions, either in preaching or praying, through striving or eagerness of mind; but to keep low and tender, in the true sense and feeling of the holy seed and divine power, which gives life and strength.

We desire and exhort all such as are young, and not thoroughly experienced in the service and work of the gospel, to keep in their own proper gifts, measures, and orders of the life; and out of all striving or straining beyond their line, to be heard or seen of men: and so to be kept clear, in the true sense and exercise of their own proper gifts, out of all mere imitations and formed habits, which are not to edification.

And every one so keep in the peaceable wisdom and life in your travails, out of all extremes and whirlings, which tend to draw out and unsettle people's minds. And avoid all imagined, unseasonable and untimely prophesyings; which tend not only to stir up persecution, but also to the begetting airy and uncertain expectations, and to the amusing and affrighting simple people from receiving the Truth: for this practice, God's wisdom neither leads to, nor justifies. And take heed of aggravating reflections and forward clashing at persons or people, with unseasonably and rashly using names of distinctions; which will be resented as reproachful to them, and not only stumble and prepossess their minds with prejudice, but also hinder their conviction: whereas our endeavours have been and are, to open men's understandings, and to convince their consciences, that they may repent.

Be careful and labour in the peaceable gospel, to settle, stay, and establish people's minds in the holy principle of life and light; that they may not be puffed up, nor run into hurrys, or confusion in their own wills; but that the living praises of God may naturally break forth in his own life; [that they run not into] any singularity to admire or wander after any particular man or persons; for this tends to the hurt, both of themselves, and [of] some that labour amongst them, and hath been hurtful.

Our labour and travail hath been and still is, to preach Christ, as servants for his sake, and to gather to Him, and not to ourselves; nor to seek popularity, applause, or praise of men, nor any self-interest; for if any do, they'll fall, and the power of God will work them under, and without repentance cast them out.

And speak not evil one of another, to the lessening one another's reputation, or testimonies for Truth; but be tender of one another's testimony, not to weaken it,—we exhort you in the name and power of God. As also, to let no strife, hard thoughts, or jealousies, lodge in any of your minds one against another; but in brotherly love and tenderness, speak privately and gently one to another, to remove all offences, jealousies, and aggravations whatsoever. And be sure do not judge, nor reflect publicly, to the weakening or hindering the least gift, or testimony that is in any one for God and his Truth; but where there is a sincerity and a tenderness, and the least budding or breaking forth of life, or heavenly gift, let it be nourished and encouraged, and those that are young, watched over and holpen, in the tender love of God. Let there be no harshness or severity exercised, to the hurt or prejudice of any; but feel the life and spirit of the Lamb through and over all.

Secondly.—And you, our Friends and brethren, who have a care and oversight committed to you in your several places and meetings, being set as pillars in the house of our God,—if any of you shall at any time come to see any weakness, want of wisdom, or miscarriage, either in doctrine or practice, by any who come abroad to labour or minister among you,—we tenderly request, and earnestly desire, that you would in brotherly love and tenderness, speak privately to them, for their good and preservation; that they, and the testimony they have for the Truth, may be preserved, and rightly improved; that none who have a call from God may be discouraged, nor any gift of God quenched. And so, all forbear public judgments and reflections upon such as have a gift given them, and a sincerity in their intentions; though for a time there may be a want of wisdom in some, in the management thereof, yet do not discourage and wholly crush them under, but help them in the love and counsel of God. And as much as in you is, stop all false, depraving, and hurtful reports, whisperings, tattles and backbitings; and set true judgment over all sowers of strife and discord, we beseech you, for the Truth's sake.

And we desire you would be exemplary in your families, and careful in the education of your children in the holy nurture and fear of the Lord; that thereby it may appear unto the

world, that you are of the true seed of Abraham; of whom God testified, that He knew that he would command his children and household, that they should keep the way of the Lord.

And we beseech you for the Truth's sake, with the power of God stop all busy, discontented spirits, (if any appear among you,) from reflecting upon and meddling with the powers, or those in outward dominion,—and all fruitless discourses of that tendence and nature; which, with that old discontented professor's spirit (which is neither valiant in times of suffering, nor contented in times of liberty,) are to be shunned, rejected and reprov'd, whenever met withal: that all among us walk innocently and peaceably with a good conscience before all the world;—for that gives true boldness and confidence.

And all of us seriously to eye and mind the supreme Power and over-ruling Hand, which commands the seas, and stops the floods, and stills the winds and storms; and can restrain the remainder of men's wrath, and turn them like waters, as seemeth good in the sight of Him, the Lord our God:—to whose love, oversight, care and protection, we commit you all, with his whole family; desiring that his peace and unity may remain and increase in and among you, and the multiplying of all spiritual blessings and refreshments of life unto you all, who are of the same mind and spirit with us in that eternal truth, love and life;—wherein we dearly salute you all.

Our desire is, that copies of this be communicated to Friends and brethren herein concerned. Your faithful brethren in the Lord,

George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, John Story, Thomas Salthouse, John Whitehead, John Graves, Robert Hodgson, James Parke, Jasper Batt, Thomas Robertson, John Crook, William Gibson, Stephen Crisp, William Smith, James Harrison, Thomas Green, Thomas Curtis, William Brend, Samuel Thornton, William Yardley.

London, the 31st day of the Third month, 1672.

[From an ancient copy, apparently in Thomas Ellwood's hand-writing, on comparison with his original letters.]

No. CXIX.

*Epistle from Friends met in London, the 26th of Third month, 1673.*

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

THE Lord our God having by his eternal power, raised up and preserved many faithful and living witnesses of his blessed Truth until this day, both for the conversion of many from



darkness to light, and for their building up, establishment, and comfort therein, by his own living eternal word of life and reconciliation; and having also signally blessed this precious opportunity of our assembling together with His glorious presence, power and majesty manifest among us, which many were and are eye-witnesses of; and in the unspeakable sense thereof many have been as melted, and their hearts exceedingly broken, and their souls overcome, and deeply affected with God's unspeakable goodness and power, love and life, so plentifully shed abroad among us and in our hearts:—in the sense whereof our hearts are open and affected towards you all, even in the same dear and tender love and life that is abundantly shed forth unto us; and from which our salutation is to all our dear Friends, brethren and sisters, in this and other nations.

Having the general state of the churches and people of God opened unto us, with a tender care upon our hearts, and breathing of our souls, that they all may grow, prosper, and be preserved, in unity, grace, and good order: that divine life and virtue may reign, and abundantly flow over and through all, to your replenishment and unspeakable comfort; that you may keep out the enemy in all his appearances, that would make divisions and disturbances in the churches:—for at this time the enemy is busy, and secretly at work for that end, to make rents; endeavouring thereby to bring the open opposers and adversaries of Truth over us. It is, that strife and divisions may be stirred up among ourselves, that they desire and watch for; and therefore, where any are instruments thereof, they serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but the enemy: they that make divisions and cause offences contrary to the gospel, and that seek to sow discord among brethren, are not only to be marked, but the Lord will make them manifest; and his power will bring them under, and debase them, as it hath done and will do that spirit, which is guilty of jealousies, evil surmisings, whisperings, and hard speeches against the brethren, and faithful labourers in the Lord's work. It is the accuser of the brethren that strikes at their testimony, and seeks to undermine and to beget a disesteem and slight of them in it; which adversary must be watched against, and for ever cast down and out. And we are assured from the Lord, that all sowers of discord, accusers of the faithful brethren, slanders and undervaluers of their testimony and gifts, self-seekers, whisperers, backbiters, and all self-willed and self-exalted spirits, God will debase; His eternal power will work them under, and all that which offends shall be removed. God's pure power is at work—refining, thoroughly purging his floor, and sanctify-

ing his church and people; that there may be no rent or schism, but that the Lord may be one, and his name one, among us: and blessed are you that keep to your first love, and retain your integrity to the end.

O! dear Friends and brethren, watch in the light against all the enemy's wiles; and pray for the peace of Jerusalem, that she may be seen in her beauty and splendour, as a city without breaches; that peace may remain in her walls, and prosperity within her palaces. O! let it be the general care of all our brethren, to whom the Lord hath committed an oversight in the churches, to keep things quiet and in good order, by the power and wisdom of God; who is not the author of confusion, but of peace:—and that the public affairs of Truth be managed and carried on in the same power and wisdom, which is pure and serviceable; that all in humility may submit to Christ's rule and government, in the spirit of meekness and condescension. Keep out all roughness and harshness one towards another, and all self-rule and dominion, that is not of the life, but in the will of the flesh; and let all that, be kept down for ever,—and that no strange fire be kindled among you, nor in your meetings. And elders and overseers must not be self-willed, nor soon angry, nor given to haste or passion, nor [to] any shortness or brittleness; for such keep not in a sound mind, nor in the discerning either of true judgment or mercy,—which are both to be exercised among you, as the spirit of life opens to you the conditions and states to which they properly belong. For as all looseness, disorderly walking, and scandalous conversation and practices, must be severely reprov'd and judg'd out, especially among them that are convinced of the precious Truth,—and the guilty to bear their judgment and burthen; so likewise mercy and forgiveness must be extended to such as having been overtaken with a fault, come to feel a true tenderness in their hearts through judgment—and to receive counsel, that they may be preserved in fear and watchfulness. And let not judgments and testimonies against miscarriages and offences, be made more public than the miscarriages are,—to harden those that miscarry, and give the adversaries of Truth advantage to throw dirt upon Friends: but be careful and tender for the Truth and Friends in that matter; and endeavour to save the souls even of those that are tempted and drawn aside. As also, that private differences which may happen among any Friends or brethren, be ended by some Friend, in the wisdom and counsel of God, with as much privacy as may be,—without troubling or disturbing the public meetings or churches with them, and without public reflections upon persons, where the difference or offence on

either hand is not so notorious or publicly manifest, but best to be ended privately;—both for the preservation of them who are concerned therein, and the prevention of such occasions as may either stumble the weak, cause confusion, or give the world occasion to reproach Friends and Truth. And Friends, we desire that all differences may be ended in the several counties where they do arise; and that the honour of God, and peace of the Church, may be minded, both by those whose case is to be determined, and those who are to determine: and that none join with such a singular spirit as would lead him to be sole judge in his own cause, but in the restoring and healing spirit of Christ, both the offended and the offender, may, for the Truth's sake, submit to the power of God in his people, in those cities, places, or counties, with such Friends, as they with the parties concerned shall call to their assistance; for they do and will judge for God. And if any will not give up his matter to the judgment of Truth in his people, he doth but render himself and his cause suspicious, and that he wants the sense of the fellowship of the body: and as Friends keep in wisdom and patience concerning such, it will come over him, and be his burthen; for the universal Spirit of Truth, by which we are called and made a people, leads not into any such practice.

Dear Friends, let the authority of God's power, heavenly and peaceable wisdom, be eyed in all your assemblies; that the government of Truth and righteousness may be exalted over all, that true judgment and mercy may have their place. And though a general care be not laid upon every member, touching the good order and government in the Church's affairs, nor have many travailed therein, yet the Lord hath laid it more upon some, in whom he hath opened counsel for that end,—and particularly in our dear brother and God's faithful labourer, George Fox,—for the help of many: and God hath in his wisdom, afforded those helps and governments in the churches, which are not to be despised; being in subjection to Christ the one head and law-giver, answering his witness in all. And so all necessary counsel, admonitions or testimonies, that have been given forth, and received in the universal spirit of life and unity, have their service for God, in subjection to his light and [in] subserviency thereto, and in order to answer the great rule and law of the Spirit of life, as proceeding from it. And they that are spiritual, will acknowledge those things spoken or written from this spirit, and for this end, to be the requirings of the Lord. Many in divers places have received help and encouragement from Him, through those helps and governments that He hath afforded in the Church—the true and living body, which we

are members of; in which as all keep their habitations, there is a sweetness and harmony of life, unity and subjection one to another, and a preferring one another in the Lord: yet every man in his own proper order,—for every member of the body is not an eye; and yet each member hath its proper place and service, and all in subjection to the one life, power, and Head, which is Christ. And it hath been observed by us, that that spirit which despiseth governments and dominion, and speaks evil of dignities, is either a singular, or a self-righteous, self-separating spirit, that would itself bear rule, and be judge over all,—which also seeks to stumble and darken the simple; or a loose, disobedient, careless spirit, that would not be reformed, but live at ease in the flesh and fleshly liberty; which the power of God will rebuke. But though He hath given us dominion over that spirit and its perverse ways, which oppose His power, and would work division, and lead into a corrupt liberty; yet it is no dominion over your faith that we seek;—but that we may be helpers of your joy in the Lord, and you as diligent co-workers together in the faith and love of God; wherein we all may be a mutual comfort, joy, and crown of rejoicing, one to another,—as having one master, and we all brethren in Him, who is the Lord of the household, and God of glory,—whose glorious presence is with us. And it is a wrong spirit, that would surmise or insinuate jealousies, or beget prejudice against the faithful labourers in the gospel, and helpers in government;—to misrepresent such, as aiming at any other ends and interests, than Christ's interest and government over all; [than] which God is our record, we are clear from seeking or aiming at any other. And in His authority and power, we stand witnesses against that spirit for ever, both in our open and secret enemies, which either smites at our heavenly society, or would break our unity.

To the Prince of peace, who is our head and lawgiver,—unto whom thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers are subject,—be glory for evermore! unto whose power and government we commit you all, and in true endeared love, rest your dear brethren.

Thomas Green, Alexander Parker, William Brend, William Gibson, Morgan Watkins, John Graves, Samuel Thornton, John Whitehead, Jasper Batt, John Anderdon, Thomas Salthouse, Samuel Watson, John Langstaff, James Adamson, John Cox, James Merrick, John Bowldren, John Raunce, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn, Thomas Briggs, John Moone, Charles Marshall, Luke Howard, Samuel Cater, Arthur Ismead, James Hall, George Coale, Robert Barclay, Edward Bourne,



Charles Lloyd, James Claypole, Richard Almond, William Fallowfield, Robert Cary.

We desire that true copies hereof may be communicated to, and read in, the several Quarterly, Monthly, and other meetings of Friends and brethren, throughout England, and elsewhere.

[*This Epistle is (by a careful comparison with Thomas Ellwood's hand writing) taken from a copy believed to be written by him.*]

No. CXX.

*An Epistle from the Women Friends in London, to the Women Friends in the Country, also elsewhere, about the service of a Women's Meeting. (1674.)*

DEAR Friends and Sisters in the eternal relation of one God and Father, we with one heart greet you; and in the blessed love and life in his Son Christ Jesus our Saviour, (as in our measures we partake of,)—we in all sincerity of mind salute you; who are heirs with us of the same fulness of grace, mercy, truth, and holiness, by which the Lord alone is acceptably served and magnified; who over all is worthy:—and in holy reverence and fear, be at this time ascribed all dominion, power, and strength, and obedience, to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever more. Amen.

And again, dear Sisters, we salute you, as called of God to partake with us of the heavenly inheritance of the saints in light, and to be fellow-helpers with us in the blessed work of the Lord, and [in] the dispensation of kindness and good will in love and mercy unto all,—according to our proportion of faith in the heavenly manifestation of that power and eternal life, which is in his Son:—by which we have been gathered, not only to the number of God's elect ones, through obedience to His Spirit; but also by his arm of power we were gathered to be a meeting, to the praise of his grace, distinct (as we may say in some respects,) yet in perfect unity with our brethren. We being in that humility and subjection of spirit to the Lord, and therein preferring them [our brethren,] [it] shuts out all usurpation and the spirit of it; so that we in a sincere mind, are workers together with them in the same faith; only distinct as to the place, and in those particular things which most properly appertain to us as women;—still eyeing the universal Head, in whom male and female are one; where no division can be admitted of;—so that the body is held entire in Christ Jesus our Head. We, as members by virtue of this our Head, do reach forth this unto you; we having been as a kind

of first-fruits unto God, in this service of a Women's meeting.

Dear Sisters, we are stirred in spirit, through the love of God, for your information and encouragement as to what our services are, and to stir up you also unto diligence to yours; knowing how the Lord hath been with us therein from the beginning to this moment; with His power assisting, and instructing with His counsel, and with wisdom furnishing us, as our various services have required, continually to our soul's satisfaction,—and confirmation in our daily travail. [These services] have been, and are;—to visit the sick and the prisoners, that suffer for the testimony of Jesus; to see they are supplied with things needful;—and relieving the poor, making provision for the needy, aged, and weak, that are incapable of work;—a due consideration for the widows, and care taken of the fatherless children and poor orphans, (according to their capacities) for their education and bringing up in good nurture and in the fear of the Lord; and putting them out to trades in the wholesome order of the creation. Also, the elder women exhorting the younger, in all sobriety, modesty in apparel, and subjection to Truth: and if any should be led aside by the temptations of Satan any way, endeavouring to reclaim such;—and to stop tattlers and false reports, and all such things as tend to division amongst us; following those things which make for peace, reconciliation, and union. Also admonishing such maids and widows as may be in danger through the snare of the enemy, either to marry with unbelievers, or to go to the priest to be married or otherwise, [and so] to bring a reproach or scandal upon Truth or Friends. And that maid servants that profess Truth and want places, be orderly disposed of and settled in their services: and likewise, that the savoury life and good order of Truth, be minded between mistresses and their maids.

For these things, we have a care upon us; and that we may answer our duty herein, we meet every second-day, to communicate each to the other, from our several places, the several necessities and other services; that none may stand idle, but every one, as a true member in the true order of the church, may in their places be diligent: for our services still increase many ways; but chiefly our work is, to help the helpless in all cases, according to our abilities.

Although more especially our provision is set apart for the supply of the household of faith and family of God, yet we cannot be limited: but as the universal bounty of the Lord maketh his sun to rise on the good and bad, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust; so the

same bounty, according to its measure in us, oftentimes finds the same object of charity, which cannot (as we find freedom) send empty away. But as on the Lord we wait, and our eye is single unto Him, from whom we daily receive our living supply for these our services; the Lord hath been and is with us, as oft as we meet together,—answering abundantly with what his work calleth for. And his arm of power is over us, which at first gathered us; and in it, is our preservation to this day:—to which power we commend you, dear sisters;—and the Lord of all grace, power, and peace, be with you and us, in all our services, to his glory and dominion, whose right it alone is to reign in righteousness for ever. Farewell.

From our Quarterly Meeting.

[Signed by very many women Friends, amongst whom are, Ann Travers, Ruth Crouch, Ann Whitehead, Patience Camfield, &c.]

London, the 4th of Eleventh month, 1674.

### No. CXXI.

[THE following document, copied from (probably) a circular in Ellis Hookes' handwriting, relates to the first establishment of the Meeting for Sufferings in London: it gives the names of the London and Country correspondents, with the regulations agreed upon for the constitution and regulation of the said meeting. This document does not appear recorded in the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings.]

THE names of the persons appointed to meet upon the account of Friends' sufferings, also the names of the persons in the country, to whom they are to send, upon any occasion about sufferings.

#### *In Town. In Country.*

##### Bedfordshire and Northampton.

|                   |   |                                            |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------------------------|
| John Staples.     | { | Edward Chester, of Dunstable, for Bedford. |
| Francis Camfield. |   | Daniel Wills, physician, in Northampton.   |

##### Berkshire and Bucks.

|                |   |                         |
|----------------|---|-------------------------|
| John Osgood.   | { | Benj. Cole, in Reading. |
| Thos. Zachary. |   | Thomas Ellwood.         |

##### Cornwall and Devonshire.

|                 |   |                                             |
|-----------------|---|---------------------------------------------|
| Thos. Taunton.  | { | Lawrence Growden, at St. Austle, so called. |
| Gilbert Latie.  |   | Arthur Cotton, merchant, in Plymouth.       |
| Edward Brookes. |   |                                             |

##### Hampshire and Surrey.

|               |   |                                |
|---------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Ellis Hookes. | { | George Embree, at Southampton. |
| Wm. Mackett.  |   | John Cooper, at Guildford.     |

##### Sussex and Kent.

|                |   |                                   |
|----------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Wm. Welch.     | { | Luke Howard, shoemaker, in Dover. |
| James Braines. |   |                                   |
| Walter Miers.  |   |                                   |

#### *In Town.*

#### *In Country.*

##### Essex and Suffolk.

|                  |   |                                        |
|------------------|---|----------------------------------------|
| Richd. Whityand. | { | Soln. Formantell, in Colchester.       |
| Thos. Yoakley.   |   | Robt. Duncon, tanner, near Mendlesham. |
| Fras. Moore.     |   |                                        |

##### Norfolk and Cambridge.

|                  |   |                                       |
|------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Thos. Cox.       | { | Samuel Duncon, hosier, in Norwich.    |
| Clem. Plumstead. |   | Wm. Brasier, shoemaker, in Cambridge. |

##### Ely and Lincolnshire.

|               |   |                               |
|---------------|---|-------------------------------|
| George Watts. | { | Samuel Cater.                 |
| Wm. Parker.   |   | Wm. Garland, at Gainsborough. |

##### Yorkshire.

|                |   |                                     |
|----------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| Thos. Hart.    | { | John Hall, near Mongsgate, in York. |
| Ralph Rudyard. |   |                                     |

##### Durham and Northumberland.

|                |   |                                                                |
|----------------|---|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Thos. Rudyard. | { | John Ayrey, soapboiler, in Newcastle, for both these counties. |
| Wm. Meade.     |   |                                                                |

##### Cumberland and Westmorland.

|                 |   |                                          |
|-----------------|---|------------------------------------------|
| Wm. Loathwaite. | { | James Collinson, at Penwith, shopkeeper. |
| Francis Dow.    |   | Bryan Lancaster, at Kendal, tanner.      |

##### Lancashire and Cheshire.

|                 |   |                                        |
|-----------------|---|----------------------------------------|
| John West.      | { | Thos. Green, shopkeeper, in Lancaster. |
| Thos. Matthews. |   | Edw. Morgan, shoemaker, in Chester.    |

##### Staffordshire and Derbyshire.

|                 |   |                                          |
|-----------------|---|------------------------------------------|
| James Clappole. | { | Wm. Fallowfield, at Leek.                |
| Thos. Rudyard.  |   | Wm. Storrs, at Chesterfield, shopkeeper. |

##### Leicestershire, Nottingham, Rutland.

|               |   |                                           |
|---------------|---|-------------------------------------------|
| John Elson.   | { | Samuel Wilson, baker, in Leicester.       |
| Arthur Cooke. |   |                                           |
| Richd. Mew.   |   | John Reekless, Shopkeeper, in Nottingham. |

Thos. Robertson

##### Worcester and Gloucestershire.

|                  |   |                                         |
|------------------|---|-----------------------------------------|
| Gerrard Roberts. | { | Edward Bourne, physician, in Worcester. |
| Ezekiel Wooley.  |   |                                         |

##### Herefordshire and Shropshire.

|              |   |                                     |
|--------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| Philip Ford. | { | James Merrick, at Ross.             |
| John Dew.    |   | Constantine Overton, at Shrewsbury. |

##### Warwick and Oxfordshire.

|                |   |                                    |
|----------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Fras. Bellers. | { | John Murdock, baker, in Coventry.  |
| Wm. Crouch.    |   | Silas Norton, maulster, in Oxford. |
| Hugh Lamb.     |   |                                    |

##### Hunts and Hertfordshire.

|             |   |                                            |
|-------------|---|--------------------------------------------|
| Job Bolton. | { | Richard Jobson, fellmonger, in Huntington. |
| Wm. Ingram. |   | Hen. Stout, maulster in Hartford.          |

##### Wiltshire.

|               |   |                           |
|---------------|---|---------------------------|
| Arthur Cooke, | { | Thos. Neat, at Chipenham. |
| Ellis Hookes. |   |                           |



| <i>In Town.</i>       | <i>In Country.</i>            |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| London and Middlesex. |                               |
| Thos. Cooper.         | {                             |
| Wm. Meade.            |                               |
| Joseph Scott.         |                               |
| John Kimble.          |                               |
|                       | Bristol.                      |
| James Claypole.       | { Thos. Gouldney, grocer, in  |
| Ezekiel Wooley.       |                               |
|                       | Bristol.                      |
|                       | North Wales.                  |
| Willm. Goswell.       | { Richard Davis, hatmaker, in |
| Edward Man.           |                               |
| Potter Evans.         |                               |
|                       | Welchpoole.                   |
|                       | South Wales.                  |
| Benj. Antrobus.       | {                             |
| Wm. Poacher.          |                               |
|                       | Ireland.                      |
| Saml. Newton.         | { Saml. Clarredge, merchant,  |
| James Claypole.       |                               |
| Willm. Penn.          |                               |
|                       | in Dublin.                    |
|                       | Scotland.                     |
| Wm. Welch.            | {                             |
| Jon. Swinton.         |                               |
| Gawen Lawrey.         |                               |
|                       | Barbadoes.                    |
| Thomas Hart.          | {                             |
| Gerrard Roberts.      |                               |
|                       | New England, New York.        |
| William Meade.        | {                             |
| Joseph Scott.         |                               |
|                       | Virginia and Maryland.        |
| Samuel Groom.         | {                             |
| Fras. Camfield.       |                               |
| Jas. Braines.         |                               |
|                       | Nevis and the Leward Islands. |
| John Goodwin.         | {                             |
| Hugh Hartshorn.       |                               |
|                       | Jamaica.                      |
| Edward Brush.         | {                             |
| William Crouch.       |                               |
|                       | Holland.                      |
| Wm. Crouch.           | {                             |
| Wm. Welch.            |                               |

At a meeting of aforesaid Friends and others, assembled upon the account of Sufferings, held at James Claypole's, the 12th day of the fourth month, 1676 :

Agreed as followeth :

1.—That the whole Friends appointed for the Meeting of Sufferings, do all meet the fifth-day next preceding every term.

2.—That one-fourth part of the Friends of this meeting, be nominated and appointed to meet weekly, every fifth-day, at or before the eleventh hour in the forenoon, as a weekly Meeting for Sufferings; leaving a liberty to any other faithful Friend concerned to meet with them: which said Friends so appointed, are to continue as the Meeting for Sufferings,

until the fifth-day next before the next ensuing term; and then a new choice to be made,—one other fourth part of the Friends appointed for Sufferings, to attend the next ensuing quarter, weekly as aforesaid; and so for every fifth-day next preceding each term, a new choice and appointment of other Friends, to attend the service of Sufferings as aforesaid.

The names of the Friends appointed for the present immediate service, to continue till the General Meeting for Sufferings, appointed to meet the fifth-day next before next term.

|                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| Westminster.    | { Gilbert Latie.  |
|                 | { Fras. Dow.      |
| Wheeler Street. | { Fras. Moore.    |
|                 | { Fras. Bellers.  |
| Ratcliffe.      | { Arthur Cooke.   |
|                 | { James Braines.  |
| Southwark.      | { Wm. Shewen.     |
|                 | { Hen. Snook.     |
| Peele.          | { Wm. Parker.     |
|                 | { John Elson.     |
| London.         | { John Osgood.    |
|                 | { Thos. Rudyard.  |
| Foreign Parts.  | { Thomas Hart and |
|                 | { Joseph Scott.   |

3.—That if any of the said fourteen Friends now nominated, (or others to be hereafter nominated and appointed for this service,) by reason of any urgency of occasions or business, cannot attend at any respective meeting as aforesaid, that then such respective member, send (if they can) a note to that meeting, informing the meeting of their not being able to be there that day.

