

# THE JOURNAL OF THE LIFE AND GOSPEL LABORS

OF

# JOHN BURNYEAT

*“The memory of the just is blessed.”—Prov. 10:7*

*“The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.”—Psalm 112:6.*

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*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 labored 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 succor, 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 labors, and his works follow him. He travelled and preached the Gospel in Ireland, Scotland, Barbados,

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 conduct, 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 forever.

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 labored 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 does 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.

George Fox

*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 neighbors and kindred; and shall speak of him only, as some of us knew him from an intimate fellowship in many 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 forever.

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 skillful marksman, yes 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 lack of watchfulness 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 pretenses, endeavored to sow the seeds of dissension, discord, separation and division among the gathered of God. The Lord blessed his labors greatly, and so preserved him in a holy conduct, 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 several services for the Truth's sake; and blessed was our labor 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 forever. 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 honor; 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 go without, that do not prefer the Truth above the chiefest joy.

London, the 10th of the eleventh month, 1690-1.

Stephen Crisp, Charles Marshall, William Bingley, John Field, Francis Stamper, Jasper Batt, William Penn, Benjamin Antrobus, John Vaughton, Benjamin Bangs, Samuel Waldenfield, John Butcher.

*[Presumed to be issued from the Morning meeting of ministers and elders.]*

## **JOURNAL 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, etc.*

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 George Fox, 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 Savior 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 labor of love effectual unto thousands, amongst whom he sent his servants to labor, and amongst whom it pleased the Lord to grant me the favor 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 I 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 w-as need of a Savior 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 lacking; 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 pretense 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 lack 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 great need that I was in, but also the reprov'd things; and then sin became exceedingly sinful, and the load and burden 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 Savior, 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 where 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 endeavored 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. 10:22.

But, alas! we had not boldness,—for the living faith was lacking; 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 1:27: 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, 6 and 8,) 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 12:36: 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. 4:4. 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 vail 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, have you taken us away to die in the wilderness,” etc. Exod. 14:11. Thus through many tribulations must the kingdom be entered by all that strive rightly to enter, according to Christ's command. Luke 13:24.

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 does 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 does 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. 49:9, and Isa. 62:7, and 61:23; 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 14:16 and 26 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. 54:13; John 6:4, 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 4:24. Then we came to see over all the worships 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. Matt. 15:9; and therefore were we constrained 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 does 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 limes, 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. 30:5 and such as had been in the foregoing deep afflictions, tossings, and distresses, came to witness the fulfilling of that great gospel promise; “O! you afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted; behold I will lay your stones with fair colors, and lay your foundations with sapphires: and I will make your windows of agates, and your gales of carbuncles, and all your borders of pleasant stones. And all your children shall be taught of the Lord; and great shall be the peace of your children. In righteousness shall you be established; you shall be far from oppression; for you shall not fear, and from terror, for it shall not come near you,” Isa. 54:11-14.

Thus came we by Him to be gathered into covenant with God, and lowliness the fulfilling of the promises of God, in whom all the promises are yes 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 Savior,—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. 27:20, that he was in the midst of us, and did honor 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 wail upon him; for we found the ancient experience of the Church to be true, as testified in the Scripture, “Because of the savor of your good ointments, your name is as ointment poured forth; therefore do the virgins love you.”

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; yes, 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 favor 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 apostasy, 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 subtlety 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 prisoning, 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 conduct 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 ignorant 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 forever. 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,” etc. Matt. 6:24,) 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. 12:27;) 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 conduct, 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. 1 and Isa. 46:3. 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 lack 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 fit, 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. 2:2; 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 Savior, 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 says the Apostle, Titus 2:12, and therefore lacked 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 has given, has been in us as a well of water springing up into eternal life, according to his promise; and, therefore, has 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, etc. as Paul wrote unto them. Ephes. 2:8.

## 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, Lortont Brigham—Is committed to Carlisle jail—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 labor, 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 permitted not our expectation to fail;—everlasting glory, and honor, and praise be to his worthy and honorable name forever! 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 your 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. 30:25, 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. 21:22;) I say, when my heart was thus fitted and filled, then did I endeavor 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 teaches, 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 subtlety, (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 lack of true fear and care, might the soul come to a loss before 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. 12. 43; and the command of God was to Aaron by Moses, "That no stranger should eat of the holy things," etc., Lev. 22:10.

