

THE JOURNAL
OF THE LIFE, TRAVELS, AND LABORS
IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY
OF
JOHN GRIFFITH

(1713 – 1776)

UNABRIDGED

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*“But the path of the just is like the shining sun, that shines ever brighter unto the perfect day.
The way of the wicked is like darkness; they do not know what makes them stumble.”*

—Prov. 4:18-19

CHAPTER 1

*Birth character of his parents early visitations of Divine grace removal to America—Conversion true baptism regeneration—His various exercises and view of being called to the ministry
—First appearance in that weighty work remarks on the nature of Gospel ministry.*

It has been much upon my mind to write something by way of journal, of my life, travels and experience in the gracious and merciful dealings of the Lord with me, through the course of my pilgrimage in this world; together with some remarks on the state of our Society in my time, interspersed with observations relating to our conduct in various stations of life, but chiefly in a religious sense; to remain, when my body is laid in the dust, a lasting memorial and testimony to the Truth. And as the Lord shall be pleased to open my understanding, it may also afford

profitable way-marks to some weary travelers, who are seeking a city that has foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

I was born on the 21st day of the fifth month, 1713, in Radnorshire, South Wales; being favored with parents who had the substance of religion in themselves, and were conscientiously concerned to train up their children in the fear of God. The names of my parents were John and Amy Griffith; my mother was educated in society with the people called Quakers, and was a steady, valuable Friend; having at times, a few words by way of testimony, tenderly to drop in religious meetings, which were acceptable to Friends. My father, as I have heard him relate, was convinced of the blessed Truth after he had arrived to man's estate, and found it a great cross to join with the despised Quakers; he being the only one of the family, which was pretty large, who joined in society with that people. But the Lord making hard things easy to him, he gave up in earnest to the heavenly discoveries, and in process of time, had a dispensation of the Gospel of peace and salvation committed to him; wherein he labored in the parts where he lived, with remarkable sincerity and uprightness; being a truly living minister and a heavenly-minded man, as I well remember, though I left him when I was young, and never saw him again. He finished his course in this world, on the 24th of the second month, in the year 1745; and it is added in the register of the Monthly Meeting to which he belonged, "He was a minister many years, and left a good report behind him among all sorts of people." He was a serviceable instrument in the Lord's hand against undue liberties, which were then creeping in; and was very deeply affected with the declining state of the church in those parts, many having removed to America, which since his decease has become almost a desolation.

Having thus paid a small tribute, which I thought due to the memory of my worthy parents, I shall proceed to give an account of myself.

I was favored with the heart-melting visitations of God's love, I think, when about seven or eight years old; and frequently experienced his name to be in the assemblies of his people as precious ointment poured forth; whereby my desires were greatly raised to attend meetings for Divine worship. For although, like Samuel of old, I was as yet unacquainted with the voice of God, neither did I clearly understand from where that precious consolation which I felt, came; yet I well remember something working powerfully in my tender, weak mind, by way of opposition to that sweet heavenly enjoyment, in order to deprive me thereof, by presenting to my view some transitory delight, and filling my mind with vain, unprofitable and sometimes wicked and blasphemous thoughts, which were a very great affliction to me. Then he who was a liar from the beginning, would suggest that the only way to get over such uneasiness, was to give way to those thoughts, and to be utterly regardless of what passed through my mind. I found the flesh wanted ease, and to save itself, willingly joined with the temptations of satan,

whereby I got a kind of present ease; but it was by such gratifications as tended to heap up wrath against the day of wrath, and the revelation of the righteous judgments of God. Notwithstanding the false ease contrived by my soul's enemy, I did at times very sensibly feel as I grew up, this peace disturbed and broken by a sense of God's wrath, revealed from heaven against my unrighteousness; and I was often in great bitterness of spirit, when the chastening of the Lord was upon me for sin. I would at such times enter into covenant with the Lord, promising amendment; but as those promises were made much in my own will, they were soon broken, and that increased the weight of my horror and distress; the Lord in infinite mercy, being pleased to find me out, and to plead with me as in the valley of decision. In writing this, my mind is greatly moved with pity and compassion towards inconsiderate youth, who for the sake of trifling vanities, slight their own mercies, and are subjected to distress of mind. The case is still worse, when by repeated disobedience and rebellion against God's unmerited grace, they have almost stifled his Divine witness in their own hearts, and go on with impunity; for an awakening time will come, soon or late, which must strike all such with horror and amazement. May it be in mercy!