4.—That Ellis Hookes, as well forthwith as from time to time hereafter, send down into the several counties of England and Wales, unto the Friends there appointed to correspond, as well the agreements now made and to be made for the settling of this meeting, as also the names of such persons here with whom they are now, or for the future, from time to time to correspond; that the country Friends may henceforward understand Friends' care and order therein, and direct their letters to the persons here appointed accordingly.

5.—That only the present sufferings, wherein the Friends in the counties expect some relief or redress, be sent to the Friends of London before nominated to assist the Friends in the country; and that such sufferings as are collected and intended to be recorded, be as formerly sent to Ellis Hookes.

6.—That a list or copy of all the Friends here of the Meeting of Sufferings, and the names and habitations of all the country correspondents now appointed, or to be appointed, be now and from time to time, with the agreements of this meeting, delivered to each mem-

ber of this meeting, or at least to one of the two Friends respectively appointed, or to be appointed here for each county; that so each member thereof may know their respective service.

7.—That when any Friends appointed here to correspond with the respective counties, receive any letters from their respective counties, that they take due care to send them expeditious answers to such questions, or other matters, or things proposed to them, or for which the country Friends desire their assistance in advice or otherwise; and also give them speedy answers whether their respective cases and sufferings, can have relief here or elsewhere, or not; so that our country Friends may not lie under a tedious and fruitless expectation, without our resolution, in cases of difficulty, distress, and suffering.

8.—That a convenient room be allowed and taken, for the Friends now and hereafter appointed, to meet weekly in, as aforesaid, in such convenient place, as Gerrard Roberts, William Welch, and John Osgood shall allow and approve of; and that until such convenient room can be had and taken, that the meeting be held and kept weekly, at Job Bolton's in Lumber street.

9.—That country Friends be reminded of what formerly was signified unto them, where the circumstances of time will admit, to lay their sufferings and cases before Friends in their Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, or two or more faithful Friends of that county; to the end their cases and sufferings may be sent up, or recommended, with the meeting's or particular Friend's testimonial and approbation.

10.—That if any matter or thing happen in the interval of Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, that then they lay the said sufferings before

two or more faithful Friends of the county as aforesaid, appointed by the Monthly or Quarterly Meetings for that purpose; and the names of such Friends to be sent up to Friends here.

11.—And further, that Friends be careful to draw up their sufferings full and short, according to former directions; it being the intention of Friends here, once a month, to publish in print half a sheet or a sheet, of the most remarkable and grievous sufferings; to the end cruelty may not be acted in a corner, and not be known.

No. CXXII.

[The following document has been found in the catalogue of George Fox's writings, (mentioned at page 420,) it is inserted under the year 1690 :—in several respects it is a remarkable document.]

ALL Friends in all the world, that used to write to me of all manner of things and *passages*, and I did answer them,—let them all write to the Second-day's Meeting in London, directing them first to their correspondents there; and the Second-day's Meeting in London, for them to answer them in the wisdom of God: and let a copy of this be sent to all places in the world among Friends, that they may know and understand this.

And for the Yearly Meeting in London, to answer all the yearly and half-yearly letters or papers that come once a year to the Yearly Meeting in London; and they to see that all be carefully read, and answered in the Truth and in righteousness, to the glory of God, and to the comfort and refreshment of His people.

GEORGE FOX.

*From a Copy.*

LETTERS, &c. OF EARLY FRIENDS.

PART III.

EPISTLES OF COUNSEL AND EXHORTATION.

No. CXXIII.

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO FRIENDS.

From Balby, December (or Tenth month) 2nd,  
[Twelfth month] 1652.

ALL Friends in the Truth of God, be faithful in what you know; and wait upon the Lord for the making out of himself to you. Neglect not meeting together, and stirring up that which is

pure one in another. Live not in words, but mind the power of words: for words that proceed out of a vain, light mind, destroy the simple, and draw your minds out above the cross, to live in words;—and ye will form something in your minds to rest in, and so the fleshly mind will be kept alive:—but keep in the cross. The power is the cross to the carnal part in all; and words that come from the



life will go to the life, and raise up that which is pure in one another; and so you will have unity with that which is pure in one another. And being guided by the pure light in you, it will cross that which would be forming any thing in you; and standing in the counsel of the Lord, it will cross and crucify that which would consult with human wisdom and reason. So you will be brought into a discerning, to savour truth from error, both in yourselves, and also in one another,—and to savour every one's words from what centre they do arise. By standing in the counsel of the Lord, and keeping in the cross, the old man will be brought to judgment daily; and that which is earthly, carnal, and brutish, will be cut down in you; and so there will be a way made for the pure seed to be raised up in you, that the Lord alone may be glorified by every one of you.

Take heed of sitting down to rest in any gift; but press forward in the strait way, and lay aside every weight and burden. Cast off that which presseth down, and let patience possess your souls; endure to the end the working out of the corrupt nature, and wait for the purification of the Lord, who will try you so as by fire. Think it not strange concerning the fiery trial [by which] the Lord will try you and prove you; the trial of your faith will be much more precious than of gold that perisheth.

Farewell, dear Friends; and the God of love and power keep you all in the power of his love, and in the power of his Truth, in faithfulness to Him alone,—that He may be glorified; to whom all honour and glory and dominion, praise and thanks belong, for ever and ever! Amen. Yours in the unity of the Spirit,

RICHARD FARNSWORTH.

*From the Original apparently.*

No. CXXIV.

[THE following valuable letter is the more interesting, as having been addressed at that early period to Margaret Fell (who became so conspicuous, as a nursing mother in the church,) within about six months after George Fox's first visit at Swarthmore; when she, her children, and a great part of her servants became convinced.]

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO MARGARET FELL.

Balbie, [Yorkshire] December 12th,  
[Twelfth mo.] 1652.

DEAR SISTER,

—Mind to stand in the counsel of the Lord, which will keep down every thing that would be exalted;—and will not suffer thee to conform to any thing but that which is pure.—O! be faithful, be faithful, in what thou knowest; and stand perfect in the will of the Lord: and

the Lord will keep thee in his own power to Himself, and arm thee every way with his love and power.—Stand in his counsel, and it will discover all the consultations of the enemy; and [will] scatter all imaginations, and will not suffer them to take place in thee, being but obedient to Him. Love not the world, but mind that which would draw thee to live in the pure obedience of Him who is pure: and standing in the pure fear, it will take away all slavish fears, and it will not suffer thee to conform to the world in anything; but thou wilt be preserved in obedience to the Lord, in what he doth require: for the fear of the Lord keepeth the heart clean; and it will keep thee clean, and open to receive the teachings of the Father. O! stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath set thee free, and it will keep thee from the entanglements of the world; and thy preservation will be, in standing in the counsel of the Lord, who is the mighty counsellor, the everlasting Prince of peace; who will lead thee and guide thee into the everlasting kingdom of the Father, where there is peace and joy, rest, quietness and assurance for ever! Give thyself up wholly to the Lord, who will preserve thee in faithfulness and purity;—and the everlasting Lord God Almighty keep thee and all the rest of our dear Friends, in the power of his love, and in the power of his Truth, perfect in his will; that ye may grow from strength to strength, and be established in the everlasting Truth:—and that he alone may be glorified, who is Lord of lords, and King of kings; to whom be glory and honour, and praise, and thanks, for ever and ever! Amen.

I received thy letter, which did much rejoice me.—When thy letter, with James and George, came, I was then gone towards Derbyshire—where I met with a gathered church.—I have been in much service since I came from you: Friends are much emboldened and courageous, who have had great opposition and persecution here away: but all is at a stand; the enemy is much in silence; and the Lord carries on his own work, much to his own praise: to Him alone be glory, and honour, for ever and ever!

—My dear love in the Lord presents itself to you all, to thy son George, and to thy daughters, and to all those thy servants, in the Truth of God: and the Lord cause them all to grow up into the Truth, that He may be exalted amongst you all. Ah! my dear hearts, prize the love and mercy of the Lord, and daily mind your growth into that which is eternal: and the everlasting love and power of the Lord keep you all in faithfulness to Him in what you know. Keep in the cross, and purity will grow;—the safest way is in the cross: take up the cross daily; mind to be guided by that

which crosseth your own wills, and it will bring every idle word, thought and deed to judgment in you; and so the old man will be crucified, with the affections and lusts thereof; and you shall find the Lord to sit as a refiner, to judge out all the old leaven, the old nature; and so the new man will be raised up;—and Christ the power of God [will] rule and reign in righteousness in you, who is the King of saints: to Him alone be all praise and thanks for evermore! Amen. R. F.

*From the Original apparently.*

#### No. CXXV.

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO FRIENDS.

Warmsworth, 18th of Seventh month, [ninth mo.] 1657.

#### DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD!

ALL be watchful and faithful against the enemy and adversary of your souls; that you may stand, when you are tried. The Lord will try you, like gold seven times purified; and as you have had experience of God's love to you, and care over you, when formerly you have been proved,—know assuredly that He is the same;—and mind that you be so to Him, still loving and faithful to Him and his Truth, all you that in any measure have borne testimony to his name. Take heed of coldness, deadness, and formality, that it get not entertainment amongst you; lest thereby the enemy beguile you, and you lose your reward. Therefore mind the movings and stirrings of that of God in you; that ye may move and stir in it in the behalf of His name.

Stand not to consult with the wicked one; but keep close, in the spirit of your minds, to the measure of the light and Spirit of God manifested in you, rightly to inform and guide your understanding; that none of you may join with that which would draw you back, lest the Lord's soul cease to delight in you. For so long as ye do well, ye are the children of Abraham the father of the faithful: but if any of you depart in the evil, he owns you not then, no more than Christ did such as said they were of Abraham, whilst they were evil doers; who also told them, that if they were of Abraham, they would do the works of Abraham; but they did not his works, and therefore they were known to be none of the true faithful Abrahamites.—Take heed that none of you give Him just cause to depart from you, and leave you to yourselves. He can and doth wait to be gracious, and is ready to do good, to those that truly and constantly wait and attend upon him. Such are ever ready to speak well of Him, to the praise of His name: but the disobedient, obstinate, slothful, and careless, they judge hardly of Him. Take heed that none such be amongst you; for they will, upon

trials, be ready to join with the enemy, and start aside to the rejoicing of the wicked, and to the dishonour of the seed; though they may profess the Truth for a time.

Take heed of watching with an evil eye, and for seeking occasion one against another to break the true unity. Such break their soul's peace, and their troubles will increase upon them: but they that watch one over another, in the fear of the Lord, for good to edification, and to mind the increase of love and preservation of the true unity, their peace and joy in the Lord will increase, and they are, and shall for ever be, blessed. R. F——.

#### No. CXXVI.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO FRIENDS.

Given forth the 14th of Eleventh month, 1659,  
[First mo. 1660.]

To all who are lovers of, and believers in, the true light,—grace, mercy, and everlasting peace be multiplied amongst you.

Dear and precious souls, the infinite wise God, who is pure for ever, is just and equal in all his ways; who loves truth and delights therein; who is strong and mighty to deliver, and able to save from sin and Satan, from bondage and corruption, all who come unto him, and wait upon him in truth, in meekness and sincerity of heart. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh, who gives life and breath unto all; who made the world and all things therein, by his power, and by his word, (which is powerful;) He upholds all things at this day and time. He is the same to-day as ever, in power and majesty; his arm is not shortened that it cannot save, nor his eye closed that it cannot see, neither is his mouth shut that it cannot speak; but he lives, and works, and speaks, and sees, and discerns what is contrived and acted amongst the sons and daughters of men. His living Word abides for ever, and is as quick and as lively as ever,—as powerful and sharp for the cutting down of sin and corruption, as it ever was in the days of old and ages past, according to the testimony of the holy men of God, recorded in the Scriptures of truth.

Dearly beloved, it hath pleased our gracious almighty God to appear in these last times, according to his promise declared by his holy prophets concerning his great love, in pouring forth of his holy Spirit upon his people; and to gather them from off the barren mountains, and from the mouths of the wolves, and all false shepherds; that they might no longer be preyed upon, nor starved for want of bread: but the promise of God is, to feed them Himself in fresh and green pastures, and to bring them back into the fold of the good shepherd,—and that there shall be one sheepfold and one shep-



herd. Dear hearts, both I and you, and all the rest of the sheep and lambs of Christ, may truly confess and say, that we all like sheep have gone astray; we were wandering upon the barren and dry mountains, and feeding upon the husks and empty shadows, even as well as others. But for ever-more blessed and praised be the Lord our God, who in a good and acceptable time did appear, and stretched forth his holy arm, and gathered us into the fold of the good Shepherd; whereby we are refreshed with the favour and loving-kindness of the Lord. O! what manner of love is this, that even when we were enemies and rebels against God, yet his eye was over us for good; and he waited to be gracious unto us, (as he doth now unto the world,) not willing the death and destruction of any; but rather that all might turn unto him, and hearken unto his voice, that their souls might live.

Dear Friends, as the Lord in his rich love hath visited you, and by his grace called you out of darkness into his marvellous light,—so, prize his love, and walk worthy of that high and heavenly calling, whereunto the Lord hath called you,—pleasing him in all things: waiting in the light, which is pure, which is of Christ, in you, that you may all receive wisdom and counsel from God; that whatsoever ye do, or take in hand, may be done to the glory and praise of Him that hath called you. Remember, and always keep in mind the goodness of the Lord, and let his word dwell and abide in you; lay it up in your hearts, as a precious holy treasure: so will ye be kept in a lively sensible state, apt and fit to receive instruction from the Lord. The living word seasons, and keeps the heart sweet and savoury, so that corruption cannot grow there, neither any other evil, lust or bad thing; but by the word it is cut down, and destroyed. Blessed are they that keep the word of God in them; such shall be kept in peace and unity with God in the light; and there every one shall see the honourable calling, unto which they are called. He that calls, is holy and honourable; and the calling unto which ye are called, is likewise holy and honourable. Consider what ye are called from, and what ye are called unto: formerly ye walked in darkness, and had fellowship with the unfruitful workers of darkness; now ye are called out of darkness, to walk in the light,—and there to have communion one with another, and fellowship with God, who is light, and with his Son Jesus Christ;—who likewise declared himself to be the light of the world. In the light is the precious unity with God and with Christ, and one with another. If we walk in the light, (saith the beloved disciple,) as He is in the light, then, (not till then,) have we fellowship one with another, and the

blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all sin: they that love the light, and believe in the light, and walk in the light,—such receive remission of sins,—such worship God truly,—such are of one heart and of one mind,—such only are accepted of the Lord.

And now, dear souls, as you have been called to such a high and heavenly calling, mind every one your particular duties, in walking answerably to the Lord in everything; that good order may be kept amongst you, both in your meetings and solemn assemblies, in your service and worship of God, and also in your common occasions and affairs amongst men. Something is upon my spirit to write unto you at this time, concerning these two weighty things; and, first, concerning the service and worship of God.—That which God requires of every one, is justice, mercy, and a humble and orderly conversation: for, as it is the love of God, by his light to show you his will and mind, so it is your duty, to do the will of God; which will is your sanctification: and, as it was the manner and practice of the holy men of God, (who were called in the light,) to meet together to wait upon God, and to speak one to another, as the Spirit of Truth did move and give them utterance, for the strengthening one another, and building up one another in their most holy faith;—so it is now judged meet and good for all who are called to be saints, to meet often together to wait upon the Lord,—that their strength may be renewed. So Friends, when you come together to wait upon God, come orderly in the fear of God: the first that enters into the place of your meeting, be not careless, nor wander up and down, either in body or mind; but innocently sit down in some place, and turn in thy mind to the light, and wait upon God singly, as if none were present but the Lord; and *here* thou art strong. Then the next that comes in, let them in simplicity of heart, sit down and turn in to the same light, and wait in the Spirit: and so all the rest coming in, in the fear of the Lord, sit down in pure stillness and silence of all flesh, and wait in the light; a few that are thus gathered by the arm of the Lord into the unity of the Spirit,—this is a sweet and precious meeting, where all meet with the Lord!

Those who are brought to a pure, still waiting upon God in the Spirit, are come nearer to the Lord than words are: for God is a Spirit, and in the Spirit is he worshipped; so that my soul hath dear union with you, who purely wait upon God in the Spirit, though not a word be spoken to the hearing of the outward ear. And here is the true feeding in the Spirit; and all who thus meet together to wait upon the Lord, shall renew their strength daily. In such a meeting, where the presence and power

of God is felt, there will be an unwillingness to part asunder, being ready to say in yourselves, it is good to be here: and this is the end of all words and writings—to bring people to the eternal living Word. So, all dear hearts, when you come together to wait upon God, come singly and purely; that your meetings together may be for the better, and not for the worse.

And if any be moved to speak words, wait low in the pure fear, to know the mind of the Spirit, where and to whom they are to be spoken.—If any be moved to speak, see that they speak in the power; and when the power is still, be ye still.—And all who speak of the movings of the Lord, I lay it as a charge upon you, to beware of abusing the power of God, in acting a wrong thing under pretence of being moved of the Lord:—for the pure power may move, and then the enemy (who goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour,) he may present a wrong thing to the view of the understanding; and here is a danger of abusing the power, acting that which the true power condemns, and yet pretending that the power moves to it;—this is a double sin. Therefore, let every one patiently wait, and not be hasty to run in the dark; but keep low in the true fear, that the understanding may be opened to know the mind of the Spirit; and then as the Spirit moves and leads, it is good to follow its leadings;—for such are led into all truth. Thus, my Friends, as you keep close to the Lord, and to the guidance of his good Spirit, ye shall not do amiss; but in all your services and performances in the worship of God, ye shall be a good savour unto the Lord; and the Lord will accept of your services, and bless and honour your assemblies with his presence and power.

And now for the ordering of your conversations amongst men, ye are to walk by the same rule; (that is,)—when your meeting is ended, do not look upon the service of God to be ended; but keep in the fear of God, that ye may receive wisdom from Him, to order the creatures; that the pure light may exercise your consciences towards God and men. A time there was at your first convincement, when ye stood in the cross to the world's spirit, and could not conform to their customs, many of them have stood off for a certain time, and would not trade or deal with Friends: but when they saw your fidelity and honesty, they came again; and many have a greater desire to deal with Friends, than with many of their own generation, because they know that ye will not wrong them, nor deal deceitfully with them: and so the blessing of God attends the faithful, and gives an increase both inward and outward. Then is the danger of being lifted up in mind, or drawn back again into the earth, so that the

earth comes over, which chokes and hinders the growth of the seed: but as every one keeps in the dominion and power of God, then the blessing is continued, as love to the Truth is continued. Thus, dear Friends, in all companies, at all times and seasons, so walk that ye may be examples of good unto all, and answer the witness of God in all; that God over all may be glorified, and ye by his power be daily kept and preserved in holiness and righteousness, out of the world's wickedness; not for a day, or a week, or a certain time only, but even all the days of your lives; for this is but just and reasonable, that we should yield our members servants unto God, who gives us life, and strength, and all other good things: glory and holy praises be rendered unto Him, of all that know Him, for ever more!

And furthermore, dear Friends, as concerning those late overturnings, and those distractions, divisions, and confusions in this our native nation,—be not ye troubled nor shaken in mind because of these things. There is a secret hand working in and through all these overturnings; and they come not to pass without the knowledge of the Lord, for making way for greater things, which the Lord hath to bring to pass in this nation; for much is yet to be thrown down, before truth and righteousness be set up. My advice and counsel is, that every one of you, who love and believe in the light, be still and quiet, and side not with any parties; but own and cherish the good wherever it appears, and testify against the evil in all, wherever it appears; not like the children of this world, warring with carnal weapons against flesh and blood, to destroy men's lives; but like Christians with spiritual weapons, warring against spiritual wickedness, and all sinful fleshly lusts, which war against the soul: not striking at creatures, but at the power that captivates the creatures; that so the creatures may be redeemed from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. So be not ye overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good; so shall ye have peace with God, and true unity with all who are of God.

The God of power strengthen you in every good word and work, and perfect his work in you, to his glory, who is blessed forever! Amen.

I rest your dear brother in the Truth, watching for all your good.

ALEXANDER PARKER.

*From the Original.*

No. CXXVII.

ALEXANDER PARKER TO FRIENDS.

Given forth in the prison at Chester, the  
13th of the Eighth month [10th mo.] 1660.

To all you, my beloved and dear Friends, who are called in Christ Jesus, the light of the



world, out of the ways and works of darkness, to follow the Lord Jesus Christ in truth and righteousness, which way soever He goes, through trials and troubles, tribulations and persecutions, as he leads and guides by his light and Spirit:—Grace, mercy, and peace, patience and heavenly wisdom, with all other graces and virtues appertaining unto life and godliness, from God the Father of Spirits, and Jesus Christ the light and life of men, be increased and daily multiplied amongst you.

I, your dear brother and companion in tribulation, who am a prisoner for the testimony of Jesus, do hereby greet you all, who love and own the appearance of Christ in Spirit. I do send these lines unto you as the tender of my love, and the dear salutation of my life unto you all, my dear brethren and sisters; who are born again of the immortal seed and word of God, which lives and abides forever. My life is bound up with you, in the holy love and blessed covenant, which cannot be broken; and though this earthen vessel be shut up and kept under locks and chains, from the fellowship and communion of my Father's children and family, yet the treasure—the heavenly riches of love, life and power, which my heavenly Father hath put into this earthen vessel, cannot be locked up by the powers of this world, neither can it be stopped; but it flows forth—according to the promise of the Lord of life, who hath said, "Whoso shall drink of the water that I shall give, it shall be in him a well of water, springing up unto everlasting life." From this well, do streams of love flow forth, even to my very enemies and persecutors; desiring also that their souls might live. But much more do my love and breathings of life reach forth unto you, the dearly beloved of my soul, who are of the same family and household of faith; to every one in the family, as well the servants and the handmaids, as the sons and daughters, my dear love salutes you all,—even the doorkeepers, and all that appertain to the house of God. I have you all fresh in my remembrance, and am often present in Spirit with you.

Dear hearts, in brotherly love and heavenly fear, I do exhort you all, as dear children, to walk together in truth and love; exhorting one another, and building up one another in the holy faith, which works by love; that ye may be a family of love: for true love is a mark whereby ye are known to be children born from above, as Christ formerly said, "Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another;"—this is the end and the sum and substance of all that can be spoken or written. Love fulfils the law,—it envies not, it thinks no evil; love doth not render evil for evil, but on the contrary, love renders good for evil: love keeps the commandments of God;

and if love be wanting, all preaching, praying, and all other duties and performances whatsoever, all are in vain: and the services and sacrifices of such are not acceptable unto God, being ignorant of God; for he that loves not, knows not God, for God is love. Love is a precious jewel, not to be valued with gold, nor any other earthly treasure; and where love dwells, there needs few instructions; for love performs all things freely without compulsion: blessed are they who have the love of God dwelling in them. But this is an high discovery, to know God as he is love; it is the last, and abides for ever. Wait, dear ones, that you may attain to this knowledge; and in the mean time be content with your present conditions, and with that measure of knowledge which God hath committed to every one of you; for every one is accepted, as they are faithful to God, in that light and grace which God hath freely given to them. And it is a good thing to know God truly and experimentally in any dispensation,—to know God (or the operation of his Spirit,) as a fire,—this is good; for all who are truly acquainted with God, must know him as a consuming fire, before they know him as he is love; "For our God is a consuming fire," as it is written of him;—a fire to consume and burn all wickedness and sinful lusts, which have been harboured and lodged in the heart; so that the heart may be purified by the spirit of judgment and burning, and sanctified and made fit for the Father's use. For though it hath pleased God, so far to condescend and come down, as to dwell in men, and to put his heavenly treasure in earthen vessels; yet he doth not dwell where sin and corruption dwell; neither doth he put his precious heavenly treasure in a filthy unclean vessel; but first the vessel must be cleansed, the heart purified, by the living word of God: for the word of God is powerful and precious, and doth work powerfully in the hearts of all that do with meekness and patience receive it. It is as a fire to burn up all corruption, both of flesh and spirit; it is also as a hammer to beat down sin in its rise and conception: when evil appears or rises in the heart, then keep the hammer going, (the word of God,) to hammer it down within on the first motion, before it break forth into words, or open actions. Blessed are they that feel in themselves the operation of the word of God, to purify and cleanse them, and who obey the gospel in truth of heart; that God may delight to do them good. And you, my dear Friends, that have tasted of the word of God, and are truly sensible of a good work of reformation begun in you,—in patience possess your souls: wait upon God, and faint not; neither be ye discouraged, because of the many trials and temptations that ye endure; but sow to the

Spirit, and in good time ye shall reap the good fruits of righteousness.

Be not ye shaken in mind, nor tossed to and fro with men's doctrines, which are changeable; but all dwell and abide in the unchangeable light, and let your faith stand in the power of God: and then ye will stand sure and stedfast, upon the sure foundation of God, which he hath laid, and not man; and as ye are staid there, nothing can move you, nor harm you, nor make you afraid. The word of God is nigh you, even in your hearts, and in your mouths, to obey it;—O! let it dwell and abide in you, and it will keep you from corruption, and from all evil that abounds in the world.

So, dear Friends, as a people redeemed to God, see that ye walk blameless and harmless in the midst of this perverse generation; that ye may be a good savour to God amongst them, that the Lord God of life may be glorified in and amongst you. Be patient, be humble, and of a gentle, sweet carriage towards all, so far as ye may without offence to God or his dear children; and above all things, live in peace and love among yourselves. And the God of peace fill you with his peace and love and heavenly wisdom, and establish you in the Truth; that you may live and die to his honour and glory, who hath called and loved you;—who is God over all, blessed forever.

This is written in the bowels of love unto you all, by your dear brother, a prisoner for the testimony of Jesus, in the common goal at West Chester.

ALEXANDER PARKER.

*From the Original.*

#### No. CXXVIII.

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO FRIENDS.

Stanley, 11th of October (Eighth mo.)

DEAR FRIENDS,

My endeared love to you all in the Lord Jesus Christ:—my love runneth forth toward you, desiring that the Lord would establish your hearts in Him; who is the fountain of living mercies. Wait on Him, and meet often together; and take heed of forming any thing of self. Stand always in the counsel of the Lord; and give up wholly to Him, to be guided by him. Submit to his will in all things, and every condition will be good, seeing the Lord always present in it. Take heed to yourselves, lest any deceit get in amongst you; for the adversary is very busy, and goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour: and when the Lord is most manifesting himself amongst his people, then the devil doth most bestir himself.

There is a true work amongst you; but take heed, I beseech you for the Lord's sake, that

deceit does not mix with it.—Give not liberty to your own wills, but stand in the will of the Lord, and let patience have its perfect work among you.—And you shall find him a merciful Father; and he will deal with you in tenderness and compassion.—Take heed of doing any thing by imitation as from others; but all mind your own conditions, and to be kept in the cross, the pure light guiding your minds; it will cross your own wills in all things, and will suffer you to conform to nothing but that which is pure; and so you will be kept always in the fear of Him who is pure: and his pure fear will preserve and keep your minds close and pure, and open to the Lord to receive his teaching,—for the teaching of the Lord is in silence. And wait patiently upon Him, and give up yourselves wholly unto Him, to be acted upon and guided by Him; and He will keep self under the cross, that it cannot act; and so you will be led by the Lord gently on your journey up to the land of living mercies, where you shall find rest to your souls, even in the everlasting fountain of love.