And again Solomon says, "The heart knows his own bitterness, and a stranger does not intermeddle with his joy." Prov. 14:10. Much might be said further, but this is the matter, — it is wisdom for the heart that has known its own bitterness in the judgment and distress, and through it has 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 succored 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 favor 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,” etc. 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 does the work of the Lord

negligently, etc. 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 does the work of the Lord negligently, etc. 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 has sinned, all you that bend the bow, shoot at her; spare no arrows, for she has sinned, etc. 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 2:15, Jude 10-12.

Sometime after, I was moved by the Spirit of the Lord to go to Lorton, to speak to one Fogue, 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 graveyard, 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.<sup>1</sup> And when I wrote a paper to the priest, wherein I answered his false accusation, and sent it 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:

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<sup>1</sup> In the year 1657. Besse's Sufferings, vol. i. fol. 128

You who stand up to teach the people, behold your flock which you 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 does bring forth for God, evidences to your face, that you are not sent by him, but run, and the Lord does 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 you are of, and what fruits you bear! whether you and your followers bear the fruits of the ministers of Christ and the saints, or you 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. You, 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, you are Christians; for we are kept in prison, and our friends are hindered to come to us. Oh be ashamed of your flock, you teachers, that for all your teaching, you 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, you teachers, that your flock is not a flock of sheep and lambs; but the nature of wolves appeal's among them, whose mouths are open against the innocent, who live in the nature of the lamb. Are you 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 conduct. Oh cease! Seeing no fruit is brought forth to God by all your labor. Is it not for the love of money that you teach? And do you not seek after the fleece more than the flock? Do you 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 you 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, yes or no? 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 lack 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 there, 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 there I travelled to Dublin, and from there 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 there, it came upon me that I should return back again to Lurgan and Kilmore, and from there 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 labored 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 steeplehouse 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 permit 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 labor 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 steeplehouses, 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. 2:16, 17.

[The following epistle was written about this time.] Clanbrasol, 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 has abounded, and will abound, as we abide in that, to which his love does reach, which is his own seed; and which he has 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, you 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 shedding 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 has raised, may be felt, and may rule in every one of us, over him that has the power of death, to His praise and glory who has 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 you 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 labored 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 Kirkowbry in Scotland, and from there came over-land into Cuinberland, and to Cockermouth.



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 Barbados—John Perrots notions—Visits Virginia, and New England—In 1667 returns to Barbados, and from there 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 forever. 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 several 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 offense; 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 before we had done, etc. 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 reaches 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 has made manifest in your hearts, whereby every mind that has

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, you 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 you 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 has 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 anything 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 you, 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 you 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 anything 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 has 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 honor and glory, and the praise, from the work of his own hands, who is God over all, blessed forever and ever, whose works will forever 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 forever, 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 fulfill 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 Barbados; and was seven weeks and two days in sailing to Barbados. I stayed there about three or four months, and visited Friends, and travelled and labored 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 pretense 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 laborers, who first labored amongst us, as also contrary to the advice of the apostle. Heb. 10:25. 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 prevalence 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

Barbados, the third day of the First month, 1665.

Dearly Beloved,

Unto whom the pure love of my heart in the covenant of life does plenteously 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 has 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 has appeared, and made manifest his power in your hearts, even so wait you; that your dwelling you may come to witness to be in the same. For Friends, you know, that it is not sufficient only to know that He has appeared, but that you 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 has 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 you 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 labored, 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 labored 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 labor 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 endeavors, 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 honor, 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 offense 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 labor 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 has raised to be the horn of salvation in the house of his servant David, to rule over the redeemed in Israel forever; unto you is my heart opened in pure, unfeigned love, and in the plentiful flowing of the same at this time does 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 has 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 you have received in Christ Jesus our Lord; in which as you have believed, you 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 you walk circumspectly, answerable unto the gospel of Christ Jesus, in which you have believed; that you may adorn the same in your lives and conduct, 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 has 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 has



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 lack 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 reprov'd the Church in the days of the entrance of the apostasy, when they began to decline from the purity of the gospel. As you 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 forever 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 nourishes 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 has 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,