My godly parents were very careful to prevent my falling into evil company; notwithstanding which, without their knowledge, I frequently found such, and joined them in those vanities which are incident to youth, and perhaps was not a whit behind any of them therein. Yet in the cool of the day, I was sharply reprov'd, no sometimes, in the very midst of my folly. But by this time I wanted to silence the pure witness against evil in my heart. Oh! I have often since, with deep reverence, thankfully admired the long suffering of a gracious God, in that he did not cut me off, when I willfully resisted the reproofs of his instruction, which is the way to life, because I wanted to live in the vain pleasures of this perishing world.

When I was about the age of thirteen years, a Friend who had lived some time in Pennsylvania, being in our parts, and frequently at our house, gave a very pleasing account of that country. I having two uncles and an aunt there, some of whom had before written to encourage our going over there, my inclination grew very strong to go; though my parents, especially my father, was at first very much against it. But I was as one immoveably bent upon going; which when my parents saw, and that an elder brother inclined to go with me, they at length consented, and procured a certificate of our being in unity with Friends. There being a family of Friends, out of the compass of our Monthly Meeting, also going over in the same ship, we were delivered under their care, and in the year 1726, we embarked at Milford-haven, on board the Constantine galley of Bristol, Edward Foy, master. We had a passage of about eight weeks from land to land. We were about eighty or ninety passengers, generally healthy; amongst whom, three children were born while on board, and none removed by death. My uncle John Morgan, who lived about twelve miles from the city of Philadelphia, hearing of our arrival, came on

board and conducted us to his house, where I continued for some time. My brother being a weaver, settled at my aunt Mary Pennel's, following his trade.

Removing from under my parents' watchful care over me for my good, furnished me with great opportunity to gratify a vain mind, in the foolish amusements of a transitory world, towards which I had too great an inclination. But I have this to say, in order that parents may be encouraged to exert their godly endeavors for the preservation of their children, that I do steadfastly believe, the religious care of my parents over me in my youth, impressed so great an awe upon my mind, that through the blessing of Divine Providence, it was a great means of my preservation from gross enormities; though I had great opportunity of being plunged therein, after I left them. I hope ever to retain a grateful and thankful remembrance of those gracious preservations, when I consider how narrowly I have escaped those rocks, upon which many have been shipwrecked and ruined.

I was sometimes visited, and in degree awakened to a sense of my undone condition without a Savior, after my arrival in America, though not so frequently as when I was younger. As I had often, oh, very often! knowingly withstood it, my taste for worldly pleasures being now grown stronger, I was very unwilling to give up to the call of Christ. I could plead abundance of excuses, concluding among other things, that I was but young, and might live a great many years; that if I did take my swing a few years, I might become religious sooner than many others had done, who were brave men in their day. I would, however, to make myself more easy for that time, fully determine to be a very religious good man at one time or other; but it must not be yet. Thus, through the gross darkness which had covered my mind, I, who had no certainty of seeing the light of one day more, was prevailed upon by the subtlety of satan, to run the dreadful hazard of future repentance and amendment of life; and so I became worse and more hardened in evil, though still preserved out of gross pollutions, or what are commonly so esteemed. I was afraid to tell a lie, except to embellish or set off a pleasant or merry tale or story; apprehending it no great crime to tell a lie in jest. I do not remember ever to have sworn an oath, or uttered a curse. Nor was I prevailed upon, in my customary conduct, to depart from the rules of my education, respecting the plain language, thee and thou to one, and you to more than one; all this time preserving a pretty fair character amongst men, as none could charge me with any thing accounted scandalous. I retained much love and regard for those I thought truly religious, especially weighty substantial ministers of the everlasting Gospel; and I believe had a better sense of their spirits and labors, than some of my companions had, and therefore was afraid to despise or speak contemptuously of such, as some of my associates did. In this carnal degenerate state, I commonly in a customary way, attended first-day meetings, and mostly had the liberty of going on other days of the week, when any ministers from distant parts came to visit Abington meeting, to which I belonged: but alas! it was to little or no good purpose, as the

labor bestowed upon me, by ministry or otherwise, was like water spilt upon a stone, that soon runs off again without any entrance. I was indeed for some time, like the heath in the desert, not knowing when good came; and if at anytime, the seed of God's kingdom fell upon my heart, which was like the highway ground, it was soon taken away, and I presently lost the savor thereof.