—Dwell in the pure wisdom, and it will teach you what to do in all things. Walk in the light, and there will be no occasion of stumbling and falling: but being disobedient to the light, then there is stumbling and falling down.—Every one mind your own condition and your growth daily: press forward in the straight way, and so be kept in the cross, that keeps humble and lowly:—and being kept in the cross, it will bring you to lay aside every weight and burden, and to run with patience the race that is set before you; that you may so run as to obtain the crown.

O! dear Friends, let patience possess your souls, and it will keep you always in a sense of your condition. The Lord keep you, and establish you, that you may grow daily more and more into the everlasting Truth, and bring forth fruit to the praise and glory of God; that He in all things may be glorified by you: to whom be glory and honour and everlasting praises for ever and ever. Amen!

All Friends here are well, praised be the Lord,—and desire to be remembered to you all. My dear love to you all,—farewell; and the God of love and power keep you in the everlasting power of his love, and in the everlasting power of his Truth; that you may reign as kings upon the earth.

I shall see you again, when my Father pleaseth.

RICHARD FARNSWORTH.

#### No. CXXIX.

THOMAS SALTHOUSE TO FRIENDS.

*An affectionate salutation of fervent love, and a tender visitation to all the people of God called*



*Quakers, at this day oppressed and persecuted for their obedience to the commands of Christ Jesus, the King of Righteousness, and Prince of Peace.\**

Twelfth month, 1660, [Second mo. 1661.]

BELOVED Brethren and Sisters, fellow-sufferers and companions in tribulation and persecutions, which is your portion and heritage at this day in this present world,—my heart is open,—and my dear unfeigned love flows forth abundantly unto every particular [individual] of you, in every desert, den, and cabin, to which many of you are by constraint confined, for your obedience to the commands of Christ, the Prince of our peace,—and for your resolutions to follow the Captain of your salvation, with the loss of your liberty, the hazard of your estates, and the peril of your lives, in these last days and trying troublesome times. O! my dearly beloved, whom the Lord hath called and chosen out of the evil of the world, and redeemed from the earth, to serve him acceptably, and to worship him in the Spirit; unto whom it is given in the behalf of Christ Jesus, not only to believe, but also to suffer affliction and persecution,—what can I communicate unto you, that may augment your consolation in this day of trial and hour of temptation? You have the evidence with you, and in you, that the Lord is your portion, and the rock of your salvation; and He that comforteth his people in all their tribulations, is acquainted with your grief; in all your afflictions he is afflicted with you; and whosoever offends you for your religion and righteousness' sake, sinneth against his own soul, and resisteth his Maker,—against whom no man can prevail. He that persecuteth you, persecuteth your Head; he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye.——

My dear brethren and Friends in the Truth, who are now constrained to have your habitation as in the tents of Kedar, amongst the sons of Ishmael and Belial, and whose lot, for a little season, is to be amongst the pots, and to sit as by the rivers of Babylon, in outward bondage and captivity,—think it not strange concerning these fiery trials, as if an unexpected or strange thing had accidentally happened unto you: for this day of trial of your faith, patience, and principles, is very precious, and the Lord's end in it is good, and will so appear to be; and in an acceptable time, will he appear for the salvation of his oppressed people, whose sighs and groans, prayers and tears are heard and regarded by him.——For he brought you not out of the house of dark-

ness and land of Egypt, to slay you in the wilderness, nor to make you a prey to the uncircumcised, if you obey his voice, and abide in his counsel, and walk in his light, as a people saved by him. Wherefore, my dear Friends, let patience have its perfect work; and remember the Lord's former mercies and wonderful deliverances, and consider that his hand is not at all shortened, that he cannot save and deliver you out of the deepest den and dungeon, where you lie as among the lions in this day of Jacob's troubles. Lift up your voice, and cry out of the deep, with one accord and consent unto Him, who hath not at any time said unto the house of Israel, "Seek my face in vain:" and my spirit with yours and our prayers will meet at the throne of grace, in the presence of your Father and my Father; who hath respect unto his covenant, and will save his afflicted people, and bring forth the prisoners out of the prison houses, that they may show themselves in the land of the living. In the meantime, suffer patiently, without murmuring and repining, and wait to have your weak hands and feeble knees strengthened to endure hardships, as good soldiers of Jesus Christ; and look unto Him, the author and finisher of your holy faith, who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross and despised the shame: that all the sufferings of these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, may be endured, as seeing Him that is invisible: be faithful unto death, that you may be crowned with eternal life.

And, Friends, you that are not as yet in bonds for Christ's sake, who are made as a gazing stock with us, and confess the same Truth, and bear the burden of our bonds, as bound with us,—you are witnesses of the same sufferings, and for the same cause; and inasmuch as your hearts are open to visit the saints in prison, and communicate your cup of cold water to them that keep the commands of Christ Jesus,—the Lord will not exclude you out of the number of his jewels in that day, when he giveth a reward to the righteous, and a recompense to every man according to his work. Therefore, let none look upon themselves as members disjointed from the body, or as branches broken from the tree; and let none judge them that have liberty yet a little season given for a prey, for ends best known to Himself: for thus hath the Lord in his mercy, wisdom, and compassion ordered it, that there may not be a full end made of his heritage at once, but some are left at liberty to serve those that are under restraint, and by such a sudden surprisal are separated from nearest relations, outward habitations, ordinary employments, and all external privileges; which the law of God, and law of nations and nature allow to men as men, especially to men that fear God and work

\* This and the next Epistle from John Whitehead were addressed to Friends, about the commencement of their very severe persecutions in Charles II.'s reign.

righteousness. And in this respect you are joined to us, and are one with us,—and we own you, and write unto you, and embrace you as companions and fellow-sufferers for the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God. By this do I particularly salute you in the Lord, exhorting and beseeching you, as in Christ's stead, to stand still and wait in patience with us, that you and we may see that salvation from God, which cannot be expected from the hills, nor from the mountains, nor from the arm of flesh. And, dear Friends, cast not away your confidence in this cloudy day and hour of temptation: neither be ye afraid of him that can imprison, oppress, persecute, and kill your bodies; but fear the God of heaven, and give glory to his name, and honour the King of nations; and keep yourselves unspotted from the world, and your consciences void of offence, both in the sight of God, and in the presence of men. And if you suffer for well doing, and for righteousness sake, the Lord will comfort you in all your tribulations, and will plead with your adversaries, and reprove your oppressors, and vindicate your cause; inasmuch as ye are innocent in all your sufferings, sustained under every government, since ye were a people, for the exercise of your religion, and the peace of your pure consciences. For the God of heaven knows, and the sons of them that do afflict you will know, that you are not in rebellion, nor in transgression in any particular, whereof you are suspected, accused, and judged at this day; but the occasion that is taken against you and us, is chiefly concerning the law of our God, and the exercise of our religion.

Well, my dear brethren and sisters, I know the oppression is great under which you suffer, and your trials and travels are many in all the provinces and parts of this land of our nativity; I am sensible of it, and my heart is affected therewith; for many women are left as widows, and their children as orphans at this season: but the Creator of all things is a husband to the widow, a father to the fatherless; and he is rich in mercy, large in loving-kindness and abundant in goodness and truth; and his compassions never fail them that cast their care upon him, and put their trust in him: neither can we say that He is as a way-faring man unto us, or a stranger that turns aside to tarry for a night and no more; for He hath fed us all our life long, and is the portion of our cup for ever, and the lifter up of our heads in this the day of our confinements.

And now, my dear Friends, by this you may know, that my dear brother J. Scafe and I have been under restraint near two months at this place; in which time the number of prisoners has increased, insomuch that we are near two hundred Friends in prison in this place, for no

other cause but our obedience to the command of Christ Jesus, and for frequenting solemn meetings for the exercise of our religion; which we have both publicly and privately, as also in practice and principle, declared to be in obedience and subjection to the higher powers, and not in contempt of any person, power, or government appointed of God, for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well. And this is an addition to our rejoicing and consolation,—that we can call heaven and earth to record, and the Spirit of God bears witness with us and for us, that we know nothing on our parts as the original cause of our sufferings, but our principles and persuasion in matters of religion, and concerning the law and worship of our God. So that it is wholly for the name of Christ, and for righteousness sake, that we are called in question, and cast into prison at this day.

My dear brother and companion in tribulation, J. S., gives the remembrance of his unfeigned love to all Friends, where this is read and received; and the rest of my fellow prisoners dearly salute you. We are generally well, and well content to suffer for righteousness sake; and the peace and presence of the Lord is in our habitations: to whom you are all committed, as unto a faithful Creator, by him that is your dear brother and fellow-servant in persecutions and tribulations, at liberty or in bonds.

T. SALTHOUSE.

*Ilchester, 23rd of Twelfth month, 1660,  
[Second mo. 1661.]*

*From the Original.*

## No. CXXX.

JOHN WHITEHEAD TO FRIENDS.

*Aylesbury Prison, Twelfth month, 1660.  
[Second mo.] 1661.*

DEAR FRIENDS, both sons and daughters, amongst whom I have travailed, that you might be gathered in the everlasting covenant of light and life, to feed by the Shepherd's tent, amongst the sheep of His pasture and lambs of His fold. When I——consider that by departing from iniquity, ye are become a prey to all the beasts of the field, who gather themselves together to rend and to devour you;—how do my bowels yearn towards you, and my heart doth melt into tenderness with the love and life that is shed abroad in it unto you: in which life my soul is often poured out in silence before the Lord, (who knows how to deliver his little ones, who have put their trust in him,) that you may be kept together in one mind and spirit, and have your hearts established with grace [upon Him,] who is the only begotten of the Father. ————Hold fast your confidence in the word of his patience, and in the living hope stand



fast and immovable upon the spiritual Rock, that you may not be shaken: for now the storms, tempests, and floods are come, that the hearer may be known from the doer, and the false from the wise builders. Therefore, let not the upright in heart be troubled, though some shake and fall, and are by the floods swept away; but rather rejoice, in that they which are approved shall be made manifest, and their righteousness which God hath given them, shine forth as the stars of the morning: yea, blessed shall they be that overcome; for they shall be as pillars in God's house, which he is building and will finish of tried and lively stones, that he may dwell in it for ever. Be not discouraged at the raging of the sea, neither dismayed at the tumult of the people: for the Lord your God is with you to deliver you, whether in life or death. O! then, stand wholly given up unto his will; and wait upon Him for strength and patience to lay down your own lives, if nothing but that or the transgression of the law of your God may satisfy them that persecute you; for better is it to fall into the hands of men for transgressing their law, than to fall into the hands of God for wilful transgression of His law: for you know man can only kill the body and no more; but God, after he hath killed the body, hath power to cast into hell. These things I write to remind you of God's power; that you may both trust, fear and love him, whose glory is arising upon you, and shall more abundantly appear in you, whose minds are staid upon him; who in mercy hath called you, and chosen you to follow the Lamb, who shall have the victory. Therefore, fear not to go through any suffering for his name's sake; because he hath the words of eternal life; by him your souls may be everlastingly satisfied and refreshed. And what if God suffer your bodies to be broken, and turned to the ground whence they were taken,—that shall not prevent us from partaking of the glory that shall be revealed. And let not any look out with the wrong eye, to search when shall be the end of these things; for a thousand years with the Lord are but as one day, and his long-suffering is great.—Let all whose minds are turned towards God, keep out of the reasoning, which draws back into self-safety; lest thereby the nobility of your minds be clouded, and the plants choked, whose growth is but little in the Truth: but stand in God's fear, and mind his witness in your consciences, and join not to anything against that, and it will preserve you, though your strength be small.

And, dear brethren, whose portion is larger, remember that more is required of you, and according to your ability improve your talent in strengthening the weak, and considering the

feeble minded; and though you cannot give the oil of your lamps unto the foolish, having need for it all yourselves; yet tell them in time where they may buy it without money or price, that they may be prepared to meet the bridegroom, whose day is at hand. And if there be any amongst you who do not wickedly depart from God, but through weakness or violent temptations are ensnared by the enemy, then you whom God doth preserve and strengthen, reach forth your hands to help out of the jaws of the devourer: then shall the soul that is saved from death bless you, and the Lord will requite you in the day of your need. And see that you be inwardly armed;—for he that goes to war against principalities, powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world in another armour, which he hath not proved to be spiritual, nor hath inwardly received it from God in the light, he shall not overcome. Now all lies at stake; and whosoever doth fly, before the victory be obtained, loseth what he hath wrought, and makes himself a scorn to fools. Therefore let neither death, banishment, peril, sword, hunger or nakedness, neither any other thing, whether present or to come, cause you to fly from the Truth; but in all conditions cleave unto it, and it shall preserve you.

And ye that have of this world's goods, let the bowels of your compassion be open to your poor brethren; and order that which God hath made you stewards of in his wisdom, for their and your own relief, before it become a prey to the spoilers: and let tender love and mercy, as you have received it from the Lord, abound in you one to another. Live in the one Spirit of the Lord, that in it you may have unity and peace with God, and one with another: and bear one another's burdens, and suffer one for another, as Christ suffered for the body's sake, leaving to us an example; which God hath counted me worthy to follow, who am amongst many brethren a sufferer for the testimony of his Truth. Let not your hearts be troubled, but rather encouraged by my bonds, in which I have peace with God; and though I should see your faces no more, I am joined with you in a perpetual covenant, and the remembrance of you is sweet to me. My life saluteth you every one with true inward breathings; that under the shadow of the Almighty ye may be preserved, and by his right hand upheld, until the tempest be over:—that thou, O! Zion, in thy beauty may arise; and the Lord, thy light and glory, be in the midst of thee, as the sun from under a thick cloud;—that men may see Him whom they have pierced, and the desire of nations be towards Him; and the people that dwell therein may walk with us in the light of the Lord;—that blessing and peace

may fill the whole earth, and nation not lift up sword against nation, neither learn war or persecution any more. Amen, Amen!

And you that be at liberty in the outward, give up yourselves to serve the Lord in the morning of life; and visit your brethren that be in bonds for the Lord's sake; so will the Lord take it as done to himself, and give you a reward in the resurrection of the just. And keep your meetings as you see most expedient, in the light of the Lord, and in his fear, out of the fear of man; and be fervent in waiting upon God, that a double portion of his Spirit and power may be upon both sons and daughters, old men and babes;—in whose mouths, O Lord God Almighty! ordain them strength to bring to naught the wisdom of the wise, and to drive backward the counsel of the ungodly; that the fold of thy lambs may be preserved entire: and let thy life and virtue be unto them a fresh pasture, and open thyself amongst them, O thou Fountain of living waters!—that the thirsty amongst thy people may be satisfied; and fill their hearts with thy love, that therewith they may love their enemies;—that thy witness may arise in them, and clear the innocency of thy own people:—for we have fled unto thee for refuge, and can use no other weapon to plead our cause but the words of thy mouth.

JOHN WHITEHEAD.

*Written in the prison house in Aylesbury, the  
2nd of Twelfth month, 1660.*

This to go amongst Friends, to be read when they are met together in the fear of God, with understanding; and likewise to be sent to the prisons, to be read amongst Friends which suffer for Truth's sake. Fail not to communicate it one to another.

[From the Original.]

No. CXXXI.

WILLIAM BENNET TO FRIENDS.

Bury Gaol, Sixth month [Eighth mo.] 1668.

DEARLY beloved Friends, brethren and sisters in the Truth,—you whom the mighty God of power once found as in a desert land, and in a waste howling wilderness, sticking fast in the mire of your own corruption, without help of your own;—and there still had been till this day, had not the Lord God of infinite power, of love and compassion, helped us, in great mercy to our immortal souls: He freely reached forth the strong arm of his salvation to us, who without the help thereof, must have perished in our sins eternally. He brought us out of the horrible pit of ignorance and darkness, of sin and iniquity; and has set our feet

upon the rock of ages, Christ Jesus—the sure foundation, which can never be removed;—praises and glory to our God for ever! who hath freely done much for our souls,—even that work hath he done for us, which we without him, or none besides him, could ever do: he awakened us that were asleep in sin, and quickened us that were dead in trespasses, and raised us up that were buried in the grave of iniquity, and said unto us that were dead—live. He gave light to us that were in darkness, and unto us that were in the region and shadow of death, did his blessed dayspring from on high shine in our habitations;—glory to our God for ever! He hath washed us, cleansed and sanctified us in measure, through his eternal Truth; “His word is Truth,”—which we have felt and known, like to a fire, sword and hammer, working mightily in and upon our hearts, to the mortifying, subduing, and destroying of the power of darkness:—whose day of glad tidings, and of redemption to his seed, and of destruction to his enemies, did burn as an oven; in which the wicked one, and he that did wickedly, was as stubble and straw. We knew a fire kindled in the earth of our hearts, and a great desolation the Lord brought upon us; and then did the tribes of the earth mourn, and our heavens were shaken, and our fig-leaf garments rent, and our nakedness appeared, and nothing of our own was able to cover our shame. O! blessed be the Lord, who stripped us of our own, and made us bare, that he might clothe us with his light. He broke us in pieces, that He by his power might bind us up in the bundle of life; he wounded us, because of sin, by the sword of his righteous judgment, that he might heal us with the medicine of his mercy; and by his light and Spirit he gave us to see the sinfulness of our state, in which we were, when he first found us; under the sense whereof we groaned, desiring deliverance therefrom. He, through the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, hath cleansed us, who were unclean; and hath made us his people, who once were not his people; and hath brought us nigh unto himself, who were afar off. He sought us that were lost, and brought us back again, who were driven from him by the enemy of our souls.

O! dearly beloved ones, what manner of love is this, which the Lord, our tender God, hath manifested to us! whose love and goodness, appeared to us-ward, whilst we were enemies in our minds against him, burthening and oppressing his pure seed in our own hearts. O! dear Friends that the sense of his love, goodness, and mercy, showed to us, may even daily break, melt, and humble our hearts before him; and even be an obligation upon every particular one to engage us and oblige us, to be faithful



and obedient unto the Lord, in our particular places; to walk answerable to his great love, infinite mercy, and rich grace, bestowed upon us. O! the Lord stir up our hearts to watchfulness, and in the light to pray, and to war against the enemy of our souls; and know God's salvation to be as walls and bulwarks to us in the hour of temptation: that when the enemy entices any of us, with the glory, honour, riches, pleasures, and delights, of this world, or with anything below, that would take away our hearts from the Lord and his truth, we may not be overcome by him; but rather overcome him, and his temptations, through the Lord; who will strengthen all those that cleave unto him and diligently wait upon him.

Therefore wait, and rely upon him, thou tender one,—who in the sense of thy own inability, art ready to cry in thy heart to the Lord,—Lord let nothing ever separate me from thee!—O! let nothing steal away my heart from thee!—O! that I may never forget thy love, or be unmindful of thy mercies, or slight thy Truth and people!—Let thy Truth never become an old thing to me; but O! that it may be as near and dear unto me as ever it was! O! Lord, whoever slights thy Truth, and forsakes the assemblies of thy people,—whoever turns to their old lovers, and descends downward toward the earth again, and wheels about on their old centre,—whoever grows wanton and vain, careless and negligent,—whoever grows cold and dead, dry and barren,—Lord, do thou keep me, and preserve me, who without thee am poor, weak, and feeble; and enable me to hold out to the end: for alas! what good will talking of former experiences do to me, and of what I have formerly enjoyed of thee, received of thee, or done or suffered for thee, in that day when my heart was tender, honest, and upright before thee, if I should now forget thee, and let the world again take away my heart from thee,—and the earth again eat up my mind, and bury thy righteous seed; O! then my talking of thee, and of my former experiences and profession of thy way, truth and worship, will stand me in no stead; for if I faint by the way, and turn back again into Egypt, I shall then lose the reward, which they have, that abide to the end. Wherefore, O Lord God Almighty! in a true sense of my own danger, and in a sense of what hath happened to some, whom I once thought might have stood, and retained their integrity, I cry unto thee;—desiring daily to wait upon thee, to feel the supporting, upholding, preserving power of thy grace, to keep me low, meek, and humble, and watchful; that so I may retain my integrity, and hold fast my first love, and be enabled through thy power, to finish my testimony for

thee in faithfulness with joy, to thy glory and praise, O my God! O! this is the frame of the innocent, honest, tender-hearted ones, that love the Lord and his truth more than all. O! that in this frame of mind we all may be kept, saith my soul; which cries,—“Lord, not glory, honour, riches, and pleasure, in this world; but grace, truth, mercy, and peace, unto the end of my days!”

Dearly beloved Friends, unto the Lord I commit you, who right well knoweth how it is with every particular [individual;] unto whom is the cry of my soul for your good, welfare and preservation in his Truth, which never changeth, though some change and turn from it. But Truth is the same, and those that abide therein, are of one heart, of one mind and spirit, and have unity and fellowship therein with the Lord, and one with another; and therein I desire our unity may be continued, and abound more and more; and that which would hinder and break unity in the Truth among brethren, may be wrought out and kept out, through unfeigned love of God in all your hearts: whose love I desire may abound more and more, in and among you; that all those things of a contrary nature, which tend to strife, debate, division, rents, confusion, may be thrown down, and kept under foot, and shut out from among us: that so the love, power, and truth of the Lord, and our unity therein, may flourish over all.

And, dear Friends, keep your meetings in the fear and name of the living God; and be very diligent in waiting upon him in his gifts: give not leave for your minds to wander, and none to give way to drowsiness and sleeping in meetings; for surely, it is even a shame to us that the thing, to wit, sleeping in the assemblies of the saints, should be found among any of us: truly, Friends, the very thing oftentimes greatly burdens the seed of God in the hearts of many of his children:—wherefore, watch and war against it, and wait to feel life in yourselves, to quicken both soul and body, in the work, worship and service of the living God; that a living sacrifice from his own Spirit we may offer unto him. For his worship is a living worship, and performed in and by his living Spirit; in which let us wait diligently upon the Lord, and a preparation we shall witness thereby; and feel and enjoy his presence, and be edified, enlivened, and warmed thereby, though no words be heard amongst us.

So, dear Friends, bear with me, and receive in love this my salutation in love to you, who am one that loveth Zion, and travaileth in spirit for her prosperity. And my dear and tender love is to all those who love the Lord; and my soul reacheth unto the honest and upright in heart, and the remembrance of you dear ones

maketh glad my heart. Though I am confined and separated from you in body, yet, verily, I am often with you in spirit; and then my soul embraceth you, and sympathizes with you in your trials, straits, troubles, and tribulation; all which I desire the Lord God everlasting, may carry you through, and lift up your heads in his name. And the Lord comfort the mourning ones among you, and heal the wounded, and bind up the broken in heart; and lift up the weak hands that hang down, and confirm the feeble knees, and cause the halting to go upright, and leap over all the mountains of the enemy: that those that have lain mourning in the pits of distrust, fears, doubting, carnal reasonings, may mount over all upon the wings of faith, and flow to the goodness of the Lord, and eat of His house and drink of the river of His pleasures, and be satisfied;—and bless, praise, and magnify the Lord in the land of the living.

So the Lord God everlasting be with you, and the Almighty Jehovah defend you;—and the everlasting arm of His power uphold you over all, and carry you through all which you yet may meet with, within or without;—and strengthen the weak and little ones among you. O! Friends, our trials are not yet all over, though we have already waded and travelled through much, in the strength and fear of the Lord. Wherefore, dearly beloved ones, let us watch and pray, and wait daily upon the Lord, to be fitted for trials when they come; and that we may stand in the terrible storm, and be like mount Zion, which can never be moved. Good it is for us to watch, to take heed against wrong security, and getting into a false ease, because it is at present a calm; lest thereby we provoke the Lord to anger, and so induce him to suffer a storm again, before we be aware. O! let us not sin; because grace, mercy, and many benefits from God to us abound; lest the Lord turn his mercies into judgments. O! let us watch, and be sober; and hope to the end,—having grace whereby we may serve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear:—our words being few and savoury, and our lives and conversations blameless and unreprouable; walking as become saints of the Most High God; shining as lights in the life of righteousness, in the midst of a dark, crooked, and perverse generation. And be ye all followers of Christ the light, who is the Captain of our salvation; and walk, as you have those for an example, who fully follow Christ. But follow not the steps of those that walk disorderly, neither have fellowship with them in any unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them; who cause the Truth to suffer, and those that live in it, to be evilly spoken of; who are enemies to the cross of Christ, though professing him

in words: whose god is their belly, whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things, and serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own lusts; whose end is destruction, except they repent. But, dear Friends, let your conversation be in heaven, and yet preach righteousness in the earth; that the Lord may be glorified through us; who hath raised us up a people to live to his honour, and to show forth the praise of Him, who hath called us out of darkness, to walk in his marvellous light.

The God of peace and consolation accompany them, and settle, and stay them upon himself,—and bind them up in his Truth, and cause them to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour; to whom be all glory, praises, and dominion, world without end. Amen.

From your true friend and companion in the patience and tribulation of Jesus, who has you often in his remembrance; and though close shut up in prison, yet his love reacheth to you all, and remains with you. Farewell! dear Friends, farewell!

WILLIAM BENNIT.

*Bury common gaol, the 2nd of Sixth month, [Eighth mo.] 1668.*

No. CXXXII.

STEPHEN CRISP TO BENJAMIN BANGS.

Colchester, 10th of Fourth month [Sixth mo.] 1682.

DEAR B. B.,—My dear love in the Truth salutes thee.——

I was greatly satisfied in my journey, chiefly that I found a life up amongst Friends that can suffer; and I am sure it is that, which will reign and conquer in the end; and thence will be the safety of us all,—to follow our Captain in suffering and tribulation, having an eye to the recompense of reward. For that which can talk and not walk, and can profess and not suffer, is not the heir, nor must be respected as the heir: for all respect shown to that birth, puffeth it up; but the true birth is low in heart. So dear heart, dwell in that which gives a discerning of every sort and kind; that thou may deal out the bread to the children, and the rod to the fool,—for these have their distinct ministry: and every right ministry springs from the gift, and the gift is from God,—the Giver and the gift are perfect: and as long as the minister is ordered in and by His gift, and takes not the ordering of it into his own hands,—his work is perfect, and tends to the glory of the Giver, and the edification of his Church: such carry their reward with them, and show themselves approved in God's sight, and in his people's.

So now, my dear Benjamin Bangs, I love thee,—therefore I write this to thee; heartily praying for thy preservation and prosperity in



the work of the Lord, and shall be glad to hear from thee.

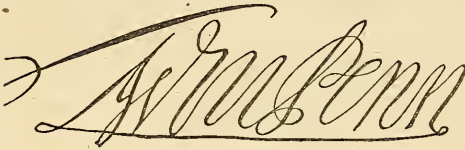
I rest, and remain, thy true and real friend  
and well-wisher, S. C.

[From a Copy.]

No. CXXXIII.

[THE following short essay by William Penn, written out and signed by himself on a plain half-sheet of paper, was probably composed, like his maxims, as a detached reflection:—the Editor has not found it in print.]