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 there through the woods to Ponyganset, and from there 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 Barbados, 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 Barbados, 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, does 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 you all watch unto the Truth, and wait upon the preserving power of the Lord God, that you 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 has 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 has 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 faithful in your places, that you may be a blessing in your generation in those countries and places where you dwell; that the nations may be seasoned, that your savory life may sweeten the people. And Friends, have an eye to the glory of God, and the honor 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 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 clamor, 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 lacking. 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 steadfastness 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 has 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 has appeared and gathered by his power, and also does preserve and nourish by the virtue of the same, all that he has 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

From there 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 from there 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 does 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 honor unto the Lord in your generation, and then you need not doubt, but the Lord will honor 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 conduct 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 forever. 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, you 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 veils, 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 anything in this day, wherein the Searcher of all hearts has 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 has called out of darkness into his marvelous 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 you 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 forever 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 forever, that you may never be rejected. In him is the Father well pleased, in him are all our offerings accepted, and without him you 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, you 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 has 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 traveling 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 labors 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 several places, till I came to Bristol; and was at Bristol about the 25th of the fifth month, 1669.

From there I went over into Wales again, and passed through South Wales, as far as Pembrokeshire; and from there I took my journey through the mountains towards North Wales, and visited Friends in Radnorshire; and from there 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 labor 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 you kindle fire on mine altar for naught." Mal. 1:10: to him be glory, and honor, and praise over all

forever; 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 conveniency to go for Barbados, that being upon me.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

*In 1670, again sails for Barbados with William Simpson—Simpson's 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 Barbados, where we arrived the thirtieth day of the seventh month; so that we were twelve weeks from Gravesend before we got to Barbados.

I stayed in Barbados six months, and had great and weighty service in that Island before I could be clear.

*Epistle to Friends in Barbados.*

Barbados, 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

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<sup>2</sup> In this year, 1670, the act against seditious conventicles 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 meetinghouses, or to prevent preaching, etc. 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 pounds; 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.



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 vail 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 has 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 anything, rather than suffer; and then the offense 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 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 anything, 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 forever. 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 burden 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 thereaway, 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 has 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 permits you to be tried, and your faith to be proved, as it has 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 has 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 honored, 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 forever, 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 has 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 ravenous, and so ravening wolves; and labor 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 forever, he has brought many to the mountain of his holiness, where they shall not hurt or destroy; even as he has 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 there 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 honor, and praises, to the Lord our God forever and ever! For he has 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 has been prophesied. Seeing it is certainly thus, let us all trust in him, forever; and wait upon him, that

his power may be felt by us, and his love and virtue may be fed upon, which nourishes 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 has 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 allow 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. From there I went over to East Jersey to visit Friends there, and had some meetings: and I returned back again to Gravesend, and from there 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 caviled 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 endeavored 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 endeavored to lead them into a fleshly liberty to shun the cross, etc. 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 honor, 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 there 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 there 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, namely, second and third-days. On fourth-day we came to Sassafras 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 themselves 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 earned 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 traveling.

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 endeavor 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 allow 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, namely, 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 forever. Amen.

After this we stayed a little upon the island, and went back to have some meetings, and returned again to Oyster Bay; and from there 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 endeavoring to make Friends appear to be in the error, I said to them, before the people, "If I must be disputed with as a heretic, and your church esteemed as a true church, I am willing we should come to the rule Christ has 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," etc. 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, etc. Then they were confounded, and knew not what to say; but one of them fled to that decree made by Artaxerxes. Ezra 7:26. 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. 13:2, when your church banished neighbors from their own dwellings,—an act of cruelty, etc.

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 Ferret's, keeping on their hats when Friends prayed, etc. 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 labored to bring them to an understanding of that notion they were gone into, and so labored 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 children, 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 endeavored to stir up persecution.

After the meeting was over, we went along to Piscataqua, with Friends who came from there 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 several 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, etc. 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 Diotrophes 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 labored 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 honor to the Head, etc., 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 labored to have that reversed which I had spoken; and said, it was very hard, etc.

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 there 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 Firebrand Quenched," etc., 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 there 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 dared 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, no, 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 dared 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, etc. 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 permitted 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 there; 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 Barbados.