When I had arrived to upwards of nineteen years of age, I was, through infinite mercy, never to be forgotten, visited in an extraordinary manner; concerning which, as it was the happy means of turning my mind, in a good degree, from the perishing vanities of an uncertain world, to the God of all sure mercies, I intend to be somewhat particular. One evening being with several of my companions in vanity, and under no restraint, as the heads of the family were not at home, we carried our frothy vain conversation and foolish rude actions, to a higher degree of wicked madness than I ever was guilty of before, in which I suppose I was as a ringleader. On this account, I felt some sharp lashes of conscience as I went to bed that night; and a thoughtfulness took hold of my mind, that we had not a being in this world for such a purpose, or to spend our time as above mentioned, of which I gave some hint to my bed-fellow; yet (his conviction did not sink so deep, but that I pretty soon got to sleep. I had not slept long, before a messenger alarmed me with an account that one of my jolly companions, who was then in the house, and who, I think, had been the best of us, was dying, desiring me to go immediately to him, which I did. I was exceedingly struck with horror of mind, at the thoughts of the manner in which we had spent the evening before, and the sudden stroke that followed upon this poor man. But when I came to his bedside and saw the dreadful agony he was in, my horror was increased beyond all expression, as none of us expected he could live many hours. For my part, I was so deeply plunged into anxiety of mind, that it seemed as if the pains and terrors of hell had laid hold of me already; and I was then in full expectation there was no deliverance for me therefrom; but that I should die before morning, with the weight of the distress which was upon me. This happened on a seventh-day night, and though the young man in time recovered, yet he was not fit to be left next day, which hindered me from going to meeting, where I was exceedingly desirous to go; for by this time I was pretty thoroughly awakened to a sense of duty; and it being a week before the like opportunity presented to me again, it seemed the longest week I had ever known. O how did I long to present myself before the Lord in the assemblies of his people! that I might pour forth my inward cries before him, in a state of sincere repentance and deep contrition of soul; which, through the effectual operation of his power in my heart, I was then in a condition to do. Now I clearly saw, that repentance is the gift of God, and that his love, wherewith he has loved us in Christ Jesus our Lord, leads sinners thereinto. The fleshly will being for the present overcome and silenced, there was a giving up with all readiness of mind, to the Lord's requirings. There was not any thing then too near to part with for the real and substantial enjoyment of the Beloved of my soul; for I was brought in degree to experience,

that he came “for judgment into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind.” I could no longer look upon my former delights with any satisfaction, but instead thereof, had a glorious view of the beautiful situation of mount Zion, and my face was turned thitherward, and for the joy which was set before me, I was made willing to endure “the cross of Christ, and to despise the shame;” and though I became a wonder and a gazing stock to my former companions, I did not much regard it, knowing I had just cause so to be. My great change struck them with some awe, for I observed they had not the boldness to mock or deride me before my face.

The young man, who was an instrument in the Divine hand for my awakening, and his brother, were both greatly reached and deeply affected for the present, by the above mentioned wonderful visitation, and there was a very visible change in them for a time; but like the seed that fell on the stony ground, they withered away and did not become fruitful to God.