He is a wise and a good man too, that knows his original and end; and answers it by a life that is adequate and corresponds therewith. There is no creature fallen so much below this as man; and that will augment his trouble in the day of account,—for he is an accountable creature. I pray God his Maker, to awaken him to a just consideration thereof; that he may find forgiveness of God his Maker and Judge.



No. CXXXIV.

ISAAC PENNINGTON TO HIS CHILDREN.

For my dear children J. J. and M. P.  
10th of Third month [Fifth mo.] 1667.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,

Two things I especially desire in reference to your learning;—one is, that ye may learn to know and hearken to the voice of God's witness in you. There is somewhat in you, which will teach you how to do well, and how to avoid the evil, if your minds be turned to it. And the same thing will witness to you, when ye do well,—and against you, when ye do evil. Now to learn to know this, to hear this, to fear this, to obey this, *that* is the chief piece of learning that I desire to find you in. And your master or any one of the family that turns you to the witness, reminds you of the witness, reproves you for not hearkening to or obeying the witness, O! love them, and bless God for them in that respect: and remember this, that he that hearkens to reproof is wise, but he that hates or slights it is brutish. That is the dark spirit, which would please itself in its dark ways, and therefore loves not the light which makes them manifest and reproves them: and that spirit is the brutish spirit, which hates the reproof of the light, and would continue its vain foolish

ways and delights, which the light testifies against;—that spirit therefore debaseth man. Therefore mind the witness which discovers these things to you, and leads you out of them, as ye hearken to it, and come to know, fear and love the Lord God, by his instruction and testimony. The way of youth is vain, and foolish, and defiles the mind: O! my children, wait for the cleansing,—watch to that which cleanseth the foolish way of children, which is that which discovers and witnesses against your foolishness and vain tempers, and the temptations of your minds, and leads out of them. Learn to bear the yoke in your tender years. There is a vain mind in you—there is somewhat which would be feeding and pleasing that vain mind; and there is somewhat near you, appointed by God to yoke it down. O! give not scope to vanity, it will be an occasion of woe and misery to you hereafter. But the yoke which keeps under the vain mind, O! take that yoke upon you: and then ye shall become not only my children, but the disciples of Christ, and children of the Most High. This is the first thing, which I mainly and chiefly desire you should apply yourselves to learn.

The next thing is, (which will also flow from the first,)—that ye learn how to behave yourselves as good children, both in the family and to persons abroad, in a meek, modest, humble, gentle, loving, tender, respectful way,—avoiding all rude, rough, bold, unbecoming carriage towards all; honouring your mother and me, as God teaches and requires; dearly cleaving to one another in the natural relation, which is of God, wherein ye are loved, [having] even a great proportion of natural affection and kindness one to another:—So to the servants, carry yourselves very lovingly, sweetly, meekly, gently; that none may have any cause of complaint against you, but that all may see your lowliness, and be drawn to love you. And to strangers, carry yourselves warily, respectfully, in a sober, submissive, humble manner of demeanour; not disputing and talking, which becomes not your age and place; but watching what ye may observe of good in them, and what ye may learn of those that are good, and how ye may avoid any such evil, as ye observe in any that are evil. Thus your time will be spent in profit,—and ye will feel the blessing of God and of your parents, and be kept out of those evils, which your age and natural tempers are subject to, and which other children, who are not careful nor watchful, are commonly entangled in. Mind these things, my children, as ye will give an account to God, who through me thus instructs you,—who am your imprisoned father—and have been much grieved when I hear of any ill concerning you,—it being more matter of trouble and sorrow to me, than

my imprisonment, or any thing else I suffer, or can suffer from man.

Your father, who desires your good, and that it may go well with you, both here and hereafter.

I. P.

10th of Third month, 1667.

And remember this one thing, which as a father I admonish you of, and charge you to take notice of and observe, which is this,—that ye do not fly out upon one another, or complain of one another, because of the evils ye observe in one another; but first take notice of that evil in yourselves: if by the true light ye find your own hearts cleansed from it, bless God who hath done it; and keep to his light and the testimony of his witness in you, whereby he did it; and watch that ye be not overtaken in it for the future. But if ye be guilty of the same evil, or have lately done the same thing, or are liable suddenly to do it,—O! for shame! forbear accusing or blaming another: and in the fear of God wait on him, and pray unto him that ye may be delivered from it, and kept out of it. And then in tender pity, love and meekness, admonish thy brother or sister of his or her evil, and watch to be helpful to preserve or restore them; and pray to God to direct thee how to be helpful to them. But that is the bad spirit and nature, (which God will sharply punish,) that is ready to accuse others: and though it be never so bad and guilty, yet will be excusing itself, and laying the fault upon others, or remembering some other fault of another, when it should be sensible of and ashamed of its own.

Dear children, if ye bend your minds to learn these things, the Lord will help you therein, and become your teacher, guide and preserver, and pour down his blessings upon you; and ye will be a comfort to me and your mother, and an honour to his Truth; and He also may give me wise fatherly instructions to teach you further. But if ye be careless, foolish, vain, following your own minds, and what riseth up there from the wicked one, ye will grieve my heart, and provoke God against you, to bring evil upon you, both in this world and for ever.

Therefore, children, mind that which is near you—the light of God, which discovers the evil and the good. His witness, which observes all ye do, is near you: yea, he himself is in that light, and with that witness. Therefore, know, ye are in his presence at all times; who is an holy and just God, hating that which is vain and evil, and loving that which is good and right before him: and hath appointed a day and set a time, wherein he will either reward you with peace, joy, and eternal happiness, if ye have been good, and done that which is good; or with misery, destruction, and unsufferable

pain both of soul and body, if ye have been evil, and done that which is evil. And God takes notice how many instructions ye have heard from Friends in Truth, and from your parents; and how many meetings ye have been at, wherein ye have been taught and warned of these things: so that if ye turn your back upon his light, and will not hear its reproofs, but will be vain, and idle, and foolish, and rash, and quarrelling, and doing that which is naught, and then covering it with lies, and so be as bad, if not worse, than children who were never thus taught and instructed,—God will be exceedingly angry with you; and may in his just judgment and sore displeasure, separate you from his light, give you up to the black, dark spirit, (from whom all this wickedness is,) to sow in sin here, and to suffer the flames of eternal fire hereafter;—which is his reward, and the reward of all who are persuaded by him to be of his nature, and who hearken to him, and let him work through them.

O! my children, mind the Truth of God in you; and that will let you see and understand the truth of what I now write,—and in what fatherly love and tender care of you, I write these things; that ye might be warned of the great danger of neglecting the time of your visitation by God's light and witness in you, and of going on in the evil ways of the dark crooked spirit, who will be tempting you to evil and hindering you from God, as long as ye hearken to him. Therefore, be not fools, to be led by him to destruction, in the evil way and evil works, which lead thereto; but be wise to hearken to the light, and follow it, out of that which is evil, into every thing that is good,—to the salvation of your souls.\*

I desire that Friends in the family, watch over them in these respects; and when they find just occasion, to put them in mind of any of these things, in the fear and wisdom of God, with tenderness and gentleness, that they may reach the witness; but to take heed of upbraiding them, or aggravating any thing, lest they be thereby hardened, and the bad raised and strengthened in them. And, my dear G.\* and Friends, watch over your hearts and ways, that ye may be as examples to them; that they may not only read these things from my writing, but in your carriage towards them, and one towards another; that they meet with nothing to strengthen or raise up the bad thing, but to reach the witness, and bring and keep down the evil in them. So the Lord bless your watchfulness, care, and endeavours therein; that I may hear good of them, and be comforted in the mercy and kindness of the Lord towards them.

\* Doubtless his daughter in-law, Gulielma, afterwards the wife of William Penn.



## No. CXXXV.

*Christian Discipline, or certain good and wholesome Orders, for the well governing of my family in a right Christian Conversation, as becometh the Children of the light and Truth of the Most High God. Divided into Two Parts. By William Penn.*

"Now, therefore, fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in truth; and put away the gods which your fathers served beyond the flood and in Egypt, and serve the Lord: and if it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served, that were beyond the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."

1.—As it becometh us, to whom is made known the only wise, invisible and omnipotent God, and that heavenly, spiritual worship, which only pleaseth Him,—always to retain Him in our knowledge with all due fear, godly reverence and sincere obedience; so more especially it is my appointment in the heavenly authority, as a Christian master of my family, that all in it, and of it, who profess the Truth with me, do meet and assemble every morning, with all humility and godly fear, to wait upon the Almighty God or Creator, and to receive and enjoy his living mercies and refreshing presence: that, being sanctified by Him, we may hallow His name, and return the praise which is due to him from men and angels for ever.

2.—That every day about the eleventh hour, (unless diverted by extraordinary occasions, which is also intended and excepted of every time herein appointed,) all come together again; and every one in his turn, read either the Scriptures of Truth or some martyrology.

3.—That the same practice be observed about the sixth hour in the evening; to the end, that we may be stirred up to abhor the actions of evil doers, and to embrace and follow the example of patience, zeal, holiness and constancy in the righteous, who only were and are of the flock and family of God.

4.—That those days which are appointed to meet publicly to worship God upon, none on any pretence (being in health, and not unavoidably engaged to the contrary) neglect going to such meetings;—but that they constantly and timely attend and frequent the same as becometh a family fearing the Lord, and that is zealous for his living Truth.

5.—That there be a watch kept over every mind, so as that it may not err from the counsel of God, and the weighty government of his

holy truth, in whatsoever it is exercised about; lest darkness and deadness come over it, and the evil one enter, to sow all manner of evil seeds, as strife, envy, evil watchings, levity, pride, and such like: the latter end of such is worse than their beginning.

6.—That every one keep out of unsavoury words, and that provoke to lightness, and which load the righteous witness in themselves and others.

7.—That none call each other bad names, nor give themselves to wrath or railing; but if any thing of distance should happen, let none sleep upon it, nor the sun go down upon his or her wrath; but confess to each other, and seek peace and pursue it, for it is well pleasing to God.

8.—That though every one may have appointed a particular service, yet that all so live in the life of Christ Jesus, who washed his disciples feet, as to be ready and willing to assist each other,—for that becometh brethren and fellow servants.

9.—That all drunkenness, lasciviousness, lying, defrauding, emulations, variance, back-biting, tale-bearing, swearing, cursing, taking the name of God or Christ in vain, pride, stubbornness, flattery, slothfulness, falseness, eye-service, or such like fruits of darkness, be not so much as named amongst you; for you well know that those who do such things cannot inherit the kingdom of God; and I would have you know and be assured that, after due reproof, such shall not continue in my family.

10.—And as it becometh a Christian master and mistress to require nothing from servants that is not according to the righteous Truth of God, so they are keeping in their place, [when they require] that you all make it solemn matter of conscience before the Lord, to be upright, faithful and diligent towards them;—not slighting them, because they are your brethren.

As I have so far acquitted my conscience, in expressing what was enjoined me of the Lord, to require from my family about those things which particularly relate to God's holy worship, and their Christian duty and conversation,—so it is my desire to declare my mind in matters, though of lesser nature, yet necessary for the civil discipline of my family:—and that now follows, as proper to the second division or table of order.

1.—That the family rise every morning, from the first of the First month, till the first of the Third month, about the sixth hour in the morning; and from the first of the Third month, to the first of the Seventh, about the fifth hour in the morning; and from the first of the Seventh to the first of the Ninth month, about the sixth hour; and from the Ninth to the first of

the First month, about the seventh hour in the morning.

2.—That all come to breakfast about the ninth hour; that all come to dinner about the twelfth hour; that all come to supper about the seventh hour.

3.—That every one take it in their proper turns to knock or ring up all the rest, according to the several appointed times, in their respective seasons, whether to religious exercises, or meals, as they shall be ordered.

4.—That every servant, after supper, come and render to their master and mistress an account of what hath been done the same day, and receive respective instructions for the ensuing day.

5.—That every one in their turn, take care that all gates and doors, be locked and bolted, and all fires and candles extinguished before they go to bed; and that the men's care be in what belongs to the men, and the maids in what belongs to them.

6.—That all retire to bed about the tenth hour at night.

7.—And for preventing of all disorderly and troublesome noise in the family, it is enjoined upon all, to forbear loud discourses, and to go to the persons they have business with,—and

not to bawl and loudly call after them, it being both offensive and unseemly.

8.—That none go to any inn or other public-house in the town, but on business first known, and leave given.

9.—That none take the liberty of absenting themselves on any pretence, without leave first granted them, provided either master or mistress be at home, or such one as by them shall be appointed to oversee the family; and that the concerns thereof, or of one another, be not divulged abroad, or made matter of public discourse.

10.—That when any one is sent of errands, they make no delay, neither enter into unprofitable talk; but despatch the business they are employed about, whether errands or otherwise, according to their respective orders and instructions: that all may be done, not with eye-service, but as fearing the Lord, and making conscience of discharging their several trusts.

And,—“Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things;” and the God of peace be with us.

WILLIAM PENN.

## MEMOIRS OF ELIZABETH COLLINS,

OF UPPER EVESHAM, NEW JERSEY:

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

### INTRODUCTION.

THESE brief memoirs of our late beloved friend, appear to have been penned for the benefit of her connexions, and without expecting, that they would be made public. She did not possess the advantages of even a good common school education; her language is simple, and though the narrative does not furnish incidents of a very extraordinary character, yet some of her friends, who had an intimate knowledge of her, and thence highly esteemed her, believed the publication would be acceptable, as well as instructive, to the members of her own Society. Subjected to the exposure, attendant on procuring a livelihood, at an early period of life, the

preservation she witnessed, is a testimony to the kindness and protection, of the Father of the fatherless. To those who are deprived of many advantages which others possess in abundance, it furnishes an incitement to seek an acquaintance with Him who can amply compensate for all their privations. From this class, persons eminent for their wisdom and piety, have frequently risen; and in our own religious community, some of the most serviceable men and women, in the various stations of the Church, have had to contend with peculiar difficulties in childhood, arising from untoward circumstances.

By her own account, filial affection and submission to the requisitions of her surviving pa-



rent, were felt to be imperative duties, as well as a strict compliance with the testimonies of the Society, in dress and address, and the steady attendance of meetings for divine worship. Her growth in the work of religion, was the fruit of resignation to the Spirit of Christ, in her own heart, which often drew her into retirement; and the qualification to preach his gospel, a gift for which work was committed to her, is referred to the ability he gives, in the renewed openings of the same spirit. In addition to the cloud of witnesses that have gone before, her simple narrative exhibits some of the events in the life of another, who through the obedience of faith exercised under many bodily infirmities, was frequently employed in active religious duty, and

became an example in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, and in purity.

May the rising generation, be incited by the dedication of the faithful servants of Christ, to follow their footsteps, in the path of daily self-denial. Walking in this path, conformably to the will of God inwardly revealed, they will be redeemed from the power of their corrupt propensities, and inherit substantial peace, which surpasses all the fleeting gratifications of time, and is a foretaste of those joys, which are incorruptible, and undefiled. It is this path, the holy ancients ever trod to blessedness, in opposition to the sneers of the unbeliever, the scoffings of the hypocrite, and the laugh of a vain and deluded world.

## MEMOIRS OF ELIZABETH COLLINS.

It has been repeatedly revived in my mind, to leave some hints of the gracious dealings of the Lord my Creator with me from my youth. I was born the 4th of the first month, 1755, of religious parents, Joshua and Naomi Ballinger. My father died when I was little more than six years of age, leaving my mother with six small children, and not an abundance of this world's treasures, to bring us up with. It was my lot to live out from home, and I had some trying seasons to pass through, both in body and mind, but my gracious Helper was near in those my young days, though like Samuel, I knew not who He was. Lodging alone, I had a full opportunity to pour out my tears and to make my means undiscovered but by Him who searcheth all hearts; blessed be his name, his supporting arm was underneath.

Before I was twelve years old, my bodily weakness increased, so that I was obliged to go home to my mother, where I lived until more than fifteen, under the care of an affectionate parent, who watched over me for good, and kept me steadily to religious meetings, which was of use to me, and is the duty of all parents, and those who have the care of youth.

In the fourth month, 1770, I went an apprentice; where I was much exposed, and met with many difficulties, but the invisible arm of divine love and mercy, was near for my preservation; blessed be the great name of Israel's God, who alone preserved me from utter ruin; in the remembrance thereof, my soul can but bless, praise and magnify his ever worthy name. Although I took some delight in company and light conversation, yet I had often to retire, and pour out my tears before Him who seeth in se-

cret, and who had, in mercy, visited my soul, and given me in measure to see the vanity of youthful pastimes, that I had too much delighted in. The time of my greatest indulgence in this way, was before I arrived at the age of fifteen years, and through mercy I was so preserved, that I do not remember ever to have expressed a bad word in my life, or scarcely ever told an untruth, or said you to a single person: when I did, I was sure to meet with the reprover. I was mostly attentive and obedient to my dear mother, but on one occasion, when going to attend a marriage, I was informed she should expect me to return in the evening, and requested me not to remain out late, to which I replied, I thought I should not; but being over persuaded by my companions, I staid until near midnight, spending the time in lightness and vanity, for which I was closely reproved, even in the midst of folly. I verily thought I felt as if a fire was already kindled in my breast, so great was my condemnation at that time; and I have often admired that children could act so contrary to the will of their tender parents. This I think was the greatest instance of disobedience to my mother, that I was ever guilty of. After the expiration of my apprenticeship, I attended meetings as steadily as my situation would admit, being obliged to go from house to house, to work at my trade, in the course of which I met with many trials, being much exposed to company.

About the eighteenth year of my age, I entered into the marriage covenant with John Mason, of Evesham, who was a truly affectionate husband to me; few I believe ever lived together in greater harmony and love than we did. But He

who I believe brought us together, saw meet to separate us, in a little more than four years. A short time before he expired, in a very affectionate manner, he said to me, "Well, my dear, I think we have nearly fulfilled our marriage covenant, and shall have nothing to answer for upon that account;" the remembrance of which, has afforded comfort and satisfaction to my mind at times ever since. He also expressed, that he saw nothing in his way, and believed he should go to rest.

Being now left a poor disconsolate widow with two small children, I was ready to conclude, that no one's trials could exceed mine; but the Lord, in mercy, was near to support and bear up through all, that I did not sink below hope, though often brought very low both in body and mind, in which seasons I wrote the following. My heart seemeth somewhat humbled within me, and my desire is that I may be preserved as in the hollow of the Lord's mighty hand, who am a poor unworthy creature; but he is wonderful in goodness; he hath spared, pitied, and showed mercy, that I am not cast off and quite lost. O that I may ever look to Him, who is as a strong tower to the faithful, against the mighty; that I may ever walk worthy of the Lord's notice, that he may become a father and a husband to me. O Lord, may I enjoy thy presence, or else my time is lost, and my life a snare to my soul!

O! that my head were as waters, and mine eyes as a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, until acquainted with my God. Oh, that I may receive bread from thy table, and that thy grace may abound in me. May we all turn to the Lord as with one heart, and he will do wonderful things for us, if we seek him aright. Oh that we were wise, and fervently concerned, to seek the accomplishment of this great and necessary work in us, that we may be found in a state of preparation for that awful moment, when the dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit unto God who gave it; then may we hope, that when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, we also shall appear with him in glory.

I also felt great yearnings of heart towards my fellow creatures, and much tenderness and compassion for the brute creation, believing they were lent to us for our use, and not for our abusing.

A short time after the death of my dear husband, I had a severe attack of disease, in which I had no prospect of recovering, nor any desire, but was quite resigned to the divine will; desiring that if He saw meet to raise me again, it might be for some good end; in the remembrance of which season, I feel breathings of soul, that I may be so attentive to the pointings of Truth, and so obedient to my dear Lord and

Master, as to answer this great end. Gracious and holy Father, may it please thee to strengthen my feeble endeavours, and more and more wean me from every thing that obstructs the growth of thy pure Truth.

In the year 1778, I joined in marriage covenant with Job Collins, of Evesham. Now, settling in a new neighbourhood, I kept close to meetings, as I had done before, and sometimes spake to business in meetings for discipline.

In the twenty-fourth year of her age, she gave up to more public labour, believing it required of her to appear as a minister in our religious assemblies. Respecting the state of her mind in entering upon this new and important work, she says, My mouth being thus opened, I was ready to conclude I should be more steadily favoured, and not experience such deep exercise as I had passed through, but was disappointed; for although I had great peace, in giving up to speak a few words in meetings when required, yet I often had to experience close baptisms; such stripping seasons, that I have been ready to call all in question, and conclude that I have been misled, and that it was not required of me to speak in public. But my great and good Master, who saw my distress, suffered me not to sink, but condescended in mercy to favour at seasons, with the lifting up of the light of his glorious countenance, whereby my poor drooping spirit was raised and comforted.

My friends showed great kindness and sympathy towards me. I was often appointed to services in the Church, in which part of the labour in Society I have had a considerable share, sometimes in visiting families. In the first place, I joined a committee of our monthly meeting in visiting those who stood foremost in the meeting; afterwards, in 1784, I joined our ancient friend Isaac Zane and others in visiting the families of Chester meeting. This was a time of favour to many, and more especially to some of the inhabitants of Moorestown; but if these seasons are not improved, they will add to our condemnation, and if those who are called, refuse to be gathered, they will be left and others be called in. It was a considerable trial to me to give up to this service, having a young child about four months old, and weakly, but my friends' kindness towards me was very great in taking care and making way for me.

After this I staid much at home, and had many hard spells of sickness, through which I was mostly preserved in patience and resignation to the divine will; and was at times so favoured with the incomes of love and peace, that I could say it is enough, and dare not desire my situation altered. I steadily attended meetings when of ability, and cannot find any thing short of sickness, or the care of young children



a sufficient excuse to stay from them. I was sometimes admitted to the divine fountain therein, but often had to sit as with my mouth sealed or in the dust, under a deep exercise and inward travail of spirit. This has been increased on my part, for want of more faithfulness; for often when things have been presented to my mind to offer, I have given way to reasoning and a fear of being deceived, or getting before my true guide, so that I have lingered too much behind; and thereby brought great darkness, poverty, and distress over my mind. But my great and good Master, who knew my heart, and that it was not stubbornness or wilful disobedience, but a fear of missing my way, in mercy looked upon my weakness, and again admitted me into favour with him. I may here note, that sitting in a meeting at home under exercise, a few words presented to express, but for want of attending singly to the opening, I gave way to reasoning and putting off, which has too often been the case, until the meeting was nearly over; when this language was intelligibly spoken to my inward ear, if thou art not more faithful, thy gift shall be taken from thee. The language was awful; I was brought to see the deplorable situation I should be left in, if after receiving so precious a gift, I should neglect to improve it, and it should be taken away, and I left poor and distressed. I was led to cry for mercy and for strength to be more faithful; and in fear and trembling, I arose and expressed what was before me.

I had many deep and close exercises to pass through, which nothing short of the divine arm of Omnipotence, could have supported through; about which time I wrote as follows. Unto thee, O thou Searcher of hearts, I commit myself. O Lord search me, and try me; if there be iniquity in me, do thou it away. Let not thy blessed hand spare, nor thy holy eye pity until thou hast brought judgment into victory—until thou hast made of me what thou pleasest, for thou knowest for what cause I am thus tried. O Lord be pleased to visit my dear children, now in their young and tender years; turn their hearts unto thee, and one unto another. Be graciously pleased to enable me to keep my place and authority over them, in thy truth. Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me—a right disposition of mind, to bear all things that may fall to my lot, for the trial of my faith and love unto thee, O thou beloved of my soul.

In the third month, 1790, I visited the families of Friends and others who make profession with us in the neighbourhood of Mullicahill—attended the select preparative and the monthly meetings of Haddonfield and Woodbury—was at the week-day meeting of Upper Greenwich,

and that on first-day at Pilesgrove. We were favoured to get through our visit, and returned home in less than two weeks, having experienced holy help and divine counsel to be near, and believe it was a fresh visitation to many. It was no small trial to leave home at this time, having several small children, but was favoured to get where I could leave them to the care of Him, who is the great care-taker of his people. In the winter following, I joined a friend from Pennsylvania in visiting the families of Friends and many others, belonging to Evesham, and of those of the upper meeting. This visit was attended with difficulty and deep exercises, both of body and mind, but I was favoured to get through to satisfaction.

Soon after, I was taken with a hard spell of sickness, wherein I was brought very low, and had no prospect of getting well, but was much resigned to Him, whose right it was to dispose of me as he saw best, who was pleased to continue me here sometime longer. O may I be industrious to improve the few days allotted me, as also those talents committed to me for improvement.

In the fifth month, 1791, I joined several friends in visiting the families of Cape May and Great Egg-Harbour monthly meetings, which we were favoured to perform to the peace and satisfaction of our own minds; then attended our quarterly meeting at Salem; returned home and found all well. I may here note, that before I left home, being under a deep exercise of mind, having another little journey in prospect, I was desirous of putting this off some time longer, when this language was intelligibly communicated to my mind; thy day is but short, thou hadst need to be industrious. This intimation, I think, has been of use to me, as it has often revived, and at times raised a desire, that I might press through all, and endeavour to do my day's work in the day time; that I might be favoured in the evening, the end and conclusion, with the answer of, Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord, which is far more desirable than the increase of outward treasure.

In the tenth month, I set out with the unity of my friends, in company with W. Rogers and Rebecca Cowperthwait, to visit the meetings that constitute Shrewsbury and Rahway monthly meetings. We attended the general or yearly meeting, which began on seventh-day with a meeting of ministers and elders, and concluded on third-day. It was thought this was a solid meeting. We then proceeded to Squan, Squancum, Rahway and Plainfield. After the latter, we attempted to return homeward, but not feeling easy to proceed, turned back and went up the mountain to a little meeting called Mendham, which proved a memorable

one, and concluded in humble thanksgiving and praise unto Israel's Shepherd, who is worthy forever. Returned home with a peaceful mind. It was through great difficulty I left it, under many discouragements; in part from a sense of my own unworthiness, and inability to do any good thing, and a fear of missing my way, and so bringing dishonour upon the blessed Truth, which I have at times felt nearer to me than my natural life. This language was mercifully revived, which greatly strengthened my poor drooping mind, "a little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation."

In the ninth month, 1793, I attended the yearly meeting in the time of the sickness, called the yellow fever. I left home to be at our select and quarterly meetings, with an humbled mind, having a prospect of proceeding to the yearly meeting. The select meeting was in measure owned by the Great Master, and was a solid time, more especially in the appointment of representatives: those who felt their minds engaged to attend, were desired to give up their names, which number was small; the quarterly meeting held next day, was also a solid meeting, no other Friends being appointed representative, but those named at the preceding. On seventh-day crossed the river, and attended the select yearly meeting, which was a good one, our hearts being bowed in thankfulness to the Father of all our mercies. First-day attended Newtown meeting to good satisfaction. Hearing some very discouraging accounts, I felt great weakness and stripping, yea, leanness of spirit, and my faith seemed taken from me. Before I left home, my great and good Master had condescended to inform me, that if I would go and keep my place, my life should be given me for a prey, and that according to my faith, so should it be unto me. I spent the night without sleep till near day, when my faith again revived, and I got some sleep—awoke with thankfulness of heart to the great Author of all good.