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, that is, all 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 labor 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 there 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 Clifts, 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 honor, and praise to him forever! Then I came up through the county of Catherlough, [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 there 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 forever! 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 there 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, laboring 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 traveling 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 meetings. 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 there 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 endeavored 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 Diotrephes, 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, that is, 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 endeavored 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, namely, 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 Mackynleth, 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 has called and sanctified, and chosen in the Son of his love, through whom he has 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 has 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 you shall find;' for as He is faithful that has 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 all be watchful, to keep the enemy of your souls out of your hearts, that He may reign who is your friend, forever, 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 forever 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 center in the true power, to the likeness and image which has 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 nourishes 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, has 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 forever; 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, causes 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 does 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 forever 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 forever 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,

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 Willshire 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 there 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 traveling 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 several 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 several things, and pleading for a liberty from under the exercise of the cross, that the offense 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 some; who, like those the apostle writes against in his Epistle to the Galatians, that to avoid persecution endeavored to bring the believers under circumcision, that so the offense 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 does 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 does 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 endeavors for the reconciling and gathering into the heavenly unity, and making up of the breach, I returned from there again into Cumberland with several brethren, namely, J. T., J. B., Hugh Tickhill, Thomas Laythes, John Steele,<sup>3</sup> 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 opened 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

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3 See Pike and Oxley, p. 43.



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 there 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 endeavor 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, etc.

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 some 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 several testimonies in writing against that spirit, by which they had been seduced, with a confession of the error 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 Savior and healer of his people, who now heals and saves by his word, as he did of old!

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 has 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 has 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 honor 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 forever be accepted by him, and be well pleasing in his sight. But out of that you know, none shall be regarded by Him, though you 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 forever 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 you 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 honor 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 has not its spring in, nor from that heavenly gift; which cannot keep the hearts pure, as the heavenly does. 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 forever. 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 has 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 endeavored to lay waste God's heritage, and obstruct his work, and laid stumbling blocks in the way of God's traveling 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 forever, 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.

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*A paper of John Burnyeats, 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 in this way: — Though you be willing so to be, yet I will not be trodden under; and He 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 forever, who both gives the word, and power

to deliver it!

To Friends in New England, Virginia, Maryland and Barbados.

Dear and well-beloved,—Unto you who are the called of God in those parts, unto whom the visitation of his day has reached, and upon whose hearts the heavenly light thereof has shined, in its pure spiritual breakings forth, so that you are become the children thereof, and do walk therein; unto you all does 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 divine 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 (or ever.

Dear Friends, great and large has 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 has 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 has richly comforted our souls, and lifted up our heads above all sorrow, even when the enemy has thought to” sink us down into the pit. Thus has the Lord dealt bountifully with our souls, and been a ready help in the needful time; to him be the honor and glory forever and ever! So that now it behoves all, after so many deliverances, favors 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 forever. The heavenly power which God has revealed in our hearts, and made manifest for a

standing foundation, that is sure forever; 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 defense, 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 has visited you, and through which his day has 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, warmness and virtue. Now Friends, this is that which forever 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 permitted 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 has the enemy so prevailed over some, that he has brought them again into the night of everlasting darkness and confusion, before they have been aware where he would lead; and thus as a man void of understanding, over whom the adulteress has 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 forever;

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 lack of constancy and steadfastness, which is preserved through a true, watchful and diligent attendance upon that which does not change, which is sure forever, 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 does occasion any to linger, or draw back, is carelessness, unbelief and disobedience; and in such the Lord's soul does take no pleasure.

And therefore in that which does 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 does stand forever. 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 has 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 you 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, 1667*

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 color of law. But the next day, the said informer went to William Pugh of Mathauern, 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 a half after seizure; and the other Friend's died in the informer's hands within six month time.

*To the Women's meeting in Cumberland.*

London, 20th of fourth month 1678.

Dear and well-beloved in the Lord,—with you my soul has 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 has called us, and in his Son chosen us to be heirs of life.

Dear Friends, yourselves know that he, who through his bounty has blessed us with spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, so that we are made stewards of his manifold graces, does 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 Savior 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 has led us; and many temptations has the Lord delivered us from, and led us out of; and many weaknesses has he passed by, and trespasses has 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 has 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 forever, 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 has called us; and if we so be to his praise, we must grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior, 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 savory 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 does 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 savory: and in this will all your meetings, your care, and labor 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 honor, 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 has 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

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*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 perishes. Truly my heart believes, that the Lord does not permit 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 does 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 there, 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 fulfill 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 has sometimes grown into a heat, which has 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 honor 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 lack 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 honor, who is over all, and worthy of all, blessed forever. Amen.