I greatly rejoiced when first-day came, that I might go to meeting; which proved to me indeed a memorable one, there being two public Friends, strangers, sent there as I thought on my account; for most of what they had to deliver, appeared to me applicable to my state. Now did I in some degree, experience the substance of what was intended by the “baptism of water unto repentance; the washing of water by the word; and being born of water and the spirit.” All which would be fully seen and clearly understood by the professors of Christianity, were they rightly acquainted with the “Gospel of Christ; which is the power of God unto salvation.” This power inwardly revealed, is alone able to work that change in them, without which, our Lord says, none shall so much as see the kingdom of God. But alas! being carnal in their minds, a spiritual religion does not suit them; for as says the Scripture, “the natural man receives not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.” Hence it is, that the professors of the Christian name, retain signs and shadows, while the substance is neglected; pleading for the continuance of types, when the antitype is but little regarded. Where this latter is experienced, all shadows and types vanish and come to an end; as did the legal types, when Christ the antitype, came and introduced his dispensation, which is altogether of a spiritual nature. And what is yet more wonderful, and an evidence of great ignorance, is, to find those happy and blessed effects, which are only produced by the baptism of Christ with the Holy Ghost, attributed or annexed to the ceremony of sprinkling a little water by a priest in a child's face: for when that is done, the priest prays “that old Adam in the child may be buried; that the new man may be raised up in him; that all carnal affections may die in him; and that all things belonging to the spirit may live and grow in him.” Then he prays, that the element of water may be sanctified to the washing away of sin. The child is then said to be received into the congregation of Christ's flock, and is signed with the sign of the cross: when this is done, they acknowledge the child to be

regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, and return thanks to God, in that he has been pleased to regenerate; that infant with his Holy Spirit, and to receive him for his own by adoption. Concerning a child sprinkled, they say, "who being born in original sin and the wrath of God, is now by the laver of regeneration in baptism, received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life." They say, by baptism, that is, sprinkling infants, that they have put on Christ, and that they are made children of God and of the light. They hold children baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved; which seems to imply that others are not. Being weary of reciting these palpable errors, I shall proceed with the account of my own progress, in the real experience of this great work of regeneration, or the new birth, which, I well know, is not obtained at so easy a rate as above mentioned.

This administration of water by the Word, continued in a remarkable manner upon me, for about three months, in which I found great satisfaction, as it was accompanied with a heavenly sweetness, like healing balsam to my wounded spirit; my heart being melted before the Lord, as wax is melted before the fire. Great was my delight in reading the Holy Scriptures and other good books; being favored at that time, to receive much comfort and improvement thereby. But this easy melting dispensation, was to give way to a more powerful one, that the floor might be thoroughly purged, even the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire. For the former dispensation of the Lord to my soul, seemed much to resemble John's baptism with water unto repentance, as being the real thing signified thereby, in order to prepare the way of the Lord.

Under this fiery dispensation I was for a time exceedingly distressed, in a sense of the great alteration I found in the state of my mind; attributing it to some cause given by me, that I was thus, as I thought, forsaken. All the former tenderness was gone, and I was as the parched ground. My agonies were so great, that when it was day I wished for night; and when it was night I wished for day. In meetings for worship, where I had enjoyed most satisfaction, I now was under the greatest weight of pain and distress, even to that degree, at times, that I could scarcely forbear crying aloud for mere agony.

When meeting was over, I would sometimes walk a considerable way into the woods, that, unheard by any mortal, I might, in mournful accents, give vent to my greatly distressed soul. In this doleful state of mind, the grand adversary was permitted to pour forth floods of temptations. I was almost constantly beset with evil thoughts, which exceedingly grieved me; for though I was in such a dark, distressed condition, my mind was, by this time, too much enlightened to allow of, or join with, wicked and corrupt thoughts: yet I often judged myself, and I believe at times not without cause, being apprehensive, I was not earnest enough in resisting those evil thoughts and temptations. But, oh! I was exceedingly weak in those days; and I am persuaded the Lord, in gracious condescension, looked mercifully at the sincerity of my

intention, not marking all my failings, or I could not have stood before him in any degree of acceptance.