Second-day morning, crossed the river with bowedness of spirit, and attended the forenoon meeting, which was a solid time. The representatives being called, but few answered to their names; from three Quarters, not one. In the afternoon the epistles were read, and an appointment made to answer them, of which number I was one; this brought great weight and exercise over my mind. Third-day morning at eight o'clock, went to select meeting, which proved a solid season, wherein our hearts were bowed in humble thankfulness before the Lord, for his abundant mercies bestowed upon us. At three in the afternoon, Friends met, and some of the epistles were read, and with a little correction approved; this was a com-

fortable meeting, several living testimonies being borne, to the humbling of our hearts together, into contrition and holy fear. Fourth-day morning Friends met, and the other epistles were read and approved, also some memorials of deceased Friends, tending to incite to faithfulness, which caused me to look over and consider my past life, and see wherein I could have done much better. May I be incited to improve thereby! In the afternoon was the parting meeting; a highly favoured season, but little business; we were favoured to part in that near fellowship that is not to be expressed. O may we be thankful therefor, to the great Author of all good.

This is a solemn time in this city, wherein many houses great and fair are left without inhabitants, many faces gather paleness, and many hearts are filled with sadness. Many I believe, as was formerly recommended, are getting as between the porch and the altar, crying, "Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach." I have entered this city and remained in it without fear, except the fear of the Lord, which at times fills the hearts of his humble dependent children. May I be truly thankful for this and every other mercy! Next day attended Haddonfield meeting, which was comfortable, and the day following returned home under an humbling sense of divine regard, having to remember those expressions of Jacob, "With my staff I passed over this Jordan; and now I am become two bands." I had nothing but the staff of faith to lean upon, and now in my return, I have to experience a good degree of holy quiet and the incomes of sweet peace, which is more to the immortal soul, than all that this world can afford. O may it be more and more prized, and sought after by me, is the desire of my heart. In looking over the above remarks, my soul doth bless, praise, and magnify that holy hand and arm, which preserved his children unhurt even in the flames, whose power is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

After this I was much confined at home, with the care of young children, one of whom was very weakly. One day as I was nursing, feeling my mind more than commonly calm and quiet, and desirous that I might do my duty faithfully, and be resigned to the divine will, this language was intelligibly spoken to my understanding, "there will be a great sacrifice required of thee." This intimation, I have thought, was a singular favour from divine kindness, in preparing my mind to meet those trials I had to pass through, in about two months after, in burying three of my children. I may with gratitude observe, that as I was sitting by the second that departed, and saw her breathe her last, which proved a trial to me, as



we had buried one the day before, this language was uttered in my inward ear. "Just entering that city whose walls are salvation, and her gates-praise."—This so quieted my mind, that I could say, "it is enough, it is enough, thy will, O Father, be done." The other weakly child continued three weeks and one day after, when she quietly departed like one falling into a sweet sleep.

In the second month, 1796, I acquainted my friends with a concern that had rested on my mind, to visit the families of such as had been disowned from amongst us, with which they united, and Martha Allinson joined me therein. We were accompanied by two men Friends, and were much united in the bond of gospel fellowship. We visited about eighty families of this description; in some we were much favoured with the overshadowing of divine regard, wherein counsel was freely administered, to the humbling of our hearts together. It was through great weakness of body, and oft-times discouragement of mind, that I performed this visit, but was enabled to get through to satisfaction, and believe it was a visitation of divine love to many.

In the seventh month, going to a week-day meeting, under an unusual exercise, it proved a memorable meeting to me, wherein my mind was greatly humbled, under a sense of the goodness of the Lord towards me from my youth. It then presented to my mind, that it would be best for me to leave some remarks of the Lord's dealings with me, for the instruction of my dear children; and many things presented that had not been remembered for some years. That night, as I lay in bed meditating on the goodness of the Lord to my soul, the message that the prophet delivered to king Hezekiah was revived; "Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live." This language was awful, yet it did not terrify me, though I much expected it was in order to prepare for my final change.

I have been much reduced, and centered in nothingness of self, a suitable situation to receive the wine of the kingdom; and through mercy, I have had to partake of the incomes of holy good, in a larger degree than ever before, for so long together, and have been ready to conclude that perhaps my warfare is nearly accomplished; but whether or not, my greatest desire is, that I may be fully given up. The world and the things of it, have been sunk into such nothingness, that I have not a name importing little enough to call them by, comparable to the joys of eternity, that I have had a prospect of. Center then O my soul, more and more, within the enclosure of the walls of its salvation.

COPY OF A LETTER TO A FRIEND, DATED  
NINTH MONTH, 1796.

DEAR FRIEND,—So I can in truth address thee, for such has been the feeling of my mind towards thee of late; yea, great has been my desire, that thou may not be found wanting, when weighed in the balance of divine justice, a season we must all meet with—wanting in any part of thy duty to God thy Creator—wanting in love, faith and obedience, or in example in attending religious meetings. This, my friend, I may acknowledge, is the point I am the most concerned about, as it is our reasonable duty to assemble together, in order to worship our great Creator, and what the apostle earnestly recommends, I think in these words; "I beseech you brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service:" and in another place he exhorts them, not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is; that we find there were some in that day in the neglect of their duty. I can truly say, it has been a comfort to me, when I have seen thee at our meetings, and do wish to encourage thee in thy duty; and oft-times when thinking of thee, the language of Martha to her sister Mary, has presented to my mind, with a little variation. Hers was, the Master is come and calleth for thee; mine to thee is, come, for the Master calleth for thee. Come, attend religious meetings; give up thy whole heart to serve so good a master, as the Lord of life and glory, who is a rich rewarder of all them that give up in faithfulness and true obedience. This is the language of Truth. But the enemy of all good, will endeavour to keep us back, by persuading us that there is no need of so much circumspection and care—that we can be as good at home; and others who attend meetings, miss it in this and the other thing; and so discover to us the mote that is in our brother's eye, and doth not let us see the beam that is in our own, our misses and neglects. Perhaps this has been the reasoning of thy mind at seasons. If so, dear friend, my desire is that thou may no longer reason with flesh and blood, but give up to the heavenly vision. Give up in faithfulness to the pointings of truth in thy own heart; follow thou in true obedience the Captain of thy soul's salvation, who will lead thee in the way of safety, and in the end give thee an admittance into the mansions of rest and peace, which are prepared for the righteous only: that this may be thy happy experience is what my spirit breathes for.

From thy well wishing friend,

ELIZABETH COLLINS.

In the ninth month, I attended our select and quarterly meetings, which in the main were solid, although some deep and painful exercises were passed through. Then attended the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, which was large; wherein many weighty matters were feelingly and pertinently spoken to, and nothing more fully than that of love and unity, the badge of true discipleship; the want of which, I believe, is a great loss and hurt to many. This subject brought great weight and exercise over the meeting, and over me as an individual. Great was my desire for Friends in general, and more for our particular meeting, but especially my dear offspring, that they might be more and more partakers of that love and unity, that becomes and distinguishes Christ's followers; that they may not only be his by creation, but by redemption also: for God is love, and they that dwell in him, dwell in love. Many other matters claimed the care of Society; as that of the superfluity of the hair and head dress, and the unnecessary long trails to their gowns, that many of the youth wore. But we were favoured with the company of many amongst the youth whom the Lord had visited; has prepared and is preparing for his work and service, who afford a comfortable prospect of a succession in the Church. I was favoured to attend all the sittings of this meeting but the last, of which I was prevented, by returning home before it was over. This I have thought was a loss, and wish to encourage all that give up to attend those large and solemn meetings, as we know not which one may be the best, to stay them out; for oft-times the best wine is kept until the last, and as Friends keep in the patience, they are made partakers of that, which enables them to gather up the fragments, and carry home that which will prove as bread to them to live upon many days.

Tenth month. Thou, most holy and righteous Lord, art more and more weaning me from the pleasant things of this world; perfect thy work to thine own praise. Let not thy hand spare nor thine eye pity, until thou hast perfected thy intended purpose; until thou hast made of me what thou pleasest. Thou only knowest what food is most convenient for me. Be pleased, in mercy, to mete out the dispensations of thy providence, in a way and manner that may tend to the firm establishment of my faith in thee, O thou immovable Rock.

In looking over my life, even from the days of my youth, I have to admire the many preservations, gracious dealings, tender mercies, and loving kindnesses of the Lord, my bountiful Creator, towards me, a poor unworthy creature. My soul doth bless, praise, and magnify his great and ever worthy name, and can with some degree of propriety adopt the language of

Jacob, when he blessed Joseph and said; "God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac."

But we cannot suppose, that to be called the children of Abraham, or of believing parents, will do any thing for us. We may remember that our dear Lord and Saviour told some in that day, that to be the children of Abraham, was to do the works of Abraham; that it is not a name, or a profession, but a possession of the Truth, that will do.

Oh! may the Lord, in mercy, so visit and so open the understandings of my dear children, as not only to see the beauty of the Truth, but to join in with, and receive it in the love of it. So wiseth, and so prayeth, your truly exercised and deeply concerned mother.

A singular instance of the love and mercy of Almighty God, as also of his just judgment, in the case of a young man, happened in my early life. He lived at a public house, and was one who took great delight in company, vanity and horse racing. One day, as he and one of his companions were running horses, at the end of the race ground he was dashed with great violence against a tree, the horse taking the opposite side from that he expected to go, which brought his head directly against the tree. He was taken up, and carried into a house for dead. A doctor was sent for, who gave no encouragement of his recovery; but after a time he revived and in a few days recovered his understanding. Oh! the distress and anguish he was then in, having no other prospect, but shortly to be summoned before an offended God, to receive the sentence, "depart from me thou worker of iniquity." Bitter were his moans, sore his lamentations, and fervent his cries for mercy. I went to see him in his distress, when it was not in the power of man to relieve him. His petitions were for mercy and for time; he asked only for one year that he might live a new life, be an example and warning to his companions, and honour and glorify God his Creator. The Lord in mercy heard his petition, and in great condescension granted his request, even to a miracle, as it was thought impossible for him to be raised, and gave him not only one year, but several. For a time he lived a sober, watchful, and orderly life, but for want of breaking off from his old companions, and living a more retired life, he at length, fell by little and little, away, and got into the same paths of folly and dissipation. He was not, however, suffered to go on long in this way, for one evening as he was riding with several of his companions, one



of whom he expected to be joined to in marriage in a few days, his horse without any fright that they could discover, ran off; threw him in the road and killed him. I was told he never drew breath after they reached him, that they could discover. This event happened in the evening, after spending the first-day afternoon in lightness and vanity.

Oh! may the rising youth, and all others, be warned to beware of spending the first-day, in an unprofitable and light manner, and also of breaking their covenants, which they have made with God Almighty. As this solemn instance of divine mercy and justice, has from time to time been revived in my remembrance, I have thought it best to commit it to writing, as a caution and warning to my dear children, to beware of loose and unprofitable company, and of breaking their covenants; for the Lord our God is a covenant keeping God; he keepeth covenant and sheweth mercy unto thousands of them that love him and keep his commandments: but he is not to be trifled with. He is just and equal in all his dealings with the children of men. Oh! may I not say, and that from living experience, that great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are all thy ways, thou King of saints.

In the third month, 1797, I attended Newtown meeting on a first-day, which was a deeply exercising season in the forepart, but after deep wading, truth arose and the meeting ended to satisfaction. Second-day, attended Haddonfield select and monthly meetings, which were solid and instructive; then returned home with peace of mind. I also attended our select and quarterly meetings, which were favoured with the divine presence, and the spring meeting at Philadelphia, which was a solid and deeply instructive season, wherein many close and weighty remarks were made, tending to stir up to more faithfulness, and inward attention to the great Lord and Lawgiver. On my way home next day, stopped at Moorestown meeting, which was a quiet sitting, and in the evening reached my habitation and found all well. May living praise and thanksgiving be rendered to the great Shepherd of Israel, who maketh way for his depending children, even where there seemeth to be none.

I was prevented this season from attending the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, which was a solemn time, the city being again visited with the yellow fever, which removed many from works to rewards. Thus the Almighty is visiting and revisiting, both in mercy and in judgment, and from time to time threatening and shaking his rod over our land, in order to humble and bring us to a sense of our duty to Him, the great Giver of all good.

Feeling the revival of a concern that had for a considerable time rested with me, to visit Friends at Maurice River, the Egg Harbours, along the shore to Shrewsbury, and the upper part of New Jersey, I laid the same before Friends in our monthly meeting in the third month, 1798, and obtained their unity and certificate. I left home the 8th of the fourth month, and after attending our first-day meeting, which was a favoured season, parted with my Friends and family in much affection. We set out next morning for Maurice River, and had meetings there, at Dividing Creek, Cape May, Mays Landing, Great Egg Harbour, two among people of other societies, one at Batsto, at Bass River, and Barnegat; in these meetings ability was given to labour, and Truth arose into dominion in a good degree; blessed be the name of the Lord forever. Reached Squantum much fatigued, having rode forty miles and attended a meeting. We were at the meeting here, which was small and laborious, also Squan and Shrewsbury; in the latter, Truth at length arose and ability was given to labour, wherein the honest hearted were comforted, the lukewarm aroused, and the dear youth cautioned and warned to flee from the evil of their ways, [such as] bad company, sabbath-breaking, &c., and invited to come and enlist under Christ the captain of their soul's salvation. I had great peace, and was thankful in heart, that ability was given to labour to the relief of my mind: blessed be the great Helper of his people. Next day rode thirty-five miles to a Friend's house, to whom I mentioned a concern that had rested with me, to have a meeting in the town of Brunswick, a place where no Friends lived. This was a trying season, deeply so; but Friends were very kind, and obtained liberty for a meeting in the court house, to begin at the third hour, to which many of the inhabitants came, a Presbyterian priest, several doctors and lawyers, who mostly behaved well. The under sheriff took some pains to place the children, and charged them to keep their seats; and I may with thankfulness acknowledge that He who engaged my heart to visit them, did not leave me when there, but gave strength to labour to the peace and satisfaction of my own mind; blessed be his great name forever.

Next day attended Plainfield meeting; and on fifth-day was at Rahway, a favoured season wherein Truth reigned. Rode up to Mendham and attended the meeting, wherein I think it may be said, Truth reigned over all—thence to Hardwick; the road being rough and steep, we could not reach our lodgings till dark, and drove against a rock that overturned our carriage, but through mercy we were not badly hurt—we were at that meeting, which was large and exercising, but at length Truth rose into do-

minion in a good degree. Next day had a meeting at Sussex court house, to which many of the inhabitants came, also a few Friends; wherein some relief was afforded. We rode up Scots mountain the following day, and had a meeting at the house of Ephraim Parker, to satisfaction. I may here note the great care and attention of the Friend, in preparing seats and giving notice to his neighbours, the like I had not seen. He had lately built a large stone house, and made it convenient for the purpose, by hanging shutters, that the front could be thrown open forty feet in length. Our next meeting was at Kingwood, which was a very trying time, and but little relief; appointed a meeting the succeeding day, it was large, and ability was afforded to labour to the peace of my mind. Then rode to Stonybrook; during the ride my mind was much humbled, with a prospect that had presented some days before, of having a meeting with the inhabitants of Princeton. Under this concern, I found it hard work to come to that resignation of mind wherein I could say in truth, "Thy will, not mine, be done." First-day attended Stonybrook meeting, wherein Truth reigned in a good degree; and in the afternoon, one at a Friend's house for the inhabitants of Princeton, which was favoured with the ownings of Truth, and ability was given me to labour amongst them. Lord, make of me what thou pleasest; work in me to will and to do of thy good will and pleasure; bring my will more and more into subjection unto thy most holy will, whose right it is to dispose of thy people as thou seest meet. Our next meetings were at Trenton, Bordentown, Mansfield, and Mansfield-neck, some of which were painful and laborious, others more open. From thence to Crosswicks, Robinson's meeting, Upper Freehold, Mount, and Mount Holly, Upper and Old Springfield, Rancocas and Burlington; some of them favoured seasons, wherein Truth rose into dominion. Returned to Mount Holly and held a meeting there in the forenoon, and in the afternoon at Vincentown, the former a close searching season, wherein I was favoured to obtain relief; the other small, but satisfactory. I reached home that evening, thankful in heart to the Great Helper of his people for his many mercies received; having rode in this journey about seven hundred miles, attended forty-four meetings, and was absent nearly seven weeks.

After my return, I had many deep exercises and close trials to pass through, insomuch that at seasons, I was ready to fear I should not keep my place, and oftentimes fervent desires were raised, that all these afflictions might be sanctified to me, and have the happy effect to centre deeper and deeper in the root of true religion.

In the eleventh month, 1798, I obtained a minute of concurrence from our monthly meeting, to visit the meetings within the limits of Salem quarter. Our first meeting was near Chew's Landing; the weather being inclement, it was small, but favoured with the overshadowing wing of Divine regard; and those met sat very becoming the solemnity of the occasion. Next day at Upper Greenwich in the morning, wherein holy help was near, and ability given to labour in a close line; in the afternoon at Mullicahill, next day attended Pilesgrove monthly meeting, sixth-day at Penns neck, on first-day an appointed meeting at the head of Alloway's Creek, and second-day their monthly meeting at Salem, which was comfortable; there appears to be some hopeful Friends, especially among the younger class, who were encouraged to faithfulness. Third-day at Greenwich, fourth-day at Alloway's Creek monthly meeting, a favoured season; under a sense whereof I had renewedly to acknowledge; Thou O Lord, art strength in our weakness, mouth and wisdom, yea all things to thy humble dependent children, whose trust is in thee, waiting for thy putting forth in the way, and gently going before them; blessed be thy holy name forever! Next day at Pilesgrove to satisfaction; on sixth-day at Woodbury, an exercising time in the forepart, but through close attention, Truth rose into dominion in a good degree. Returned that evening to Joshua Lippincott's, thankful in heart to the Great Helper of his people, who had been near and supported through many close exercises, and in much weakness of body, that at times it looked unlikely I should be able to get through; but as mine eye was kept single to my Holy Helper, I had to acknowledge with the disciples, I lacked nothing. Before I sat out on this little journey, I had many difficulties and discouragements to pass through, which oftentimes looked insurmountable, like mountains and floods that could not be passed over. But as my mind became truly given up to Him, whose right it is to dispose of us as he sees meet, how were those difficulties removed, that I could even adopt the language of the Psalmist: "What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest? thou Jordan that thou wast driven back? ye mountains that ye skipped like rams, and ye little hills like lambs?" Thus I had from time to time to set up my Ebenezer and acknowledge, "hitherto thou hast helped me." Attended our select meeting on seventh-day, returned home and found my family in good health. Second-day was our first quarterly meeting at Evesham; a very large and solemn meeting.

Twelfth month attended the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, which had been adjourned in the ninth month on account of the fever, with which



the city was again visited.—The meeting was favoured with the ownings of Truth.

In the ninth month 1799, I obtained a certificate of unity from my monthly meeting, in order to fulfil a prospect that had attended my mind for a considerable time, to visit Friends at the settlement of Redstone. Left home 7th of the tenth month, under great bowedness of soul, lodged at my brother John Collins', and next day attended Chester preparative meeting, wherein my gracious Helper was pleased to favour with a comfortable evidence that my going forth was in his counsel, and by his holy approbation. Crossed the Delaware that afternoon, lodged near Frankford, and next morning pursued our journey, in company with some Friends who were going to attend the yearly meeting at Baltimore. We reached the city on seventh-day morning before meeting time, and attended all the sittings of the yearly meeting, which concluded on sixth-day, and was considered a solid good meeting. After dinner we set forward towards Redstone, in company with some of the Friends of that place; attended the first-day meeting at Newmarket, which was favoured with the presence of Him, who is all in all. On third-day evening, we put up at Clayton's tavern, where we had a solid opportunity in the family, with a large number of persons removing and many other lodgers; this opportunity was very unexpected, and tended to strengthen my drooping mind. In riding these difficult roads, and crossing the rivers and mountains, we had humbly to admire the works of an Almighty Creator. Sixth-day we reached a Friend's house where we lodged, and on first-day attended the meeting at Sandy hill, which was a solid favoured time; that night reached our valued friend Jonas Cattel's, and next day accompanied my brother Moore to his house, to see my dear sister. Our joy was mutual, and I thought resembled that of Joseph and his brethren, having been separated several years, and not expecting ever to meet again. Here I rested some days, attended the preparative meetings of Redstone and Providence, both favoured seasons. On sixth-day, the 1st of the eleventh month, I laid my concern before the monthly meeting of Redstone, to visit the families of that particular meeting, with which Friends united, our friend Jonas Cattel joining us therein. We visited all the families belonging to it. Their remoteness from each other, and the roads hilly and rough, with the lukewarmness of many, made it truly a laborious exercise; but best help was near, and mercifully favoured us from house to house, and being strangers to their situations, we could speak plainly to them as things opened, and believe it was a fresh visitation to many.

Having visited the families, and all the meet-

ings hereaway, and being desirous to return, as soon as we might be clear to leave the place, we proceeded about ten miles towards home, attended Sandy hill meeting, but our way not opening to proceed, we returned to Jonas Cattel's, and attended the select meeting at Westland, their monthly meeting, their first-day meeting, and one appointed at Fredericktown, both favoured meetings. Third-day we were at the select meeting of Redstone, fourth-day their preparative meeting, that of Providence on fifth, sixth their monthly meeting, which was a low time, and seventh-day the select quarterly meeting of Redstone, in a school house.—Next day, 1st of the twelfth month, attended the first meeting at the new meeting house, which was large, and favoured; second-day, the quarterly meeting, which was also large and in the main well conducted, ending with a good savour, after a solemn time in supplication, and humble thanksgiving to the Father and Fountain of all sure mercies, who is worthy forever. Feeling easy to leave the neighbourhood of Redstone, we proceeded towards Sandy hill, and entered on a family visit to the members, it being a branch of Redstone preparative meeting: and on the 8th of the twelfth month, having nearly finished the visit in this neighbourhood, we held a public meeting at Beesontown, in the court house, to which many of the inhabitants came: it proved a highly favoured season, wherein the gospel flowed freely, towards a large gathering of people of different denominations as to religion; may the praise be rendered unto him, who remains to be the alone Helper of his people, and is worthy of all praise forever.—In a few days we completed the visit here, having attended their meeting divers times in course, wherein ability was given to clear myself amongst them, so that I left them in peace, and went to Sandy creek. Visited the few families there, and attended their first-day meeting, the last over the mountains, which through adorable mercy proved a favoured season. On the following day, the 16th, sat out to cross the mountains, and reached the settlement of Friends in Virginia, in about five days. Our home was principally at Abel Walker's, and we attended all their meetings in that part, also the preparative at Crooked run, the monthly meetings at Center and Hopewell, sixteen in all, many of them mercifully favoured with the overshadowing wing of divine love and regard, wherein strength was given to labour in a close, yet feeling manner, as also in most of them at Redstone, to my humbling admiration. One instance I may here note of a meeting at Redstone, appointed for the inhabitants of Brownsville, a little village that has no settled place of worship in it. The meeting was held on first-day afternoon, and as we were riding to it, we

observed a collection of people at the river side, which we were afterwards informed, was occasioned by a baptist minister, who had come many miles that day to officiate among them, and was there baptising some of them. After they had finished, he and most of the people, came to our meeting; it was a large gathering, which the house could not near hold, and was eminently favoured, ending very solemnly in humble thanksgiving and praise to the Lord Most High, who is worthy forever. After meeting, we parted with this Baptist, in a degree of that love that unites the children of the Heavenly Father's family, though of different denominations as to religion; under a grateful sense whereof, my soul was led humbly to worship and adore Him who lives forever and ever.

After Hopewell monthly meeting, we proceeded homeward, attended Berkley monthly meeting, the last we were at in Virginia, crossed the Potomac, and reached little York meeting on first-day, from thence to our respective residences; my companions arriving at theirs on fourth-day evening, and next day I got to mine, where I found things better than I expected, my family having met with some close trials by accidents, but were much recovered. I was truly glad to get home, where every thing looked pleasant and every thing spake peace, as to the state of my own mind; after being absent three months and nine days, having been mercifully favoured with the presence of Him, who putteth forth his own and goeth before them; yea, maketh way for them, where there seemeth to be no way, and is mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance, all in all to his truly dependent children. Under a grateful remembrance of thy saving help, that has been mercifully vouchsafed from season to season, my soul doth bless, praise, and magnify thy most adorable name, who art God over all blessed forever!

1802. I have been but little from home for several years, except at our quarterly and yearly meetings as they came in course, and have experienced them to be seasons of deep instruction. May we in this highly favoured land, prize our privileges. Also at times, as way opened, I have attended neighbouring meetings, and have been favoured mostly to keep my place in them, though sometimes, I have given way to a diffident reasoning disposition, a fear of getting or going before the true Guide, and have too much lingered behind, and neglected doing what has been assigned for me to do, and thereby brought poverty and weakness, and increased my affliction. But He who knows how to deal with his children, and knows that it has not been through wilful disobedience, but rather a timid disposition, when he has seen my affliction was enough, has been pleased in mercy, again to entrust with his precious gift,

and to enable to discharge the trust reposed in me, to the peace and comfort of my own mind.

In this year, I accompanied Ann Willits from Egg harbour, in a visit to most of the members, within the compass of our own meeting, in their families. Many were the difficulties, and varied the trials and baptisms, through which my poor soul had to pass, best known to Him who searcheth all hearts, yet had the reward of peace, for giving up to do the little I was capable of. Oh! may the labour of the labourers be blessed.

In the eleventh month 1803, I joined our valuable friend Richard Dell, from Mendham in East Jersey, in a visit to the families of Friends, and others who attend meetings, within the the compass of our monthly meeting; and although the work was weighty and laborious, yet strength sufficient to the day, was mercifully vouchsafed, to our humbling admiration. In some of our sittings, particularly with those who were not members, the hand of help was afforded, and the invitation given, to come and enlist under the Captain of their soul's salvation, and thereby experience his banner over them, to be love. Many were the precious opportunities we had in this visit, both with members and others; may they be closed in with. We had about one hundred and forty-five sittings; in most if not all, the evidence of divine kindness attended, which is cause of thankfulness of heart to the Author of all our blessings, who is worthy of the tribute of praise forever.

Dear Richard, in like manner, visited the families of Evesham, and Chester monthly meetings; it was about this time the latter was established a monthly meeting. He was seventy-seven years of age, whilst engaged in this visit, and was favoured to return with the answer of peace for his dedication. I heard a friend of his meeting remark, that after he returned, he appeared very pleasant and cheerful, as having paid a debt due from him, being more lively, as though his age was renewed. A great favour to be preserved green and alive in the Truth, bringing forth fruit in old age! He lived but a few months after his return.

Having for some time felt an engagement of mind, to visit the families of Bristol preparative meeting in Pennsylvania, Martha Allinson of Burlington joining me therein; we attended Middletown monthly meeting, of which it is a branch, on the 10th of the tenth month, 1805, where we produced our minutes expressive of the unity of our Friends in this weighty work. Friends uniting, we entered next day upon the service, an elder of that meeting accompanying us therein, and visited all the families, also others who attended the meetings. Many of the sittings were graciously owned, by the overshadowing wing of Heavenly regard, wherein



counsel was freely communicated, I trust to the encouragement of the humble in heart. Some of those, not members, had never received such a visit before, but were glad of the opportunity, and we were made to rejoice together; we also visited their school, and attended meetings as they came in course; finished our service on first-day morning, having a comfortable meeting at parting, which many of the town's people attended. It was large, Truth rose into dominion, and we separated in near unity, under a precious sense of divine regard. O may the tribute of worship, adoration and praise, be given to Him who still regards the dust of Zion, and satisfies her poor with bread. After dinner crossed the river to Burlington, attended their afternoon meeting, a quiet comfortable season. I spent two days in and about the town, making divers visits to satisfaction, and on fourth-day was at our own meeting, from which I went home with the answer of peace; having to rejoice that I had been enabled to discharge the little required of me, I trust in faithfulness, and with cheerfulness.