From your friend and brother, in that which shall outlive all hardship, in which we have believed.

John Burnyeat  
*London, 1680*

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Dear Friends,

You whom the Lord has visited and reached unto by his own holy arm of heavenly power, for that blessed end for which he has visited many nations, and appeared unto many people, namely, 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 has 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 has 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 has showed it unto you, and called you to walk therein; and the mark you have seen, the Lord has 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 has 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 has 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 teaches and guides 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 honor, 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 forever. Therefore, dear Friends, wait to feel his power in your hearts, and diligently mind the blessed work thereof; that you may feel how it purges your consciences from dead works, and cleanses your hearts from sin; for sin defiles 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 does 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 conduct their works, with meekness and wisdom. But says the apostle, “If there be envying, and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the Truth: this wisdom descends 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, etc.: and the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace;” so that you may see the fruits brought forth and manifest the wisdom from which 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, says the apostle, if there be bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the Truth; say not, you are in the heavenly wisdom, while this lodges in you; for this wisdom descends 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, says, “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 saviors: and therefore was it said by the prophet, they should be as saviors 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 Savior, 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 Savior, 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 does 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 teaches 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 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 honor and glory of him who has called and visited you; who is worthy of all glory and honor, praise and dominion forever! And dear Friends, my heart's love reaches 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*

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Dear Friends,



Unto you, whom God has visited in his love and mercy, and unto whom he has showed kindness through his Son our Savior, whom he has given for salvation unto the ends of the earth; unto you, I say, does 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 has 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 does stand forever; 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 has anointed, and whose Spirit the Father has 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, yes, joint-heirs with Him, that is true and holy forever.

And now my Friends, seeing the Lord in mercy has called you unto this high and honorable 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 has purchased with his own blood; it has 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 does 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 a holy care and the living zeal for the Lord's honor 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 honorable 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 government 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 savory 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 has 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 honor of Truth; that every thing that would bring dishonor to that worthy name, by which you 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 forever 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 several places in this nation, are under great sufferings for their testi-

mony: but otherwise the Truth does 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 various 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 endeavor 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 has 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 Barbados, 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

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*An Epistle to Friends of Bristol, directed to a 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 has visited us, is the love and true endeared affection of my heart and spirit richly extended unto you,

with your 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 forever, 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 pleases 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 does 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. You are able to save, etc.

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 pretenses 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 Savior; 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 be 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. 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 meetinghouse, 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 forever! 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, etc.

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 Dissenters; however, if the Lord permit 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.! 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 fit 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 several 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 tomorrow I intend, if the Lord will, to go forth again to the province meeting at Rosenallis.

*The following living 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 has 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 honor and glorify him. Now this work of restoration, you know, God has sent his Son to effect and accomplish in man, and for man, that again man might honor 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 man.

Therefore, that you may be his delight, and that he may take pleasure in you, keep in that which has renewed, or does renew and change the heart and spirit, that in the newness thereof you may serve, and honor, and glorify him, from whom the renewing power and word does come, that so the new creation, the new heavens and earth may be known, wherein righteousness dwells; and that you may have your citizenship there, and shine as lights among this crooked and perverse generation, in whose heaven and" earth unrighteousness does 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 has 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 allowed 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 has manifested that which is sure forever, 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 you 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 has 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 has 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 has immortality, and dwells in the light: to whom be glory and eternal praises, says my soul for evermore. Amen, From your friend, and one that truly loves you in the Truth.

John Burnyeat

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*Letter to Friends in Prison*

Castle Salem, in the west of Ireland, the 30th of the Tenth month, 1682.