Very great were my temptations, and deep my distress of mind, for about a year; in which time I was but as a little child in understanding the way and work of God upon me, for my redemption. Yet, He who will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, until he sends forth judgment unto victory, by his invisible power, bore up my head above the raging waves of temptation, so that the enemy found he could not overwhelm me therewith. The Lord taught my hands to war, and my fingers to fight under his banner, through whose blessing and assistance, I found some degree of victory over the beast, that is, that part which has its life in fleshly gratifications. Then began the false prophet to work with signs and lying wonders, in order to deceive my weak and unskilful understanding: as it is written, "Satan is transformed into an angel of light;" so I found him, at least in appearance. He that goes about seeking whom he may devour, perceiving that I was too much enlightened from above, to be easily drawn into sensuality, craftily attempted my destruction another way, namely, by setting himself up, undiscovered then by me, for a guide in the way of mortification, which I was resolved, through Divine assistance, carefully to walk in, by denying myself in all things which appeared inconsistent with the Divine will. This subtle transformer, taking advantage of the ardency of my mind to press forward in this necessary concern, suggested that my work would be much easier in obtaining a complete victory over evil, were I to refrain for a time from some of the necessities of life, particularly from eating and taking my natural rest in sleep, except just as much as would preserve life; and that I must constantly keep my hands employed in business, as idleness is the nursery of vice; neither was he wanting to bring Scripture, and passages out of other religious books, to confirm these requirings. I then really believed it was the voice of Christ in my mind commanding these things, and therefore endeavored to be faithful therein, till my natural strength abated and my body grew much weaker. Greatly distressed I was, when at any time I fell short of what I apprehended to be my duty in these respects, he that required this service being a hard master; though he had power to deceive, yet he could not give me faith that I should overcome. My views in those days were indeed very discouraging, my poor afflicted soul being almost sunk into despair. My friends took notice that I was in uncommon distress. The family in which I then lived, could not be altogether ignorant, though I concealed it as much as I could, of my wandering about in the fields, etc., at nights, and much refraining from food; my deep distress being also very legibly imprinted on my countenance, and they feared, as I afterwards understood, lest I should be tempted to lay violent hands on myself. I was forbidden in myself to tell my condition to any, as that would be seeking relief from without; a very improper and unworthy thing.

Notwithstanding which, the God of all grace, who permitted this uncommon affliction to fall

upon me for a trial, and not for my destruction, was pleased, in wonderful kindness, to move upon the heart of a minister belonging to our meeting, to visit me, and to open a way for my deliverance. He strictly inquired concerning my inward condition, informing me that Friends were much concerned about me, as it was very obvious I was under some uncommon temptation. I was at first very unwilling to open my state to him; however he at length prevailed, and took the opportunity to show me that I was under a gross delusion of satan. Being thus, through the Lord's mercy, delivered from the wicked design of my enemy, which undoubtedly was to destroy both soul and body, I had, in reverent thankfulness, to rejoice in his salvation. I then clearly saw, that satan in his religious appearances, is also carefully to be guarded against; as nothing in religion can be acceptable to God, but the genuine product of his unerring Spirit, distinctly heard and understood by the ear of the soul, and the renewed understanding. "My sheep," said Christ, "hear my voice;" which I now began to experience fulfilled; blessed be the Lord forever! I had many precious openings into the divine mysteries about this time; and when I read the Holy Scriptures, they were opened to my understanding, far beyond what they had ever been before, so that I had very great comfort; my hope being revived and my faith much strengthened, by those things that were written aforetime. I am well assured, by certain experience, that the mysteries couched in those holy writings, cannot be rightly understood, but by the same spirit which inspired the penmen of them: therefore it is vain presumption, for fallen and unregenerate man, by his earthly wisdom and human learning, to attempt unfolding heavenly mysteries. The lip of truth has signified, that they are hidden from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed unto the humble dependent babes and sucklings; those who sensibly experience their sufficiency for every good word and work, to proceed immediately from God; and that Christ "is made unto them, wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption." The lack of this inward living sense, has been the cause of, and has opened the way for, the great apostasy, darkness and error, which have overspread Christendom, so called. There is no way for its recovery, but by humbly submitting to Christ inwardly revealed, and learning the nature of true religion of him, the great author thereof. I am well assured that forward, active and inventing self must be denied, abased and laid in the dust forever, and the Lord alone exalted in our hearts, before we can come up in the several duties of religion, with Divine approbation. I saw that the Divine light which began to shine out of my darkness, and separated me therefrom, was the greater light which was to rule the day of God's salvation, and that all the saved of the Lord must carefully walk in this light, wherein there is no occasion of stumbling. I also saw, that when it pleased the Lord in wisdom, for a trial of my faith and patience, to withdraw this holy light, and there was a sitting in darkness, and as in the region of the shadow of death for a time, so that I had no distinct knowledge therefrom what to do; that it was my indispensable duty to stand still, and wait for my sure unerring guide; if at those times, self would arise and be uneasy, it must be brought to the cross, there to be slain. By such experience, I