It is through tribulation the righteous enter the kingdom. O may I be willing to endure trials and tribulations, baptisms and sufferings, and whatever the dear Master may see mete I should pass through for his sake, who trod the same path of suffering. He declared that the disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord: if it was his lot to suffer, what can we poor unworthy mortals expect? O gracious Goodness, reduce me more and more into a state of passiveness, willing to be abased or to abound, willing to suffer or to reign with thee, that thy blessed will may be done in me, and through me, who am a poor worm.

Feeling the revival of a concern that had rested upon my mind, to pay a religious visit to Friends of New York and Long Island, I laid the same before our monthly meeting in the ninth month, 1807, desiring its sympathy, concurrence, and certificate, which was granted, and for many days my mind enjoyed a precious calm and sweetness. I left home on the 16th of the tenth month, under an humbling sense of my own weakness, and inability for the work, and also a renewed evidence of divine love and regard. We rode to Burlington, my brother John Collins being our companion; and Martha Allinson having obtained a certificate in order to join in the visit. Many Friends came to see and take leave of us, with whom we had a comfortable opportunity, greatly to the strengthening of my poor exercised mind. After dinner we rode to Stonybrook, and lodged at Benjamin Clark's; next day reached Plainfield, and attended their first-day meeting, wherein renewed ability was given to labour to the peace of my mind. On second-day, landed in

New York, though it was with difficulty we got across the river, the wind being high and squally, and our horses and wagon in the same boat. Through favour we got safe over, lodged there, then crossed the East river to Long Island, to attend the quarterly meeting, which began next day, and ended with a meeting of ministers and elders, at the close of the public meeting on sixth-day: a favoured season, wherein the Ancient of days was pleased to be near, and furnish with ability to labour, and find relief. Rode that afternoon to Westbury, and attended, the following day, a meeting appointed for Isaac Jacobs of Pennsylvania, who was there on a religious visit.

In the afternoon, we began the weighty service of visiting the families of that meeting, and were favoured with a truly useful companion in Gideon Seaman, who offered to join in the visit; and above all, the presence of the blessed Master, who was pleased to be near and make himself known, as by the breaking of bread from house to house, I think remarkably so, that in some places or families, we were all so humbled together, I believe there was not a dry eye amongst us, neither visitors nor visited. O may the tribute of thanksgiving and praise, be given to the Shepherd of Israel, who is worthy forever! We visited all the meetings upon the Island, most of them favoured, and ability was given to labour, in a faithful discharge of duty. Left the Island with a peaceful mind, after a solid opportunity at our lodgings, and reached New York on sixth-day evening. Attended the two meetings in this city on first-day; that in the forenoon was to me a truly comfortable silent meeting, wherein I was enabled silently to worship and adore that Almighty Being, who had been near, helped and supported through many trials and probations, and at times enables us to render the tribute of glory and honour, thanksgiving and praise, unto his great name, who is worthy for ever and ever. At the afternoon meeting I was enabled to labour, and find relief, and had a favoured opportunity in the evening at our lodgings. On second-day morning we left New York, got into the neighbourhood of Rahway; next day rode in company with Friends to Shrewsbury, in order to attend their quarterly meeting, which began with a meeting of ministers and elders; fifth-day their meeting for business; sixth-day we had an appointed meeting, which was large, and favoured with the ownings of Truth. Attended Squan and Squancum, both small, the latter deeply exercising. O the want of depth and weight amongst the professors of Christianity! What will a name do for any, a name to live, and yet dead, as to the life and savour of true religion? On second-day we rode many miles through the barrens to Barnegat, and had a small but

comfortable meeting, wherein Truth gained the victory, and we were made to rejoice together. That evening we rode through a storm to Clamtown, and had a large and comfortable meeting there next day, in which Truth rose into dominion, and many were comforted. The day following, we had a meeting at Bass river, small and deeply exercising, but obtained some relief. Rode round the head of the river to Great Egg Harbour, and attended both their meetings, to a good degree of satisfaction. On second-day, in the eleventh month, I reached home, weary in body but comforted in mind, with the reward of sweet peace, having been enabled to perform the service required of me, in a good degree of faithfulness and dedication to Him, who had thus called me forth, and was graciously pleased to go before, and make way. O blessed forever be his great name, who continues to be the never failing Helper of his humble dependent children, who put their whole trust in Him; He has supported through many trials, and deep probations, yea, sweetened many bitter cups. May my soul bless, praise and magnify thy great and ever worthy name, who art God over all, blessed forever! Be graciously pleased to be with me, the remainder of my days; strengthen me yet more and more to trust in thy divine arm, that has been made bare for my help and support! Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased; thus, most gracious God, thou art fulfilling ancient predictions, thou art sending servants and handmaidens, to publish the glad tidings of the gospel of peace and salvation. Be graciously pleased to be with them, go before and make way for them; enable them to feed thy flock with food convenient, giving meat to strong men, and milk to babes: keep their eye single to the pointings of thy finger, and their hearts dedicated to thy commands: be pleased to be mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance, and cause thy glory and the knowledge of thee, to cover the earth as the waters cover the seas.

In the second month, 1808, I attended Woodbury quarterly meeting to satisfaction; was also at Woolwich and Pilesgrove, and spent a little time with our friends, but the roads were very heavy, and some other disagreeable circumstances occurring, we returned home rather too soon. A heavy storm came on, which we faced, and I took a great cold, that brought on weakness and many complaints, and reduced me very low in body; but I was favoured with great sweetness and composure of mind, being fully resigned to the divine will. Feeling no desire as to life or death, I could say in truth, thy will most gracious Father be done; thou knowest what is best to be done; I am thine, and thou art mine, thou art my all in all; O may my soul cleave fast unto thee.

First month, 1809. I have been afflicted of late with inward weakness and shortness of breath, sometimes great difficulty of breathing, but preserved in quietness of mind; yea, the overshadowing wing of divine love, even as a canopy has covered it. I feel entirely resigned to the disposal of Him, whose faith has strengthened me to press through many difficulties, to perform what I have believed has been required of me, which is now a comfort, and a support in a time of weakness, when the poor body is much reduced.

When I consider thy abundant mercy and goodness towards me, a poor worm, how thou hast delivered out of many evils, yea, preserved out of many snares and temptations, that have been laid to draw my soul from following thee, I am led to adopt the language of thy servant, What shall I render unto thee, O Lord, for all thy benefits towards me? Oh! may I be fully given up to thee! In thy presence there is life, and at thy right hand, are rivers of pleasures for evermore.

Fourth month. Still continue feeble, and not able to attend our yearly meeting; though I have much desired to do so for some weeks past, when a little better; but now feel quite resigned to my present state, endeavouring to be content in every condition, and resigned to the will of the Most High, who is I believe weaning me more and more from every pleasant object. "Search me, O God, and know my heart; try me and know my thoughts; and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

Fifth month. I am now better and able to attend meetings. It is truly pleasant to meet with my friends again, after some months absence. "How excellent is thy loving kindness, O God, because thereof, the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wing."

Fifth month 14th, 1810, with the unity of our monthly meeting, I attended Haddonfield monthly meeting, in order to join Elizabeth Foulke, in a visit to the families of that meeting; Friends uniting with us therein, we began our visit on the 15th. It was attended with deep baptisms and close exercises, as dying daily and even hourly, which is needful, in order to be quickened, and brought to feel with those whom we visit. We attended their meetings as they came in course, and were in nearly all the families, amounting to one hundred and thirty. We finished our visit the evening before our quarterly meeting, held at Evesham in the sixth month. Here I parted with my companion in great nearness of spirit, having travelled and laboured together in unity and gospel fellowship. I returned home with the reward of peace, and this language was sweetly the companion of my mind for many days and



nights in my wakeful hours; Return to the place of thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee; which greatly tended to strengthen my mind to bear some close trials. May the tribute of thanksgiving and praise be given to Him, who lives and abides forever.

In the seventh month, I met with a severe trial indeed, by the sudden and unexpected death of my oldest son. I knew not of his illness until late in the afternoon; I went that evening to see him, and found him nearly speechless, though I believe sensible. With a look of endeared affection, he grasped my hand, being able to say but very little. He departed next morning, 2nd of seventh month, aged about thirty-seven years, leaving a widow and four children. O the trial such an unexpected event must bring upon a tender mother, having no opportunity of conversing with him to know his mind, or to afford any advice or encouragement. I thought if I could be favoured with an evidence, that all was well with him, I could freely give him up. Through divine mercy, I was supported beyond what I could have expected, and may with some propriety adopt the language of Job, when he said, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." Thus he sustains the minds of his children and people, who are looking to him, and calling upon him; he will be unto them as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land; yea, a covert from storms and tempests; retire there, O my soul, for there the righteous flee and find safety.

In the first month, 1812, with the concurrence of our monthly meeting, I joined Margaret Allinson in a visit to the families of Friends within the compass of Cropwell meeting, and was favoured with best help; the great Shepherd of his flock was near, who putteth forth his own and goeth before them. We got through this little visit to the peace of our own minds, and I believe, to the satisfaction of our friends. May the tribute of thanksgiving and praise, be given unto the Shepherd of Israel, who is worthy forever. I have been favoured to stay much at home and to enjoy a peaceful mind, which is a favour indeed, and sometimes to espouse the Master's cause, which at times I feel nearer to me than my natural life. O may I be preserved, so as never to bring a reproach upon the Truth, is the desire of my heart.

Our daughter-in-law, Esther Collins, was afflicted with consumption many months, and often expressed that she did not expect to get well. She kept up, and attended meetings, until within a few weeks of her close. After being confined to the room, she appeared much weakened from the world, and mentioned the satisfaction she had in having attended religious meetings, particularly some of the last. One day she told

me, she had now gotten through all, and could give up all but her husband, but said, I hope it will be made easy to me, which was granted; for in a short time after, she said, Now mother I am willing to go, I have no choice, no wish, nor will; I see nothing in my way, and I believe I shall go to rest. O the comfort it afforded; I said in my heart it is enough; I could ask no more, but could freely give her up to Him, who had thus made her way easy. She was very affectionate, and mostly sensible, and quietly departed on the 10th of the second month, 1811, aged twenty-six years. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them"—this, I have no doubt, is the blessed experience of dear Esther, who is gone from works to a happy reward.

In the fourth month, 1812, I attended our yearly meeting. It proved a favoured season, wherein the great Head of the Church was pleased to be near, humbling our hearts and contriting our spirits together, I think the most so that I ever experienced, taking the meeting through, more especially the last sitting; our parting was indeed a solemn time, to be remembered and improved by many. Friends from different parts attended, whose labours of love were truly acceptable, many of whom visited our meetings, some before and some after the yearly meeting, who were as clouds filled with rain that emptied freely upon us. May their gospel labours be blessed; and we improve so great mercy and favour, for surely if we do not, great will be our condemnation. O most gracious Helper, be pleased to prosper thine own work, to the praise of thy eternal name.

Many indeed are the trials and probations that are to be met with in this world, and the nearer we live to the Truth, the better we get through them. In the ninth month I experienced a close affliction in the death of my dear sister Sarah Wilkins, who had been many months afflicted with consumption, reduced to a very low state of body, but preserved in great quietness of mind, and frequently enabled to give suitable counsel to her family, and others who came to see her. She so far recovered, as to attend several meetings, and expressed to a friend, a desire to attend once more our quarterly meeting at Haddonfield, which she thought might probably be the last time, as it proved. There she exhorted Friends in a lively feeling manner, to faithfulness and diligence in the attendance of religious meetings, mentioning the great uncertainty of time. She was taken ill before she reached home, but got there the following day, and appeared much resigned to her situation, being in great pain. She frequently supplicated the Father of mercies, to look down

upon her, a poor unworthy creature, and grant patience to bear all her afflictions, as became a follower of Christ, and not to repine at his dispensations. Her conflict appeared very great until near the close, when all subsided, and she departed without a struggle, I doubt not into the arms of divine mercy, to receive the reward of her obedience. She was in the fifty-sixth year of her age, a minister about fifteen years, as near as I can recollect. Her burial, which was attended by a large concourse of people, was a very solemn season, at which living testimonies were borne, and the youth and others invited to follow her example and precepts; may it be rightly improved. I sensibly feel the loss of so dear a sister, to whom I was nearly attached, not only by the ties of nature, but in gospel fellowship; yet through holy help the separation has been made easier to me, than I could have expected.

Eleventh month. My mind has experienced a quiet calm, for a considerable time, beyond what has been usual for me; as it is often my lot to pass through gloomy winter seasons, but as I have endeavoured to abide in patient waiting and quiet hoping for the return of spring, I have experienced its return to my unspeakable comfort, which has fully made up for all my deep trials and strippings; wherein my soul has been enabled to joy in the Lord, and rejoice in the God of my salvation. Being favoured as before hinted, with a larger portion of divine love and life, than has often been my experience, I thought, perhaps, it might be a foretaste of that happy eternity, which is prepared for those who hold out to the end in well doing, that I might soon enjoy; but be that as it may, (the great Jehovah only knoweth) the secret desire of my heart is, that I may be preserved upon the right foundation, dwelling in humility and fear; for the more we are favoured, the more cause of humble gratitude to the Great Giver of all good, for his abundant mercies. O may I dwell in humility, and wear it as a garment forever.

I left home with my dear husband to pay a few social visits to some of our friends; attended Chester meeting on first-day, a favoured season; wherein, through adorable mercy, my spirit was enabled to worship Him who lives forever; the meeting ended with thanksgiving and praise unto the Lord Most High, who is worthy forever. We visited many under affliction, spent a little time with Rebecca Roberts, who is about ninety-four years of age; her sight and hearing have considerably failed, but she appeared to be alive in the Truth—a great blessing to be preserved green in old age. On fifth-day attended Evesham meeting to satisfaction, and on the following evening came home with a peaceful mind, for which I feel thankful.

Return to the place of thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. Where is the place of thy rest? It is in retirement, and prayer to the Father and fountain of all sure mercies, in watchfulness, dedication, and humble obedience to the divine will. Here is thy safety, here is the place of thy rest, in times of storms and tempests.

Second month, 1815. I am now more than sixty years of age, have passed through many heavy afflictions, yet all in wisdom, best wisdom; for He who knoweth all things, knows how to deal with us and what is best for us; and although stripping seasons and deep baptisms are trying to our nature, yet as they are patiently abode under, they will work for our refinement; for them that keep the word of his patience, he will keep in the hour of temptation. This will preserve from murmuring at the dispensations of unerring wisdom and goodness. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? Yea, verily, he doeth right, and when he sees that our love, our faith and confidence are fully proved, (for he will have a tried people that are willing to suffer and wait his time, our natures being such that we cannot bear all prosperity,) then he will return with healing in his wings; his reward is with him, and the poor tried soul is brought to acknowledge, it is enough, and is richly compensated for all its watchings and fastings.

I left home the 17th of the ninth month, 1815, and attended the Mount meeting, where my dear friend Martha Allinson met me, in order to pay a visit to the families of that meeting. We began our visit in the afternoon, and finished it on the following seventh day, sitting with the members, and those who attend Friends' meetings, and have to acknowledge the goodness of the great Shepherd of his flock, who was pleased to make himself known by the breaking of bread from house to house amongst us; blessed be his adorable name, for his continued mercy and Truth, thus extended towards his rational creation, unworthy as we are. We proceeded to Upper Springfield, East-branch, Stonybrook, Trenton, Chesterfield, Bordentown, Old Springfield, Mansfield, Lower Mansfield, Burlington, Rancocas and Vincentown; all these meetings were in a good degree owned by the Great Head of the Church, and we enabled to labour in his cause to our own peace. The last meeting was at Mount Holly, on first-day, large and favoured with the divine presence; it ended in solemn supplication, thanksgiving and praise, to the Father of all our sure mercies, for his holy help, and his regard towards us from season to season. Here I parted from my companion and fellow labourer, in near unity and gospel fellowship, and returned home with a peaceful



mind; thankful to the Great Helper of his people, who had enabled me to perform this little visit, in a good degree of faithfulness, and dedication to his requirings.

First month 7th, 1816. I have been feeble in body for some weeks past, but quiet in mind, very much resigned to the Divine will; and in some retired moments, have been greatly refreshed by the overshadowing wing of Divine love, still extended to me a poor unworthy creature, wherein my soul has been enabled to rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of its salvation.

The ways of the Most High are in the deep, they are past finding out by all the penetration of the finite understanding of man, uninfluenced by eternal power. He hath his ways in thick darkness; yea, he hath many ways to plead with the children of men, in order to awaken them to a sense of duty to Him, their bountiful Creator. His love and mercy have been very great, his calls many; yea, they have been extended many ways in mercy and in judgment. The inhabitants of this land have been visited in years past with yellow fever, a disease that greatly baffled the skill of the physicians, and thinned the people in some places; this disease was sent again and again, in order, I believe, to humble us. But what little effect it has had upon the minds of too many; and since, the typhus fever has raged in divers parts; great has been the stripping by those pestilential diseases. Many husbands and wives have been separated, and in some instances large families of children have been deprived of both parents. How awful the prospect, and yet these calamities have not been productive of the desired effects upon the minds of the people. Great has also been the calamity of war and bloodshed in our land, and the distress and havoc it has made in some places. We have been favoured in this part of the country, only hearing the sound thereof, compared with what many of our dear fellow creatures have endured. We are all children of the one Great Parent, and have need of correction, though we have felt it but lightly. May we regard the rod, and Him who hath appointed it. How hath mercy been mixed with judgment, and the sword again sheathed, and we enjoy peace; but his rod is still stretched over us; the season has been remarkably cold and dry, with hard frosts, so that the labour of the husbandman has greatly failed in many instances, and fields did not yield their usual crops; yea, the land mourned, and the plants of the fields languished. O may these things be laid to heart; may they be improved to our advantage, and considered as the dispensations of unerring wisdom and goodness, meted out for our correction and improvement.

In the first month, 1817, our dear brother

John Collins being from home, accompanying a Friend on a religious visit, was taken ill with a paralytic stroke, at a quarterly meeting at Abington in Pennsylvania, in which he had spoken pertinently to the state of Society. He was removed from the meeting to a Friend's house, where he remained several days, and appearing to revive a little, was then taken home, and expressed thankfulness in being brought to his own habitation. He was much favoured with speech and recollection, considering the nature of the disease; and in the prospect of death, expressed an entire resignation to the Divine will, and I doubt not has entered into the mansion of everlasting rest, there to receive the reward of his labours. His funeral was largely attended, and proved a highly favoured season. Being sick myself from home, I was prevented from seeing him, or attending the funeral. This was a humbling season, as my life was despaired of. The poor frame was much reduced, but through mercy, my mind was preserved in humble resignation to the Divine disposal, and enjoyed a calm where no ruffling breeze nor any thing disturbed; a favour I greatly wish may be remembered with gratitude, humble gratitude to the Author thereof. Although the poor disciples were permitted, when upon the mount with their Master, to behold his glory, they were not to tabernacle there. They had to enter the garden, the place of suffering; for they that would reign with Christ, must also suffer with him. It is indeed a great lesson to learn to be content, willing to suffer or to reign, to be abased or to abound, and is what I fear I am too deficient in—but an imperfect scholar.

After near six weeks confinement, I was brought home on a bed, and was favoured gradually to recover, so as to get to meeting, and there through Divine mercy, to meet with Him, who promised to be with the two or the three, that should meet in his name; and at seasons, humbly to worship and adore Him who lives forever, and is worthy to be worshipped by the whole creation, world without end.

Ninth month. I am feeble and much reduced in body. It looks most likely the solemn dissolution is approaching, wherein the dust must return to the dust, and the immortal part be centered in another state of being, in which I feel resignation. My greatest desire is, that I may so live and so walk in humility, watchfulness and care, as not to offend in thought, word, or deed, but fully and cheerfully submit to every dispensation of unerring Wisdom and Goodness, who knows how to deal with his children, and what food is most convenient for them. Thou, O most gracious and holy Helper, knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee, and that I long to serve thee, in upright-

ness and singleness of heart; but alas! what am I, a poor weak creature, entirely unable to do any good thing, or even to think a good thought, without thy holy aid. Be pleased in mercy to be near, and preserve me by the right hand of thy righteousness. O thou who hast fed me all my life long, and who hast redeemed me from many evils, be pleased to cause the Angel of thy presence, to encamp round about my poor tabernacle; and strengthen me, holy Father, to render unto thee that which is thy due, even the tribute of thanksgiving and praise, with thy dear Son, our blessed Redeemer; to whom be honour and praise, now and evermore.

Fourth month, 1818. I was favoured to attend our yearly meeting, which proved an instructive season, many Friends from different yearly meetings being there; who were clothed with authority and power to publish the glad tidings of peace and salvation: encouraging the humble in heart to pursue the path of virtue and dedication; also labouring to arouse the careless and lukewarm to more diligence. The youth were invited to enlist under the government of Christ, and thereby experience his banner over them to be love.

In the fifth month, I informed Friends at our monthly meeting, of a prospect which I had had for a considerable time, of paying a visit to the meetings, within the compass of Salem quarter, also the families of Friends, and others, who make profession with us at Pilesgrove, and to those residing at Cape May, with which they united; my dear friend Abigail Haines gave up to go with me. We attended Salem quarterly meeting, accompanied by our kind friend Josiah Reeve; it was owned by the great Head of the Church. We then proceeded to Greenwich, Alloways Creek, Penns Neck, and Mullicahill, all to a good degree of satisfaction. On fifth-day, attended the monthly meeting at Pilesgrove, where we produced our minutes, and opened our prospect of visiting the families of that particular meeting, with which they freely united: Sarah Scull joined in the visit, of whose company I was truly glad. After meeting Josiah Reeve left us, and returned home, and we proceeded on our visit from house to house. There appeared generally great openness to receive us, and the Author of all good, was pleased in his abundant mercy, to be mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance to my humbling admiration, and I have to believe it was a fresh visitation to many. May the praise be given to Him alone to whom it is due, for his continued goodness and love to the workmanship of his holy hand, unworthy and forgetful as we are. After completing the visit, which we did not accomplish before the ensuing monthly meeting, we set off for Maurice River,

taking a few families residing on the way, where we parted from dear Sarah Scull. Attended that meeting on first-day, which was in a good degree satisfactory. Afternoon we rode to Cape May, and the succeeding morning began the visit to the families there, which we completed on fourth-day morning. Attended their meeting; which is composed of but few members, and some of them I fear are dwelling too much on the surface, not willing to dig deep, in order to lay their foundation sure, on Christ Jesus the Rock of ages.

After meeting rode to Dennis' Creek, where we had a satisfactory opportunity in a family descended from Friends; on sixth-day attended Maurice River monthly meeting, first-day Maurice River Neck, and the following morning proceeded to Upper Greenwich, which we attended to good satisfaction. On fifth-day at Woodbury monthly meeting, deeply exercising in the forepart, but through close attention and labour found some relief. In company with several Friends, we visited the county poor house, as we had that in Salem county. Truly it is affecting to see so many of our fellow beings, labouring under afflictions of various kinds, though they appeared to be comfortably provided for. This was our last visit, which through adorable mercy, proved a memorable season; we were comforted together, and the great Author of all our blessings, was praised for his loving kindness and Truth continued to us. Next day we got to our own monthly meeting, returned our minutes, and gave some account of our labours, which appeared satisfactory to Friends, and arrived at home with a peaceful mind. In looking over this little journey, it affords a comfortable sensation, except a few omissions, which caused some uneasiness of mind, but I hope they will be looked over by my good and gracious Lord and Master, as they did not originate from wilful disobedience, but rather weakness of body and mind, which was then my clothing. It is humbling to remember the kindness and attention of Friends to me in my feeble state, as I was very unwell most of the time I was from home; this favour I received as from the Divine hand.

How comfortable are our feelings when we can breathe the language of "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will to men;" the language of glory, honour and praise to Him, who lives and abides forever; to feel sweet peace of mind, and love to all our fellow creatures; no grudge, no hardness nor resentment, but all love and concord. My soul rejoices under a renewed sense thereof, and acknowledges that sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely. Thy name is as precious ointment poured forth, therefore do the virgins love thee; the pure in heart, those who



have none in heaven besides thee, nor in all the earth compared with thee; those who by deep indwelling of soul, are instructed in the mysteries of thy kingdom. Thy ways, O Lord, are in the deep, they are past finding out by all the wisdom of finite man. Those who are instructed in the knowledge of thy blessed Truth, are led at seasons to acknowledge, that "Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are all thy ways, thou King of saints;" thou who art King immortal, invisible and all glorious, glorious in thyself, and glorious in the Son of thy bosom; to whom be honour, thanksgiving and praise, now and evermore, saith my soul.

First month, 1820. In company with my friends Joshua Stokes and wife, and A. Haines, I visited the monthly meetings of Byberry and Horseham. At this meeting things were delivered in a close line, but in that love which seeketh to restore, in which I found peace. The weather was pleasant when we set out, but it afterwards became cold, froze the river, so that we were obliged to ride to Trenton, in order to cross the bridge. Reached home cold and weary, but quiet in mind, and thankful that way had opened to pay this little visit to my Friends, which I had long thought of.

On the 5th of the second month, as Ann Edwards and my sister-in-law Esther Collins, accompanied by another female and a man Friend to drive them, were attempting to cross the Delaware on the ice in a wagon, it proved too weak, though several had crossed before them, and when little more than half over, the horses broke through. The two Friends who sat front leaped out, the woman Friend upon the broken ice, and was prevented from sinking, by the exertions of the other, till assistance came and helped her out of the water. The horses, wagon, and the other two dear women, Ann and Esther, were soon out of sight under the ice. Great exertions were used to find them, but in vain. After being in the water twelve days, dear Esther was found in the wagon-body, opposite Philadelphia, was taken home, and buried the next day. It was remarked she looked more like a person asleep than a corpse; her funeral was large. Dear Ann's corpse was found on the Pennsylvania shore, having been in the water about seventy days, and was brought to her brother's, and buried in Friends' burying ground at Chester. It was a great satisfaction to their friends, that the bodies were recovered and decently interred. But, Oh! the loss of two such worthy women, not only to the meetings of which they were members, but to the neighbourhood where they lived! Ann being a minister, appointed many meetings amongst those who were not members of any

Society, and visited many of them in their families, in which service, Esther who was an elder, mostly accompanied her. Ann being very weakly, expressed she thought her day was short, and wished that her day's work might keep pace with the day. They were often engaged in visiting the sick and the afflicted, and left home in order to visit some of their Friends under affliction, and attend a meeting or two, when the solemn event took place; that it may be justly said, in their lives they were united, and at their death they were not divided.