Dear R. S.,

Unto you with your dear wife, C. H., R. V., and theirs, with the rest of Friends there in prison with you, does 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 sutler, or are given up to suffer, and value your testimony above all things for his name's sake that has loved you; and so are of that number, that love not your lives unto death, but are given up to follow the Lamb, wheresoever 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 honor and praise to the living God that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb, who is worthy forever 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, yes 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 Savior, and so follow Christ our redeemer, who can cut a passage through the great deep; let us not be dismayed at anything, 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 lack 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 before 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 innocency, and so as lambs to suffer for our innocency, 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 innocency. 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, no, 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 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 has called you unto, and you are happy in your nobility and valor; 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 has 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 valor and strength, and enrich you with true patience, which tribulation works 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 has 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

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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 tomorrow, 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 favors, 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 tomorrow 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 honored; and not only Friends, but many sober people were greatly affected with the management thereof Well; the Lord will honor his name and way and people, if we be but careful to honor 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 has 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 does 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 speaking, 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, etc. In the end the bishop said, if we would meet, we must take what did follow, etc. However, I hope it will work for the honor 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 pleases; I know no better way, than to endeavor 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 Savior, who has 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 does 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, except as they get here in the faith with their hearts and spirits: and when we are here spiritually. Oh, this holy shield, how does 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 wheresoever 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 forever, 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 forever; 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 has 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 forever! 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 has 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 has so prevailed, and made the nations drink, 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 does view it but the greatness of their sin does 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.<sup>4</sup> 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 favors at the hand of the Lord: O! that we may walk worthy thereof forever, 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 fit 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 Southend of the nation, and so from the Province meeting at Castle-dermot, I came home on the second-day, and an appointed marriage<sup>5</sup> was to be on the third-day, which took place accordingly; and abundance of people there was, so that we had a

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<sup>4</sup> The Earl of Arran.

<sup>5</sup> This was Amos Strettel's marriage.

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 honor the Truth.

I have had a busy winter in traveling, 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 forever! 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 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. Tomorrow 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 tomorrow week, if the Lord will.

Hitherto all has been very quiet where I have been; and I hear nothing, but Friends' meetings are quiet all over Scotland, and Friends are permitted to be quiet: but in some places they are

very busy with some other people.

Here has 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 travailing 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. From there I 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 there 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 Swarthraore, 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 tomorrow 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 has 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 does 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 lacking 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 forever. 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 John Banks*

Dublin, the 19th of the Sixth month, 1685.

Dear John Banks,

Unto you with your fellow-prisoners, who suffer for the blessed testimony of that precious Truth, in which we have believed, does 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, namely, 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 tightly 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 where 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 honored 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, etc. And have a care of provoking one another unto anything that is evil; but endeavor 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 fulfill 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 has an honorable 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 defense 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 favor 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 offense should be given to some Friends here, by some that take liberty there, (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 forever. 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 honor 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, does 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 has 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 wakes 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 honored. Therefore does he require the heart, saying, my son, give me your 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 lack 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 favor, there the Lord will not delight to dwell, there is not room; no, 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 I 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, says he unto them, you 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 has been at work, and has done good by his glorious power, who works 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 has made known his wonted goodness to us, even that which does far exceed the outward privileges of outward Israel; for that which he blesses 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 creature; 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 anything, 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, etc. 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 says he, the mouth of the righteous speaks 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; yes, 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 forever, and so with him be co-heirs of that heavenly inheritance and possession, which he has 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 has called you out of darkness into his marvelous light; who over all is worthy of glory and honor 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 Roger Roberts,

In the love and unity of the blessed Truth, which lives and abides for' ever, do I very dearly salute you and your 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 preserved 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 does. 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 does, 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 your own account, having heard of your great weakness, and affliction you have been under, and also because of the loss of your 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 has done it; and it is not safe to dispute the case with him, or say, why has 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 you and your wife with safety, you need not sorrow, as such who have no hope, because of the ground God has 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, that is, 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 you 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 forever. 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 you 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 you here. For methinks, all this while you have been absent, your place seems to be empty; I cannot look upon it, that you should be from amongst us. But if the Lord give strength, you should be here, bearing and having your share with us: for I look upon you as one of us, and so methinks would not have you delay, as the way opens. My wife's very dear love is to you and your 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 you, I conclude and remain your 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 has 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 forever, who gives us blessed seasons, and calms, and quiets. It is true forever, 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 has a hand in ordering of, or allowing 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 favors; 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 several 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 has 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 preciousy 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, 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, tomorrow 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 permits 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 forever; and therefore we need look at no other. John Burnyeat.