found I was nothing, and that God was all things necessary for soul and body; and that if I was brought into a state of perfect reconciliation with him, I must know all things made new.

About this time I had a distant view of being called into the work of the ministry; my mind being at times wonderfully overshadowed with the universal love of God to mankind, in the glorious Gospel of his Son, to such a degree, that I thought I could, in the strength thereof, give up to spend and to be spent, for the gathering of souls to him, the great Shepherd of Israel; and that I could lift up my voice like a trumpet, to awaken the inhabitants of the earth. But I found all this was only by way of preparation for this important work, and that I had not yet received a commission to engage therein. A fear and care were upon my mind, lest I should presume to enter upon this solemn undertaking without a right call; it appearing to me exceedingly dangerous to speak in the name of the Lord, without a clear evidence in the mind, that he required it of me; which I then fully believed he would do in his own time, which was to be waited for. From this time, until I was really called into the work, I frequently had, but especially in religious meetings, openings of Scripture passages, with lively operations of the Divine power in my mind; and sometimes with so much energy, that I have been almost ready to offer what I had upon my mind, to others. But as, through a holy awe which dwelt upon my heart, I endeavored to try my offering in the unerring balance of the sanctuary, I found it was too light to be offered, and was thankful to the Lord for his merciful preservation, in that I had been enabled to avoid offering the sacrifice of fools. But when the time really came that it was divinely required of me, the evidence was so indisputably clear, that there was not the least room to doubt; yet through fear and human frailty, I put it off, and did not give way thereto. But oh! how was I condemned in myself! The divine sweetness which had covered my mind in the meeting was withdrawn, and I was left in a very poor disconsolate state, wherein I was ready to beg forgiveness, and to covenant with the Lord, that if he would be pleased to favor me again in like manner, I would give up to his requiring. At the next first-day meeting, the heavenly power overshadowed me in a wonderful manner, in which it was required of me to kneel down in supplication to the Lord in a few words. I gave way thereto, in the dread of his power, with fear and trembling. After which, my soul was filled with peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and I could sing, and make sweet melody in my heart to the Lord. As near as I remember, I was twenty-one years of age, the very day I first entered into this great and awful work of the ministry; which was the 21st of the fifth month, old stile, 1734.

I have found my mind engaged to be somewhat particular concerning the manner of my entering into the work of the ministry, to stand by way of caution and proper encouragement to others, who may peruse the same; having in the course of my observation, had cause to fear that some have taken the work of preparation, as before hinted, for the thing itself; and so have proceeded very far, to their own great wounding, and the hurt of others, in bringing forth untimely

fruit, which is exceedingly dangerous, and carefully to be avoided. Nothing is a sufficient guard to preserve therefrom, but keeping a single eye, through the divine blessing, awfully considering what a great thing it is for dust and ashes to speak as the apostle Peter directs, “As every man has received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth.” The author to the Hebrews says, that “no man takes this honor to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.” So that whatever some may pretend to, and intrude themselves into, unless they are really called of God, they have no share in that honor that comes from God only.