It was in the evening I heard the mournful intelligence, which was a very great shock indeed. My health being feeble, I soon retired to bed, expecting to pass a sleepless night, but endeavouring to get my mind composed, at length I was favoured to feel a quiet calm, and through faith, to believe they were safely landed on that happy shore, where sorrow ceases, and troubles are no more. I then fell asleep, and had a comfortable night's rest, which I esteemed a favour.

Third month. It has been a stripping time to me of late. In the twelfth month last, my only sister Bathsheba Moore, who lived at Red Stone, departed this life after a long and tedious illness, which she bore with Christian patience, quietly waiting for the final close. In the second month, my sister E. Collins died, who was more like a mother than a sister by marriage. I seldom met with her, but she had a word of comfort or advice to me, like the good scribe well instructed, bringing forth out of the treasury, things old and new.

In the third month, my brother J. Ballinger deceased; his bodily affliction was great, and he appeared to be under deep exercise of mind, on account of his future welfare; I have a comfortable hope, he was favoured to make his peace with his Maker in time.

My state of health being feeble, these losses were no doubt more sensibly felt; I was the only one left of our family, and as I was sitting pensively alone, reflecting on my stripped state, the language of the Psalmist came fresh into my mind; "When my father and mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up." This expression was comforting, and I was made renewedly sensible, that although I was thus stripped, without father or mother, brother or sister, yet I was not forsaken by the Father and fountain of all our sure mercies, who in condescending love, was pleased to comfort my mind, yea, to favour with his holy presence; that I was led humbly to commemorate his goodness, his love and mercies, extended from season to season, and secretly to implore the continuance of his blessing through time, that I might

not become a dry and withered branch. O it is a blessed state to be preserved alive in the Truth, bringing forth fruit in old age; fruits of holiness of life, fruits of dedication of heart to the will and service of God; that this may be my happy experience, is the breathing of my soul:

My health continued feeble through the summer, though for the greater part of the time, I was able to attend our meetings, and at seasons favoured with the overshadowing wing of Divine love, wherein my cup has been made to overflow; and in the aboundings of gospel love, was enabled to call and invite others, to come taste and see how good the Lord is, yea, to acquaint themselves with God, and be at peace. Towards fall, my health rather increased, so that I was at our quarterly meeting in the ninth month, which was an instructive season, many Friends from different meetings attended, and the Lord was pleased to favour with his divine presence.

I was again confined by sickness, in the forepart of which I was not so favoured with the divine presence, as in some other seasons of indisposition, which I was enabled to bear with patience, knowing that it is good for us to be abased, as well as to abound. At length he who ordereth all things rightly, was pleased to return as with healing in his wings, and my soul rejoiced in the God of its salvation; and in some moments of retirement, I was qualified to bow as at his holy footstool, and implore the continuance of his mercy and protection, through the few remaining days of my life, and finally receive me into the realms of everlasting bliss. At these seasons, my dear children were brought near to my best life, with desires that they might become the Lord's children. These are all taught of him, and great is the peace of his children. O that there may be a willingness in every heart, to be guided by him, who leads into all truth, and preserves out of all evil. There are many snares and temptations in the world, which we poor creatures are liable to fall into, unless we look to him who is the great Preserver of men, begging the blessing of preservation, that we may be kept from evil, and do that which is right in the divine sight.

Fourth month, 1821. My health is better, so as to be able to attend meeting; it is comfortable to sit with my friends again. I feel very desirous that I may keep my place, that I may be just what the Almighty would have me to be, that his will may be done in me, by me, and through me. These lines have been so sweetly revived when in a feeble state, and feeling a peaceful calm and quiet, I thought I could with propriety adopt them, as the present state of my mind; viz.

"How are thy servants blest, O Lord,  
How sure is their defence;  
Eternal wisdom is their guide,  
Their help, Omnipotence."

How comfortable, when we can rightly number and appreciate our blessings, knowing our place of defence to be the munitions of rocks, bread to be given us, and our water to be sure; receiving all from the Divine hand, and experiencing that wisdom which is from above, and is profitable to direct in all our movements, to be tongue and utterance, and strengthening us to resign all up to his most holy will, humbly trusting in the divine arm. May this be more and more my happy experience through the remaining days of my life, that when the evening comes, the work may be so completed, that I may receive the answer of "Well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." O blessed change, glorious triumph, to be admitted into the mansion of eternal rest, there to sing praises unto the most High God, and the Lamb, who is worthy for ever and ever; which is the sincere breathing of my spirit.

*The following is an extract from a letter written to a Friend, on recovering from illness, dated Twelfth month 19th, 1821.*

MAY we, my dear friend, patiently submit to every dispensation of divine Providence, and endeavour to improve under it; for all things work together for good to them that love and fear the Lord. We have our night seasons, and our winter seasons, but as we abide in patience, we shall experience the dawn of the day, and the return of the spring, to our comfort and rejoicing. I greatly crave thy welfare and firm establishment upon that sure foundation, Christ Jesus, the Rock of ages; and that thou mayest experience thy wilderness to become as Eden, and thy parched ground as the garden of the Lord, and be enabled to bring forth fruit to the praise and honour of the great and good husbandman, who hath done so much for us; who loved us before we loved him. At seasons when favoured to commemorate his goodness, his love and mercy to me a poor unworthy creature, I am led to adopt the language, "What shall I render unto thee, O Lord, for all thy benefits towards me?" They are great, they are many.

Twelfth month 7th, 1823. To the same she writes again, from which the following is extracted; viz.

I feel near sympathy with thee and my dear friends in that city (Philadelphia), and the desire of my heart is for your preservation. The name of the Lord is a strong tower, the righteous run thither and find safety. Yea, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land, hath



he been to many of us, in storms and heavy trials, when the waves and billows have run very high indeed. It is a great consolation to reflect, that bounds are set; so far shalt thou go, but no further. Oh! may we dwell in watchfulness and prayer to the God and Father of all our sure mercies for preservation. We have this assurance, "The Lord knoweth them that are his." And it is through tribulation, the righteous enter the kingdom of heaven. This encouraging language just now salutes my mind, "Fear not little flock, it is your heavenly Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

I think I may safely say, the older I grow, the more I feel true love towards my friends, and a greater desire for the prosperity of Truth and righteousness, which I consider a favour in this day of commotion and division; to feel that which enables to breath, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will to men." It was for the divisions of Reuben, there was deep searching of heart. Oh! that this might take place amongst us, for I believe there has not been a time since we were a people, that there was greater need of deep searching of heart; yea, deep indwelling of soul before the Divine Majesty, imploring his aid and preservation, that we may become faithful standard bearers, and upright pillars in his house.

First month, 1825. I am more than seventy years old; an age I did not expect or desire to attain unto, but thus it has proved, my days have been lengthened out in best wisdom, no doubt, to take care of my dear husband in his afflictions, having been in poor health for upwards of three years, which he has been favoured to bear with patience and Christian fortitude. At one time after a season of silent retirement, he expressed to me, "I think I have never been more willing to put off this poor tabernacle of clay, than at the present time, though no merit of mine. In looking over I can see many imperfections through life, that I have nothing to trust in, nothing to build my hopes of salvation upon, but the mercy of a gracious and bountiful Creator, and the merits of a glorious Redeemer, who laid down his precious life for us, paid the ransom of his own precious blood, and has ascended up on high, and sitteth at the right hand of the Divine Majesty, making intercession for poor fallen man." He spoke in such a tender feeling manner, I was moved with gratitude, and think it worthy to be penned down.

The latter end of the second month, our son-in-law, Samuel Thorn, departed this life, after a tedious afflicted confinement of near three months; neither my husband nor myself was able to attend his funeral. It was trying, as I felt much for the family, having buried two

daughters, young women, sometime before, and I was not able to go to see them, nor attend their funerals. As these things lay upon my mind, the following lines sweetly presented:

"What cannot resignation do?  
It wonders can perform;  
That powerful charm, Thy will be done?  
Can lay the loudest storm."

This had a tendency to settle my mind, in humble resignation to the divine will. I then remembered I had paid him a visit in his sickness, had a favoured opportunity with him, and part of the family, when I took leave of him, as not expecting to see him again, so that my mind enjoyed a perfect calm.

I think I have scarcely ever experienced those expressions of the apostle nearer realized, than in my present feeble state; when he said, "For me to live is Christ, but to die is gain." As the will becomes fully subjected, and every thought brought into the obedience of Christ, when his will becomes ours, we have no will contrary to his divine will; then may we with propriety express, To live is Christ, to die is gain; great gain to put off mortality, and to be clothed upon with immortality, and eternal life. When the mind is thus centered, we are enabled to acknowledge, that sweet is thy voice and thy countenance is comely. Thy name is as precious ointment poured forth, therefore do the virgins love thee, the pure in heart, those who are weaned from every other beloved, and their affections set upon the Beloved of souls. These experience in truth that one hour in thy courts, or presence, is better than a thousand; they can testify that thy name, which is thy power, is as precious ointment, a savour of life unto life, which strengthens to offer the tribute of worship, adoration and praise, unto the great Jehovah, who is worthy, with his beloved Son our blessed Saviour and Redeemer, who paid the ransom for us, and who is one with the Father, to whom be glory, honour, thanksgiving and high renown for evermore. Amen.

E. C.

Many are the trials and afflictions, that await us in this probationary state, agreeable to the declaration of our blessed Saviour; who said, "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." In the eighth month, 1825, we met with a close trial, in the death of our son Ezra, who lived with his brother-in-law. When I heard he was sick, my impression was, that he would not get well, and I believed it right for me to give him up to Him, who has a just right to dispose of us, as he sees best. My business was, to beg for resignation to the divine will, and that he

might be prepared for the mansion of everlasting rest. We went to see him, found him very ill, and staid with him until the next day afternoon; he inquired of his father, if we expected to go home; he replied, we did if he was willing; he answered I have a choice in your staying, but if you think best of going, it must be so. When I parted from him, he took his leave of me in a very affectionate manner, and said, "Mother, I think I shall not see thee again." My reply was, "Well, my dear, if we do but meet in heaven, that will be the crown of all." He said, "Oh yes, mother," and spake as if he felt what he said. He saw I was feeble and tried, and showed his tenderness and sympathy for me, in requesting a friend to take hold of my arm, and help me down stairs. He departed on the following evening, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, without sigh or groan, so quietly, that those who sat by him could scarcely perceive when he ceased to breathe. He was a very dutiful son; from the best recollection I have, I do not remember he ever disobeyed me. His corpse was brought home, and at the funeral a lively testimony was borne, which had a tendency to strengthen my belief that all was well—that he was admitted into the mansions of everlasting rest. In a few months after, two of the daughters of my son Abraham Mason deceased, the first a blooming youth as it is common to see, taken out of time with a few days sickness, which greatly affected her sister who was in poor health: and she did not survive but about three months.

After narrating the circumstances attending the death of her son Ezra, in a letter to a friend, dated eleventh month 11th, 1825, she mentions a loss incurred by a son-in-law, and the reflections which passed through her mind on those occasions, in the following manner:—

"A fire caught in an old building near the house, that burnt nearly all their out buildings, which were very valuable, with the hay and grain in them, except a little Indian corn. I got there when it was all in flames; such a scene I never beheld; the house with its contents was saved, which is a great favour indeed; it is cause of gratitude, humble gratitude to the Author of all our blessings. When the buildings were all in flames, I remembered the expressions of Job, when stript of his substance and his children also; 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.'"

In the same letter she proceeds as follows:—

"I often feel anxious for thee, greatly desirous that thou mayest be preserved upon the right foundation, in this trying day, wherein the foundations of many are shaken, and they are denying the Lord that bought them, counting

the blood of the Covenant as an unholy thing. Sorrowful it is indeed, that such a division has taken place; such a great departure from the faith once delivered to the saints, and embraced by our predecessors. But through mercy there are some whose faith is not shaken; of which number I hope thou art one. It is in my heart to say, hold fast that which thou hast; that no one take thy crown from thee. The crown is to be obtained at the end of the race, and they that hold out to the end, are to be saved with an everlasting salvation. The apostle expressed, 'he had fought a good fight, had kept the faith, and that henceforth there was laid up for him a crown of righteousness.' It is a sifting time indeed. I have often remembered those expressions of our blessed Redeemer, where he told his followers, 'that Satan was desirous to have them, that he might sift them as wheat; but I have prayed for thee Peter, that thy faith fail not.' O may we walk worthy of the prayers, intercessions, and preservation of a gracious and bountiful Mediator and Redeemer, is the desire I now feel while I am writing."

In the second month, 1827, my dear husband departed this life in the seventy-fifth year of his age, after a long and tedious confinement and affliction of near five years and a half. His suffering at times was very great, which he was favoured to bear with much Christian fortitude and patience. He attended meetings as long as he was able to go, and encouraged my going whenever I was easy to leave him, and frequently mentioned his love for his friends. At different times he said, "the faith in which I have lived, is that faith in which I hope to die," and I fully believe he did. I never perceived the least change in his sentiment, and believe his departed spirit is now at rest in the arms of Redeeming Mercy; this is my comfort, my great consolation.

Our daughter, Lydia Stokes, was very ill at the time of her father's death; she grew better, so that there was some hope of her recovery, but being attacked with another complaint, she died on the 4th of the fifth month, 1827, in the fortieth year of her age, leaving eight children. Hannah Collins departed this life the 30th day of the following month, aged forty years. Her health had been declining for some years, though she mostly attended meetings, and was a good example therein. At one time, after raising some blood, she said to me, "O mother, what a favour to feel so composed and quiet at such a time." These discharges of blood from the lungs, though frequent, were not very large until the last. She had retired to bed as usual, and about twelve o'clock, it appeared a blood vessel ruptured, and she was soon suffocated, not being able to say much that could be un-



derstood. I did not get up into her chamber until she was nearly gone. A few short expressions indicated her state of preparation for the solemn event, "Give me up," "Take care of the children," "Sweet Jesus receive my spirit," "All will be well." I considered her a precious woman, and an affectionate daughter. If I had been her own mother, she could not have been kinder to me. We lived together more than thirteen years, and there never was an unpleasant word passed between us; this affords great satisfaction to my mind at this trying season. Oh, the loss we have felt, not only in our family, but in the Society; there is, however, a consoling hope, that our loss is her everlasting gain, that all is well indeed.

The 2nd of the fourth month, 1828, my son, Abraham Mason, departed this life in the fifty-third year of his age, after a long and tedious consumption, which through adorable mercy was sanctified to him for good. A profitable season, wherein he became instructed in the school of Christ, and was enabled to bear his affliction with Christian fortitude. Being favoured with his understanding, he took leave of his wife and children in an affectionate manner, and quietly departed without sigh or struggle. In the tenth month following, one of my grand-daughters in her twenty-third year, was removed by death; she appeared to be comfortably settled with a kind husband; but how uncertain are all things here below; nothing worth setting the mind upon. I have mentioned some of my close trials, not in a disposition of murmuring—no—for the language of my heart often is, Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? most assuredly; his ways are in wisdom, he knoweth what is best for us, what food is most convenient; they are removed from the troubles to come, and it is our duty to be resigned to his will.

It is a trying time in our Society; many have gone off, set up meetings of their own, and yet continue to be troublesome at our meetings; that it is a trying day, a day of mourning, wherein the language of my heart has often been, "Oh! that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people;" a time wherein the mournful exclamation may be adopted: "How are the mighty fallen;" yea, "how is the gold become dim, and the fine gold changed, the beautiful sons of Zion, and daughters too, have become as earthen pitchers;" brittle, and not fit to bear the inscription of holiness unto the Lord, and his Christ; for holiness becomes God's house forever.

Third month, 1829. I am now quite feeble, and it looks most likely "my departure is at hand." Be that as it may, the divine will be

done. I feel neither wish nor will, and may with some degree of propriety adopt the language of the apostle, "I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge will give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also, who love his appearance."

Through the summer, I have been in better health, so as to attend our quarterly meeting in the sixth month, and mostly our own particular meetings, and at seasons, a little to advocate the great Master's cause. Eleventh month, mostly confined to my room, but favoured with a quiet and composed mind, wherein I have been enabled to breathe, "glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men," to breathe, glory, honour, thanksgivings and praise unto the great Jehovah, who with his dear Son, our blessed Redeemer, is worthy forever. Oh! the preciousness of the Truth; how it strengthens and supports the mind, that I may say with the poet,

"My life, if thou preserv'st my life,  
Thy sacrifice shall be;  
And death, if death shall be my doom,  
Will join my soul to thee."

O blessed union and communion, to join the heavenly host in singing praises and hallelujahs, unto the Lord God and the Lamb, who is worthy forever. Amen.

"If ye love me keep my commandments," said Christ our Lord. "This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." Oh! the excellency of this love; it does away all malice, hard thoughts or resentments, and brings us where we can rejoice in the comfort and happiness of each other. In a degree of this love, I have been led secretly to intercede for the whole human family, that all might come to the knowledge of the Truth, as it is in Jesus, and be saved with an everlasting salvation.

This appears to close the memorandums of our beloved friend. In the sixth month, 1830, she addressed the following note to her Friends, at their quarterly meeting at Evesham.

Sixth month 15th, 1830.

My love affectionately to Friends at our quarterly select meeting. Although I am feeble in body, am sound in faith and love to our glorious Redeemer's cause.

ELIZABETH COLLINS.

Reports having been circulated that she had

changed her principles and adopted those which had latterly been spread amongst Friends; it became a matter of much concern to her; and after weighing the subject several weeks, she believed it proper to draw up a declaration of her faith, to refute the misrepresentation, and for the use of those who survived her, of which the following is a copy. She afterwards mentioned that the completion of it was a relief to her mind.

“As my health continues feeble, but being favoured with a sound mind and memory, an impression has repeatedly revived on my mind, as it is a day of misrepresentation, that it would be right to leave something to show that my faith is not changed; that I have no unity with that disorganizing spirit, that has caused the separation, which has taken place in our religious Society. In the faith in which I have lived, in that faith I desire to die. I hereby testify, that I am no Hicksite, but a firm believer in the divinity and offices of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; that he was the true Messiah, born of the Virgin Mary, and that he came a light into the world to enlighten mankind universally; that he was the one great propitiatory sacrifice and atonement for all; that he laid down his life, paid the ransom of his own precious blood, for our salvation and redemption; and when his mission here on earth was finished, ascended up on high, and now sitteth on the right hand of the Divine Majesty, making intercession for poor fallen man; and that he is our holy high Priest, and Advocate with the Father, even his own beloved Son; to whom belong glory and honour, adoration, thanksgiving and praise, both now, forever, and for evermore. Amen.

Dated Eleventh month 20th, 1830.

ELIZABETH COLLINS.

In the twelfth month she again addressed her Friends at their quarterly meeting, with this salutation of love, by which she evinced a continued interest in their welfare, and a humble, patient waiting for the coming of her Lord.

My love is affectionately to Friends at our quarterly meeting at Evesham, and may inform that I am endeavouring patiently to wait and quietly to hope for a blessed and happy change, when He who orders all things in wisdom, sees that it is enough; and may further add, finally, beloveds, farewell; be of good comfort, be of one mind; live in love, and the God of love and peace be with you. Amen.

ELIZABETH COLLINS.

Fourteenth of twelfth month, 1830.

From the summer of 1829, till the autumn of the following year, bodily infirmity and dis-

ease confined her very much at home. It was seldom she got to meeting in that period, but often expressed a desire to be with her Friends in their solemn assemblies, for the performance of divine worship, and made exertions in going, when others would have deemed it more proper to keep in the house. During the confinement, she was visited by many Friends to whom her conversation was interesting and instructive. Being an example in plainness and moderation, her mind was often under much exercise, on account of the many extravagancies which have crept into the Society, particularly in entertainments at marriages; and the deviations from the simplicity of our forefathers, in dress and the manner of living. She frequently expressed it was her conviction, there must be a return to first principles, and to the plain self-denying manners which they exhibited.

The separation in our religious Society, united as the members once were in the faith and fellowship of the gospel of Jesus Christ, was a subject of deep concern to her feeling mind. When in the company of any of those who had seceded, she demeaned herself towards them as becomes a Christian believer, kind and courteous, yet undeviating in maintaining the Truth as it is in Jesus, against the unsoundness of principle, and the disaffection which had unhappily overtaken them.

With those who kept their ground, labouring together for the preservation of the Society, amidst numerous difficulties, both new and keenly afflicting, she desired to partake in the fellowship of suffering, and to strengthen their hands as she might be enabled, frequently saying, her Friends never felt nearer to her. In a conversation with one of them who visited her, she remarked in substance respecting the secession; I am much retired from the Society of my dear Friends, but am not without feelings of near sympathy with them, in their tried situation, in bearing their testimony against this disorganizing spirit. I have had much time to reflect, and to weigh those things in my own mind, and my faith is in no wise shaken, but confirmed in a full persuasion and belief, that their principles must fall; they cannot stand; they are built upon the surface; but I am not prepared to say when that may be; it is all within the controlling power of divine Providence.

In the ninth and tenth months of 1830, her health a little recruited, so as to admit of attending the meeting to which she belonged pretty generally, where her company imparted comfort and encouragement to her Friends, who from her advanced age and frail system, could but anticipate the removal, in a short period, of one who was a mother in Israel amongst them. Her ministry on these occasions was very im-



pressive, both on account of the clearness of the doctrine, and the authority which accompanied it, being delivered with a distinct and audible voice, notwithstanding her reduced condition. She preached Christ Jesus, and him crucified, as the means of redemption from a fallen state, and from the power of the prince of darkness, in refutation of the unsound notions on these points, propagated by those who have seceded from us.

From this period she was confined to the house, her feeble frame gradually giving way to the influence of frequent indisposition and natural decay. On one occasion speaking of her debilitated state, and the improbability of getting out again, her daughter replied, it was the case the preceding winter when she expressed the same opinion, but had nevertheless recovered, so as to meet with her Friends. She, however, now confidently said, she should never see the meeting-house again, and "when the close comes, all will be well."

In a visit made by one of her junior friends, who considered it a privilege to be with her, and witness her patient submission to the Divine will, the liveliness of her spirit in old age, and the assurance of that blessed hope which reaches within the veil, she observed, "I am here yet; may I be favoured with patience to the end. I feel as one waiting the change, and believe the day's work has been done in the day time." To the same friend at another period; "Time is not tedious—I am favoured with a calm mind, and though the poor body suffers much at times, I dare not murmur or complain."

In the last few weeks she conversed very little, appearing to be almost entirely abstracted from worldly objects, and her mind collected into a state of waiting and fixedness upon the Lord, that she might be ready at his coming. About a week before the close, she was attacked with a pleuritic affection, which at times occasioned much pain and suffering, and prostration of strength. But having been long taught and disciplined in the school of Christ, she maintained the same patient, enduring spirit under suffering to the end, being clothed with that love and serenity, which gave evidence to those around her, that it was a participation of those joys, into the full fruition of which, we believe she was permitted to enter. She quietly departed on the 1st of the second month, 1831, in the seventy-seventh year of her age.

A TESTIMONY of the monthly meeting of Upper Evesham, New Jersey, concerning our beloved friend, Elizabeth Collins, deceased.

THIS our dear friend was born the 4th of the first month, 1755; her parents, Joshua and

Naomi Ballinger, being members of our religious Society. It appears by her own account left in writing, that her father died soon after she was six years of age; which notwithstanding the care of a watchful and affectionate mother, subjected her to many trials and difficulties. But she found her gracious Helper to be near, although like Samuel, when called of the Lord, she knew not what it was that then tendered her mind, causing her at times to wet her pillow with her tears. But yielding in measure to this divine influence, she experienced the supporting arm to be underneath, and was strengthened to resist many of the temptations incident to youth.

In the eighteenth year of her age, she joined in marriage with John Mason, a member of Evesham meeting, who, in about four years, was removed by death. Being thus left with two small children, under a humbling sense of her afflictions and trials she was brought very low in body and mind; but she remarks, "the Lord in mercy was near to support, and bear up through all, that I did not sink below hope, but was enabled to put my trust in Him, who had promised to be with the widow and fatherless."

In the year 1778, she was married to our friend Job Collins, and became a member of Upper Evesham meeting, where, in the twenty-fourth year of her age, her mind became exercised under an apprehension, that she was called to bear public testimony therein. And after a season of deep baptism, she was enabled to yield obedience to the divine requirements, by expressing a few words in meeting, which afforded her great peace of mind. Notwithstanding this, she had often to experience times of close stripping, when she was ready to call all in question. But He who regardeth the sighing of the needy, and satisfieth the hungry soul with bread, condescended in mercy to favour her with the light of his glorious countenance, to the strength and consolation of her drooping spirit, qualifying her, as she attended closely to the manifestation of duty, and persevered in unreserved dedication to the divine Master, to become a useful instrument, in publishing the glad tidings of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

As a minister, she was skilful in dividing the word, labouring zealously in the authority of Truth, to stir up the lukewarm and indifferent, and speaking a word in season to those that were weary; while the purity of her life, and the Christian meekness which marked her character, adorned the doctrines she delivered to others. In the exercise of the discipline, she was judicious and firm, being deeply concerned for the maintenance of our religious testimonies.

At different times she was engaged in religious visits to the meetings of Friends in this, and some of the adjacent states; and also in the weighty service of visiting families in divers places; for which service, she appeared to be peculiarly qualified.

The latter years of her life were attended with much bodily indisposition, but her exertions to meet with her friends in their religious assemblies, and her humble and reverent deportment, on those solemn occasions, afforded a striking example to others.

On the decease of several near connexions about the same period, by which she felt much stripped, she expresses herself in the following manner. "Although I was thus stripped, yet I was not forsaken by the Father and Fountain of all our sure mercies, who in condescending love was pleased to comfort my mind, yea, to favour with his holy presence. That I was led humbly to commemorate his goodness, his love and mercies extended from season to season, and secretly to implore the continuance of his blessing through time, that I might not become a dry and withered branch. O! it is a blessed state to be preserved alive in the Truth, bringing forth fruits in old age," which was remarkably verified in the experience of this, our beloved friend, in her advanced life.

In the year 1827, a dispensation of affliction was again meted out to her, in the painful and protracted illness and death of her beloved husband, and near the same time in the removal of several of her children. But through all, her mind was mercifully sustained in resignation, being enabled to adopt the language; "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

Being greatly exercised on account of the speculation and unsound doctrines and opinions, that have of late years been disseminated in our Society, she was often led in her public communications, to bear a faithful testimony against them; earnestly asserting her belief in the Lord Jesus as the Saviour of men, and the only appointed means of salvation. And a few months previous to her death, she drew up the following declaration. (See the declaration, page 471 of the Library.)

After nearly a year's confinement through indisposition, her health was sufficiently improved, in the ninth and tenth months last, to admit of her again attending our religious meetings. In those last opportunities of mingling with her friends in solemn worship, she was remarkably qualified to minister in that divine ability, for which she had been careful to wait.

In the course of the illness which immediately preceded her final change, she was preserved in patience and resignation, manifesting a willingness to fill up her measure of suffering, often expressing she had no desire respecting the issue of her disease, and could adopt the language of the apostle, "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." Her spirit was so clothed with peace and love, that the influence thereof, gave evidence to those around her, that she was in measure participating in the joys above. And as the closing period drew near, her mind seemed more and more withdrawn from the world, and under a sense that her work was done, and all would be well, she appeared as one quietly waiting for the coming of her Lord, to grant her an admission into the mansions of everlasting rest: into which we have no doubt, she has been permitted to enter.