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*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 liis 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 several 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 honor 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 has 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 forever! 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 labor; 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 Zion.

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 skillful 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 conduct 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 laborer, 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 forever. For his labor 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 skillful physician, to apply that which was suitable unto all; yes, 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, Barbados.

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 savor 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 has 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 has

passed through; and may be attended with the temptations which he is delivered from; who has 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 ministry, that it greatly heightened his esteem amongst his neighbors; so that he was not without honor in his own country. And when at any time he came into Cumberland, where he was born and educated, his neighbors 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 has received the blessed recompense of reward for his labors 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 laborers 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 honor, glory and praise, from generation to generation, who is blessed forever.

Amen! Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace. Psalms 37:37.

Philip Burnyeat, John Tiffin, John Banks, Thomas Laythes, Thomas Dockwray, Christopher Wilson, Thomas Fletcher, Richard Head, Christopher Story, Peter Fearon, Jonathan Bowman, John Bowstead, Thomas Wilson, 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 saviors 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 honored 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 labor, 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, says 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 forever 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 has 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 delights in his way. Psal. 37:23. And they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever 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,—that he has been steadfast in the Lord's work, an able minister of the gospel and faithful laborer, 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 conduct 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 honor and prosperity of Truth were in his eye.

When he took his wife amongst us, how careful and circumspect was he of Truth's honor, 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 a 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? yes, 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 tenderhearted 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 a humble, meek, and inoffensive conduct, 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 there; 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 dishonor 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 conduct.

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 Rosenallis a little before his decease, where he bore a living, fresh testimony amongst Friends to our great comfort, and exhorted Friends to faithfulness. From there he went to Montroth, and had a meeting there; and from there 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 honored the Lord in his day, so he was honored 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 labor 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 laborers 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 labor in the heavenly gift of his divine grace, which the Lord in his love has 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 does amongst God's people to this day: who having faithfully finished his course here in great patience and a humble and holy subjection to the will of God, has 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 honor both now and forever. Amen.

Anthony Sharp, Roger Roberts, Amos Strettel, John Watson, Henry Hillary, John Haukes.

Dated in Dublin, the 22nd of the Second month, 1691.

*To the rulers, ministers, and people of the Island of Barbados, 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 causes his judgments in his wrath, to come upon a nation, a people, or a particular; for that does 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 you rulers of Sodom, give ear unto the law of our God, you people of Gomorrah; to what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices, says the Lord," etc, 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, says 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. 4:27. 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 66:3-4. 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 account 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 several 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, 15:4. 1 Cor. 10:11.

Since the Lord has 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 has 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 your bread to the hungry, with such like works of righteousness.

And then the Lord has 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 reward.

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, etc., Isa. 58:6-9. 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 pretenses; where his voice is not hearkened unto and obeyed, but sin lived in, and the fast kept which the Scripture condemns, which the Lord has not chosen, as you may read, Isa. 58: 2-5, 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, says the Lord, and they take delight in approaching to God; and then cried. Why have we fasted, and you see not? Why have we afflicted our souls, and you takest no knowledge? The Lord gives the reason; Behold, says he, in the day of your fast you find pleasure, and exact all your labors.

Behold, you fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness; you shall not fast as you do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high, says 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? Will you call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? says the prophet.

No, as I have showed before, this is not it; therefore let every one consider how they are prepared to keep the fast that God has 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 says.

Lord, Lord, that shall enter and be accepted, but he that does 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 has 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 says Jeremiah, the Lord does 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. 14:10-12. So you may see all along, the Lord does not regard all that man can do, or may do, so long as he wanders from God, and does not restrain his feet from walking in the evil way.

Thus has 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. 31:33, which they are to observe 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. 28:15-17. 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 says Christ, "Let him be unto you as a 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 9:54-56. And you may see what the apostle Paul says, who was a wise master builder; he says. One man esteems one day above another, another esteems every day alike; but between them, he says. 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 says the apostle. Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, Rom. 14:5 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. 3:18, 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 has 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 8:36, If the Son make you free, you shall be free indeed. Then people come to the fast which the Lord has 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 has appointed, as a witness, a leader and a commander, for which he is given to the people, as you may read in Isaiah 55:4. 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 5:4. 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 Barbados, 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.