The church of Christ has not been without its trouble from false ministers, neither in the primitive times, nor in ours. That excellent Gospel liberty in which all who feel themselves inspired thereunto, whether male or female, may speak or prophecy, one by one, has been, and still is, abused by false pretenders to divine inspiration; yet the liberty ought to be preserved inviolable, and other means found out to remedy this great inconvenience; which would not be difficult, were the members in a general way spiritually minded, rightly savoring the things that be of God. Forward and unsanctified appearances, by way of ministry, would then be easily awed and suppressed, so as not to disturb the peace of the church. The case has been otherwise, as I have observed in some places; but was little minded, if the words and doctrine were sound, and nothing to blame in the conduct. Here the main thing, which is the powerful demonstration of the Holy Spirit, is disregarded; and if a few are deeply pained at heart with such lifeless ministry, they find it exceedingly difficult to lay hands thereon, for lack of more strength; especially when they perceive what strength there is against them; for formal professors love to have it so, rather than to sit in silence. I have observed such pretenders to be all mouth or tongue, having no ears to receive instruction; fond of teaching others, but very unteachable themselves. I pray God to quicken his people, and raise the Society into a more lively sense of that blessed power which gathered us to be a people; or I fear the great evil above hinted at will prove a growing one; profession without possession, being the proper element for such a ministry to flourish in. I am not quite free to omit a remark on this head, as I am fully persuaded the living members of the church of Christ, groan under a painful sense of this sorrowful token of a declined society. May the Lord of sabbath hear their cries, and regard the anguish of their souls in secret, so as to work by his invisible power for his own name's sake, and their enlargement, by turning his hand again upon our Zion, to purge away her dross, and to take away her tin and reprobate silver, that her judges may be restored as at the first, and her counsellors as at the beginning; that many, having their feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, may yet appear beautiful upon the mountains! So be it, says my soul!

I have given some hints how it was with me, by way of preparation for the great and important

work of the ministry, and the danger of my being misled, even sometimes when I had right openings, and felt the sweet efficacious virtue of the love of God, through Jesus Christ, to mankind; which, doubtless, is at times the sensible experience and enjoyment of every faithful follower of Christ, who never was called to the work of the ministry. I was in those days apprehensive of some danger of being led out at that door; but I have since more fully seen the danger of this and other by-paths, which would have led me to give that away to others, which I was to live upon myself; and out of the humble, dependent state, in which only there is safety, to have a will and way of my own, that I might be furnished and enriched with much treasure. But sincerity of heart, and my endeavors to preserve the single eye, through the watchful care of Divine Providence over me, brought the day of the Lord upon it all; so that I came clearly to see, and experimentally to know, that my sufficiency was of God; that there must be a steady dependance on the Lord, to be immediately fitted and supplied, every time I was to engage in this solemn service. I ardently desire, that all who have the least apprehension of being called into the work of the ministry, may dwell in a holy dread of the Divine presence, and know their own wills wholly subjected to the divine will, waiting for a distinct and clear certainty of the Lord's requirings, not only in entering upon it at first, but also at all other times. And as self comes to be laid in the dust, they will receive undeniable evidence in their own minds of the certainty of their mission; and they will not be without a testimony thereof, from the witness for God in the consciences of those amongst whom they are sent to minister. They will be a savor of life to the living in the Truth, and of death to those who are in a state of death. Let it ever be remembered, that nothing of or belonging to man, can possibly add any luster or dignity to the divine gift. Neither will the best and most curiously adapted words or doctrine, ever so truly and consistently delivered, be any more than as sounding brass, or as a tinkling cymbal, without the power, light and demonstration of the spirit of Christ.

There is no occasion for those who regard his power as the substance of their ministry, to be solicitous about words; as the lowest and most simple are really beautiful, when fitly spoken under that holy influence.

Having entered upon the solemn and awful service of the ministry, I gave up for the most part, as I found the requirings of Truth, through the divine power and efficacy thereof, moving upon my heart and subjecting my will, to utter a few words in a broken manner, with fear and trembling; the Lord being exceedingly merciful to me, as a tender father, taking me by the hand, and making me willing by his mighty power, to be counted a fool for his sake and the gospel's.

The meeting I then belonged to was large, and a body of valuable weighty Friends therein; who, as far as I could observe by their carriage, did own and approve of my weak and low appearances in this service: yet they used Christian prudence, not to lay hands suddenly, but

gave me full opportunity to make proof of my ministry, and to feel my feet therein.