She quietly departed this life on the first day of the second month, 1831, in the seventy-seventh year of her age; having been a minister about fifty-two years: and on the fourth of the same month her remains were interred in Friends' burial ground at Upper Evesham.

The preceding memorial was read and approved by Upper Evesham Monthly meeting of men and women Friends, held Third month 12th, 1831, and directed to be signed on behalf thereof, by

JOHN N. REEVE, } Clerks.  
PRISCILLA W. REEVE, }

Read and approved in Haddonfield Quarterly meeting, Third month 17th, 1831.

Signed on behalf thereof,

DAVID ROBERTS, } Clerks.  
SARAH NICHOLSON, }

## LIFE OF THOMAS ALDAM.

THIS Friend was one of the earliest converts of George Fox in the county of York. His mother, wife, and two sisters, were all convinced about the same time, in the year 1651. His residence was at Warmsworth, near Doncaster, where it is supposed he was born; but in what year is not ascertained.

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Previous to his knowledge of George Fox, he appears to have been a man religiously disposed, and was much attached to some of the ministers of that day, probably those called Puritans, who at that time, having overturned Episcopacy, took possession of the places of public worship and the livings of their prede-



cessors. With these, however, he became dissatisfied, for he aspired after a greater degree of spiritual light and purity than he had yet met with. Such was his condition, when George Fox came into the neighbourhood of his residence, through whose ministry he was effectually turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God.

The doctrine of the Divine Light, or the Spirit of Christ illuminating the soul, and opening to it the way of life and salvation, was readily acknowledged by him; through which he was drawn from a dependence on his former teachers, separated from the ways of the world, and qualified to bear a living testimony to the Truth, inviting others to "taste and see how good the Lord is."

In his ministerial labours, he was not only exercised in the meetings of Friends, but often attended the public places of worship, where he was frequently concerned to speak of the things of God, and at times to testify against the conduct both of the priests and people. He was thus engaged at Warmsworth, Hatfield, Wickesley, Edlington, Tickhill, Bawtry, Thorne, Handsworth, Rossington, and Pontefract. In almost all these places he met with very rude, severe treatment; but at Thorne, when the priest ordered the constable to "take out that rude and uncivil fellow, who came in so uncivilly and made a disturbance;" the constable being of a different spirit from the priest, replied: "He disturbeth no man, nor doth any man harm." After the priest had finished his sermon, Thomas Aldam preached to the people. Some of the rude sort, following the example of their priest, reviled him; and, not content with words, proceeded to blows, both with their hands and feet, and even spit upon him, turning him out of their church, as they called it. This may serve as rather a favourable specimen of the treatment, which he generally met with on these occasions.

About the year 1652, in consequence of a concern of this kind at Warmsworth, he was committed to York Castle by Darcy Wentworth, John Copley, George Byard, and Thomas Westby, justices. It is likely he was the first Friend who was imprisoned in that place for his religious principles, and he was continued a prisoner about two years and a half; during which time he was not only prevented from visiting his family, but his wife and relations frequently were not suffered to visit him.

During this long confinement, he was brought to trial before Judge Parker; but Thomas Aldam declining from conscientious motives to pay the judge the usual compliment of taking off the hat, and likewise addressing him in the singular number, with some remonstrances on his conduct, the judge fined him forty pounds,

and committed him to prison with an order that he should be kept close prisoner till he paid it; but, on application to Oliver Cromwell, an order was given for his liberation. He bore his sufferings with much patience, under a sense of the Lord's goodness to him; and had many opportunities of religious service, and of remonstrating with the judges and justices, on the cruelties which they imposed on an innocent people.

Besides this imprisonment, he also suffered much in his property for not paying tithes and other ecclesiastical demands. So great was the enmity of the priest of Warmsworth, that after all his cows had been taken from him, and he had borrowed one of a relation to supply his family with milk, the cruel priest threatened to take that away also. This priest, however, was reduced to poverty, his own children prodigally spending his property, and he himself died suddenly.

Though Thomas Aldam was a great sufferer, both in body and property, on account of his religious principles, yet his feelings were not confined to himself, but were extended to his suffering Friends, in various parts of the nation; for whose relief he travelled much in England, Scotland, and Ireland, visiting them in their prisons, and laying their distressing situations before those in authority. It was on one of these occasions, when applying to Oliver Cromwell for relief, that he took off his cap before the Protector, and tore it to pieces, saying: "So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house." This prediction he just lived to see fulfilled, dying in the year 1660.

In his last illness, he experienced much inward support and resignation to the event. At one time he felt his strength so renewed, that he thought he could go to London, if required; but soon added: "I am clear of the blood of all men. I feel nothing to this man," meaning Charles the Second, who was then just restored to his crown. The day before he died, he called his children together, and after giving them some advice, took his leave of them, and the next day resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator.

From the character I find given of this Friend, he appears to have been possessed of many excellent qualities. He was a man of great courage and firmness of mind, and being fully dedicated to the service of God and the support of his religious principles, he laboured and suffered much in that day of violence and persecution. Whilst his testimony was sharp against evil-doers, he was very tender towards those in whom he discovered sincere desires towards God and the knowledge of his Truth. He was a man of universal charity, manifesting

a disposition to do good unto all men, and thus showing forth the praise of Him who had called him out of darkness into his marvellous light.

In his own family, to use the words of his son, "He was often very broken hearted, watching over his children in the fear of the Lord. And when I remember the fervency of spirit which did attend him, and how, when he was going to take a journey on Truth's account, he would call his wife and children, and in great tenderness and humility bow his knees before the Lord, and pour out his supplications unto Him, desiring earnestly that the Lord might go with him, and committing us into his keeping; and what brokenness of heart was amongst us at such times, and how the love of God did abound, then can my soul say, those were precious seasons, and are not to be forgotten by us; but to be recorded to posterity, that we may tell our children, and they also may declare, when we are gone, how good the Lord hath been unto his people, and what great cause they have to love Him, and put their trust in Him; that so his name may be renowned amongst our families, so long as they shall have a being."

It has already been noticed that Thomas Aldam's mother, wife, and two sisters, were all

convinced by George Fox. Of the mother we find no further notice. His wife survived him only about three months: she was a religious woman, "of a very meek and quiet spirit, given up in all things to God's disposing."

His two sisters, Margaret Kellam and Joan Kellam, continued faithful to the convictions they had received, and were both serviceable women in the Society. Margaret travelled much in Truth's service, and many were convinced by her. She suffered imprisonment in several places, as Exeter, Banbury, and York. "Great," says her nephew, "was the boldness that did attend her, in sounding forth the truth, in the streets, steeple-houses, and market-places, and to the heads and rulers of the people; and the Lord was with her. She finished her course in the faith, signifying to a near relation, before her departure, the great peace she enjoyed with the Lord, and the clearness of conscience she had before him." She died in the year 1672.

Joan Kellam died in the year 1681, having been a very useful woman, and of much religious experience, by which she became as a mother in Israel, and a tender sympathizer with those who were in a state of suffering, whether in body or in mind.

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## LIFE OF WILLIAM AMES.

WE have no account of the birth of William Ames, or of his native country, except that John Whiting mentions him as being of Somersetshire. In his youth he was of a cheerful temper, and fond of the society of those of similar dispositions; but, in the gay and unguarded indulgence of this inclination, he was often disquieted in his mind; and, in consequence, became a closer follower of the priests and teachers. He also exercised himself diligently in reading the Holy Scriptures, which, though it is a practice very excellent in itself, was not sufficient to bring him to true peace of mind with the Lord.

Though he was of a quick understanding, and capable of deducing much argument from the Scriptures; yet he appears, for a time, not to have been favoured with the Key of David, which only can unlock and open that rich treasury, and furnish from those abundant stores, the food convenient for the seeking, hungry soul.

In this unsatisfied condition of mind, he entered into religious communion with the Baptist society, and became a teacher among them. At this period he was more strict and careful

of his conduct, and endeavoured to avoid the committing of sins; yet he found that the root from whence they sprung was alive in him; and when he met with any thing contrary to his own will, anger soon prevailed. Few appear to have been more fully and clearly taught the doctrine of the blessed Redeemer of men, when he said: "Without me ye can do nothing."

He could speak of justification, sanctification, and cleansing by the blood of Jesus, but was sensible he had not attained that pure washing; and even perceived that he was no true member of Christ, because he had not experienced regeneration. Thus he learned that a high profession was of no avail, and that something beyond it was essential to enable him to attain a happy condition.

Though he was thus clearly sensible of one thing still lacking; and, on committing sin, felt in himself a swift witness against it, a monitor that struck him with terror; yet he did not comprehend what it was which in mercy thus disquieted his soul.

In addition to the ministerial office which he had taken upon himself, he likewise engaged as



an officer in the army. In this capacity he maintained a strict life himself, and kept his soldiers under severe discipline; and when any of them were guilty of immorality on the first-day of the week, he had them put under confinement and restraint.

At length, in the year 1655, whilst Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were at Cork in Ireland, he heard one or both of them preach, declaring that what convinceth man of sin, is the *Light of Christ*, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. This doctrine entered so deeply into his heart, that he embraced it, from a firm conviction of its being the Truth; and walking with great circumspection and fear before the Lord, he found, that by diligent attention to that Divine principle which inwardly reprov'd and condemn'd him for evil, he came to be delivered from the power of sin, and to witness sanctification.

He entered into the Society of the despised Quakers, and continuing in the way of godliness, he became a zealous preacher of that doctrine which had so deeply penetrated his own heart.

In the year 1657, we find him at Amsterdam, in company with a person of the name of Humble Thatcher, who does not appear ever to have been fully in communion with our religious Society. It seems, from the circumstance of their being companions, and from William Ames being a man of extraordinary courage and boldness, that they were taken up, on suspicion of having placed a paper on the door of the English meeting-house, in that city; but of this charge William declared himself innocent; and also that he knew not who was the author of the paper. This happened at the time when many false reports were in print, concerning the Quakers, which probably occasioned the magistrates to be more apprehensive respecting them; and sending for William Ames and his companion to appear before them, they were commanded to depart the town in twenty-four hours.

Persuaded of their own innocence, these courageous and resolute men did not think proper to obey the command. The next day, from a conscientious scruple, not putting off their hats when before the magistrates, they were falsely considered as not owning the subordination due to rulers; and after being kept in custody for some days, they were at night led through the Regulars gate, and banished out of the town.

William Ames judging that he had committed no civil, returned the next day into the city, and passed the great market-place called the Dam. On this occasion it is said that some of the magistrates saw him and observed: "Lo! there is the Quaker; if we had a mind now to

make martyrs, here would be an opportunity for it." But it seems, as there was no proof of their having done any evil, the magistrates deemed it safest to wink at his return.

He staid some time in the city, and the doctrine which he preached found some entrance, even among a few of the collegians. At this time also his ministry proved convincing to Jacob Williamson Sewel, of Utrecht, free citizen and surgeon, resident at Amsterdam, and Judith Zinspenning his wife, who were the parents of William Sewel, the historian of our Society, and a lexicographer. These, with two or three more, were the first of our religious persuasion at Amsterdam.

In the preface to William Sewel's History, he mentions William Ames as having had considerable influence with several collegians when he was first at Amsterdam, who were so fully convinced of the doctrine he preached, that they approved of it; and one of them, Adam Boreels, so early as the year 1662, is supposed by William Sewel, to have written a treatise in Latin, with a title signifying "The Light upon the Candlestick," which contained the doctrines preached by William Ames, and was so expressed in the title page. This treatise is translated into English, and forms an Appendix to William Sewel's History of our Society.

About the year 1659, William Ames went into Germany, and visited the court of the Prince Elector, Charles Lodowick, who treated him kindly even at his own table, and seemed not to take any offence at his hat being kept on, though the lords and others present were uncovered. On one occasion, as Ames was walking next the prince, in his garden, with his hat on, the courtiers inquired of the prince, if they should question Ames for doing so; but this he would not permit them to do.

At another time the prince fixed to have both his chaplain and William Ames to dine with him, with a view, it seems, that William, whom he knew to be a bold man, might find occasion to reprove the chaplain. For this purpose, when they were at dinner, the prince suffered his jester to come in, and on playing his tricks the chaplain was silent. William Ames took occasion from this circumstance to reprove such vain actions; but chiefly aimed his remarks at the chaplain, whom, for his silence at the lewd remarks of the jester, he censured in very plain terms; which, however, appeared to afford satisfaction to the prince. This fact marks the uprightness, boldness, and firm integrity of the character of William Ames.

At Kriesheim, a town in the Palatinate, not far from Worms, he found such entrance among the Baptists, that some families not only received the doctrine he preached, but bore public testimony for it there, till the settlement

of Pennsylvania, when they unanimously went to that province, and thus providentially escaped the distresses which were occasioned by the war not long after; in which the Palatinate was laid waste by the French, and thousands were bereaved of their possessions and reduced to poverty.

The conviction which attended the ministry of William Ames, in the hearts of some persons in the Palatinate, occasioned a fine to be settled on those who gave him entertainment; but the Prince Elector being informed of it, not only took off the fine, but ordered some of the Consistory, who had sent for William, to desist from molesting him. The Prince's sister also behaved very kindly towards William Ames, and received his exhortations favourably.

The next year he went again into the Palatinate, with John Higgins, and visited the Prince Elector; he also sent a letter to the Prince, with a book written by George Fox, of which John Higgins appears to have been the bearer. From the captain of the prince's guard, they understood that he was glad of William Ames' return; and the prince himself desired John Higgins to thank William Ames for the letter and book; and added, that he took their visit to him and his family very kindly, and believed that what they spoke was in love to their souls.

William Ames also went to Hamburgh, Bohemia, and Dantzick, and from the latter into Poland; but it is not certain in what year. At Hamburgh and Dantzick he met with some who received the doctrine he preached; but in Poland the people were rude and haughty.

In the forepart of the year 1659, he went to Rotterdam, where he and one Martin Martinson, who had been convinced by him, were imprisoned in the Bedlam, for having a meeting at Martinson's house. The latter lived at Moordecht, a village near Gouda, and was in the practice of holding a meeting sometimes in his own house, with some of his sober minded neighbours, which caused a great commotion in the town; and after a meeting held there, at which William Ames was present, they experienced much rude treatment. In consequence of this, they had some conversation with a preacher, who charged William Ames with being a wolf and deceiver. William was desirous of having an opportunity of clearing himself, and by means of Martin Martinson got a time fixed for the priest to undertake the proof of his assertion; but instead of doing so, he had recourse to a less troublesome expedient, and procured civil officers, who took them both into custody.

After being confined a little more than three weeks in Bedlam, the under governor indirectly expressed a wish that they would escape; saying that he should not hinder them. William

Ames, not choosing to be reputed one who broke prison, concluded the conversation with saying: "Well, I intend to go out to-morrow." The next day they were suffered to go out, and William went with the deputy, before the dikegrave, not choosing to leave the town without seeing him. The dikegrave behaved moderately; but not judging it eligible for them to be released, expressed a desire for them to return to the prison, with which they complied, and were detained some time longer, before they were set at liberty. William then proceeded on his journey in Germany, and thence returned to his native country; but after some time he went again to Holland, probably with an intention of settling there.

In 1662, he was taken from a Friend's house in London, with Samuel Fisher and three others, and suffered a severe imprisonment in Bridewell; but his health not being equal to endure such severity, he was released, lest he should die there. Such was the rage of persecution at that time, that not only public meetings were interrupted, but private houses were broken into, and friendly visits were construed into meetings contrary to law.

His settled abode at this time was at Amsterdam, to which place, after his release, he returned, with his health much impaired; and he did not very long survive the effects of the severity he endured in Bridewell. In the course of his sickness, which was lingering, he was informed, that, among the Baptists and collegians, it was reported, he had changed his sentiments, and was grieved for having judged them wrongfully. This he denied; and said that he still judged their way of worship, especially their disputations and will-worship, to be out of the way of the Lord. In this belief he continued, and died in peace. This was in the latter part of the year 1662.

William Sewel thus concludes his account of this bold advocate, of the Light of Christ in the Heart. "He was indeed a zealous man, and though some were ready to think he was too zealous, yet he was discreet; and I know that he was condescending in indifferent matters, thinking that there were customs, which though not followed in one country, were yet tolerable in another. He was also generous; and lest he might seem burthensome to any, he rather chose to work with his own hands." He did this, at wool-combing, during his last imprisonment in London.

He published several small works, which are enumerated in John Whiting's catalogue of Friends' Books. In this list appears to be included "The Light upon the Candlestick," already noticed in this Memoir; and from his name being in the title page, John Whiting might suppose he was the author of it.



## LIFE OF SAMUEL FISHER.

THE conversion of Samuel Fisher to the principles of the Quakers, appears to have been the effect of the ministry of William Caton and John Stubbs. The time and place of his birth is not ascertained. He was educated at one of the universities, and entering into holy orders, as they are called, he first became chaplain to some person of quality, and afterwards was made priest of Lydd in Kent, a living at that time worth about two hundred pounds per annum. While in this situation, he was requested by the master of Luke Howard, an apprentice to a shoemaker at Dover, to converse with the young man respecting a scruple which he entertained about the singing of David's Psalms in places of public worship. Luke Howard explained the reasons of his uneasiness with that practice in such a manner, that Fisher, rather than he, was altered in opinion on the subject.

The arguments used on this occasion were these, that God is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth; but that it was contrary to truth, for a proud man to sing, that he was not puffed up in mind, that he had no scornful eye, and did not exercise himself in things too high for him. Further, to sing, rivers of tears run down my eyes, because other men keep not thy law, when those who thus sing, never knew true repentance for their own sins, was such a violation of common morality, as true religion could not sanction.

By this conversation, Samuel Fisher, who had already entertained some dissatisfaction with various matters connected with his present employment, grew more uneasy with it. Preaching for hire, and the baptism of infants, became a burden to his tender, feeling mind; and so great was his dedication to that which appeared to be his religious duty, that he voluntarily resigned his lucrative situation, took a farm for the support of his family, and joined himself in society with the Baptists, by whom he was highly esteemed; and he became a minister among them.

When William Caton and John Stubbs went into those parts, he hospitably entertained them in his house; and their gospel labours made some impression on his mind, though he did not then acknowledge it. After leaving Lydd, and visiting some places thereabout, they returned thither again, when they found their former labours had been blessed, and many persons were now ready to join them. George Hammond, however, a Baptist preacher, publicly preached against them; which gave Samuel Fisher so much uneasiness, that he stood

up in the same meeting, and said to Hammond: "Dear brother, you are very near and dear to me, but the truth is nearer and dearer. This is the everlasting truth and gospel." This was very trying to Hammond; and, with a mixture of anger and sorrow, he exclaimed: "Our brother Fisher is also bewitched." Fisher made no reply, but attaching himself still more closely to Caton and Stubbs, he joined the religious Society to which they belonged. This was in the year 1655.

In the following year Cromwell convened the parliament, which met on the 17th of the seventh month, in the Painted Chamber, Whitehall. Samuel Fisher had been under a great exercise for several days, from an apprehension of duty to go there at that time, and to deliver what he considered a message from the Lord to the Protector and Parliament. After much secret conflict of spirit, he resigned himself to this duty, and went to the Painted Chamber at the time appointed. The Protector made a long speech, in the course of which he said, he knew not of one man that suffered imprisonment unjustly in England. As soon as Cromwell had finished his speech, Fisher attempted to deliver what was upon his mind; but he had proceeded a very little in his intended speech, before he was interrupted with the cry of, "A Quaker, a Quaker; keep him down, he shall not speak." He however proceeded as long as he possibly could, and believed the Protector and Parliament men would have heard him, had not others violently opposed and prevented his speaking.

Being thus prevented from verbally communicating that which was upon his mind, he committed it to writing and published it. The following quotation will show the very low opinion he entertained of the then ruling party in the nation, and the plainness of speech with which he delivered his message, or rather the message of the Lord, to them.

After some introductory words, he expresses himself thus: "Ye are a seed of evil doers, saith the Lord; an hypocritical generation, a people whose heart is not right, and whose spirit is not stedfast with the Lord. Ye have made many shows of seeking my face, but ye have not found it, because ye have not sought it in sincerity. Ye have talked much of turning unto me, but ye have never done it yet with all your hearts; but feignedly, saith the Lord. Ye have seemed much to inquire after me in your long prayers, as if ye did delight to know my ways; but my ways, which are ways of purity, peace, and pleasantness, though

grievous to the wicked, ye yet know not, so well as ye might do, did ye stand in my counsel; and so far forth as ye do know of them, ye have no delight to walk in them, so strait and rugged are they to that nature which ye yet remain in. Ye call out to me after light, as if ye were very desirous to be enlightened; but ye are haters of my light and my life, saith the Lord, even the light in the conscience which I have placed in every one of you. This ye come not closely to, lest ye should be reproved by it, but love darkness more than it, because your deeds are evil.

"Ye have fasted often and hung down your heads like a bulrush for a day; but ye have never yet fasted unto me, saith the Lord. You find your own pleasure still; the bands of wickedness are not loosed; you are captivated still in the cords of your own sins; neither have you, in the midst of all your abstinence, abstained yet from the fleshly lusts which war against your souls; but are as proud as ever, as pompous and vain as ever, as luxurious and wanton; as covetous and earthly-minded; as self-seeking; as time-serving; as men-pleasing; as oppressing and unrighteous as before. Ye have often fasted for, but never fully from, your iniquities to this day, saith the Lord. Ye would be counted professors, yea promoters of religion, but are indeed persecutors of the very life and power, and of that people that do believe in the life and power of that same religion, which in form and words ye have long professed."

After a long remonstrance of this kind, and laying before Oliver and his Parliament the great inconsistency of their conduct, with the spirit of Christianity; and predicting their disgrace and downfall, he concludes thus: "What shall one then answer the messengers of the nations? Even this, that the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people have betaken themselves unto it. But all luxurious, wanton, and covetous worldlings, all formal professors and dissembling hypocrites, painted sepulchres and whited walls, base backsliders, and filthy liars, hireling priests and fawning prophets, and all proud oppressors and wicked opposers, and persecutors of Christ in his people, can have no share in it; but are shut out into the lake, and gone down for ever with the uncircumcised into the pit, which hath shut her mouth upon them there, world without end, to be confounded."

Thus plainly did our early Friends deal with that "hypocritical generation," who under pretensions of promoting liberty, both civil and religious, had proved more cruel persecutors than those who had gone before them, and many of them became so darkened in their under-

standings, as even to plead for persecution and to pray against the spreading of a spirit of toleration. No wonder then that the indignation both of God and of good men was kindled against such a people as this.

The 24th of the seventh month was appointed a day for a public fast and humiliation; and Samuel Fisher again attempted to relieve his exercised mind in a public manner. For this purpose he attended the parish worship-house called St. Margaret's, in Westminster. This was the place where the members of parliament were to attend. After two of their ministers had finished their sermons, Fisher attempted to relieve his mind, but with no better success than before. He therefore had recourse to the same expedient, and committed to writing the substance of what he would have verbally communicated. Indeed it is probable he rather enlarged than contracted it; as the piece consists of eight folio pages, and contains much excellent advice as well as close remonstrance on various subjects relating to their public and private conduct.

In the year 1659, he accompanied Edward Burrough to Dunkirk, where they visited the Capuchin and other Friars; also the Jesuits; and had some discourse with them on the subject of the Light of Christ; and warned them of the day that would come upon their idolatrous ways, worships, and works. They had also religious meetings with the English soldiers and their officers; Dunkirk being at that time in possession of the English. They were sent for on their landing by Colonel Alsop, deputy-governor to Lockhart, and when Lockhart returned he also sent for them. To these persons they explained the nature of their concern, and were civilly treated by them.

Having performed their service at Dunkirk, they returned to England, and in the following year Samuel Fisher and John Stubbs went to Rome, where they entered into conversation with some of the cardinals, and testified against the Popish superstitions. They also distributed books, explanatory of their principles, among the friars, some of whom confessed to the truth of their doctrine; but said that if they should acknowledge this publicly, they might expect to be burnt. Fisher and Stubbs, however, met with no interruption or molestation. In the course of their journey they underwent many difficulties, travelling on foot over the Alps, and in the countries through which they had to pass; but that Divine hand which led them forth, protected and delivered them; and brought them safely back to their native land.

After his return to England, Samuel Fisher was seldom out of prison for his religious conduct and principles. In the year 1661, he was



arrested at a meeting in Westminster, and committed to the Gatehouse, where he was continued a prisoner for several months, in a small hole, without a chimney, during a cold season of the year. After his release from this imprisonment, he was apprehended as he was walking the streets of London, and with nine others was committed to Wood-street Compter, where the accommodation was so small, that there was not room for all of them to lie down at once. Being taken before the magistrates at Guildhall, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to him, which of course refusing to take, he was committed to Newgate, where he continued sixteen weeks.

He could not have been long at liberty, before he was again made a prisoner; for on the 21st of the third month, 1662, he was arrested in a private house, by a company of soldiers, who showed no cause for their violent conduct, nor any warrant but their swords. After being hurried from place to place, he was at last brought before Richard Brown, a man famous, or rather infamous, for his violent persecuting spirit. By him Fisher was committed to Bridewell. The next day his mittimus was changed, and the charge on which he was committed was for unlawfully assembling to worship. After an imprisonment of six weeks, he was brought up to the sessions at the Old Bailey, where, instead of a legal trial on the subject of his mittimus, the oath was again administered to him contrary to law, in his situation as a prisoner. He desired the law to be read that required him to take the oath, which, though promised, was not done, but only the form of the oath was read to him. Even when this was done, time was not afforded for him to give a reply, but the magistrates immediately ordered him to be taken away, a command which the officers executed with that violence which they knew would be acceptable to their superiors. On leaving the court, Samuel Fisher addressed it with these few emphatic words:

“If such doings as these ever prosper, it must be when there is no God.”

He was now committed to Newgate, where he continued a prisoner about twelve months, many of his friends being in confinement there at the same time. This dear Friend might indeed say with the apostle, “In every place, bonds and afflictions abide me.” Before the expiration of the year 1663, a great part of which must have elapsed previous to his liberation from Newgate, he was again arrested and committed to prison. While attending a meeting at Charlewood in Surry, he was taken and committed to the White Lion Jail in Southwark. Here he continued a prisoner till the time of his death, which took place on the last day of the sixth month, 1665. Concerning his decease we find no particulars, except that Sewel says he “died piously.”

It appears from various accounts, that Samuel Fisher was a man of a most amiable disposition and manners. Ellis Hookes, Luke Howard, and William Penn, all speak very highly of his virtues. The latter says, “Though I greatly valued his abilities, employed so accurately in a good cause; yet above all I cannot but admire and love his great self-denial and humility, who from being a teacher, became willing to be taught; and that most evenness and sweetness of temper his most intimate friends have often observed in him; so that he was not only a good scribe, but a good liver; a Christian according to the apostle James, composed of faith and works; therefore is his name of good savour with the righteous, because he counted nothing dear, in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which came not by flesh and blood, but by the revelation of the Father of Lights.” This testimony of William Penn is abundantly confirmed by his intimate friends, Ellis Hookes and Luke Howard, who speak highly of his Christian virtues and patient suffering for the testimony of Jesus.

