About this time a fine spring of ministry was opened within the compass of our Yearly Meeting; there having, by account, about one hundred opened their mouths in public testimony, in little more than a year; several of whom became powerful, able ministers, and some of them withered away like unripe fruit. About ten appeared within that time, in the particular meeting of Abington, to which I belonged.

As I was enabled to wait on my ministry, I experienced a considerable growth and enlargement; and, in a faithful discharge of duty therein, great peace and heavenly consolation, like a pleasant refreshing stream, flowed into my soul. I also found, that it was a means of engaging the minds of Friends, in a sweet and comfortable nearness of unity with me, which I had never before so largely and livingly felt. Many well-minded young people, and some others of little experience, seemed to admire my gift, and would sometimes speak highly of it, which they did not always forbear in my hearing. But oh, how dangerous this is, if delighted in by ministers! It may be justly compared to poison, which will soon destroy the pure innocent life. My judgment was against it; yet I found something in me, that seemed to have no aversion thereto, but rather inclined to hearken to it, yet not with full approbation. The same thing in me would want to know, what such and such, who were in most esteem for experience and wisdom, thought of me. I sometimes imagined such looked shy upon me, which would cast me down; all which, being from a root of self, I found was for judgment, and must die upon the cross, before I was fit to be trusted with any great store of gospel treasure. I began also to take rather too much delight myself in the gift; and had not Divine goodness in mercy, by a deep and distressing baptism, kindly prevented, this might have opened a door for spiritual pride, which is the worst kind of pride, to enter in, to my ruin. I have reason to think, that solid Friends observing my large growth in the top, with spreading branches, were in fear of my downfall, in case of a storm. But, in the midst of my high career, the Lord was pleased to take away from me, for a time, the gift of the ministry, and with it all sensible comforts of the Spirit; so that I was, as I thought, in total darkness; even in the region and shadow of death. In this doleful state of mind, I was grievously beset and tempted by the false prophet, the transformer, to keep up my credit in the ministry, by continuing my public appearances. It might well be said of him, that he would “cause fire to come down from heaven, in the sight of men, to deceive them;” for so I found it. It is hard to imagine, how near a resemblance he could make, how exact an imitation he could form, of the very thing itself, to the state of mind I was then in; even to that degree, that I have at times been ready to say, “Ah! I see and feel the fire of the Lord coming down to prepare the offering;” and have been almost ready to give up thereto, when a godly fear would seize my mind, and a desire to try it again; by which means, the strong delusion has been discovered, the false fire rejected, and my soul been plunged into deeper anxiety, by this false

heat, than I was in before. No tongue or pen can set forth to the full, the almost constant anguish of my soul, for about the space of four or five months; being as nearly as I can remember the time this sore affliction was upon me. It fared with me in some degree, respecting my friends, as it did with Job; some conjecturing one thing and some another thing, to be the cause of this fall, as it was apprehended; though, through mercy they could not charge me with any evil conduct as the cause thereof. The most probable reason to them, of this alteration was, that I had been too much set up by others, and so had lost my gift; and this, I think, came the nearest to the truth of the case. Yet it was not so lost, but that when my gracious helper” saw my suffering was enough, he restored it again, and appeared to my soul as a clear morning without clouds: everlasting praises to his holy name! My mind was deeply bowed in humble thankfulness, under a sense of the great favor of being again counted worthy to be entrusted with so precious a gift; therefore I was careful to exercise it in great fear and awfulness, and more in a cross to my own will than before; as that which was likely to deck itself therewith, was, for the present at least, in a good degree slain. I have very often in the course of my religious experience, had cause to admire and adore Divine wisdom, in his dealings with me for my preservation in the way of peace; being well assured that he will so work for mankind, if they are entirely given up in heart to him, that it will not be possible for them to miss of everlasting happiness; for none are able to pluck those out of his almighty hand, who do not first incline to leave him.

CHAPTER 2

His first religious visit—Further exercises respecting his appearances as a minister—Visit to some meetings in East-Jersey—Marriage and settlement at Darby—Visits New-England in the work of the Gospel—Makes a similar visit to meetings in New York also to meetings in Chester county, Pennsylvania then to West Jersey, to Maryland and Delaware and in Bucks County—Death of his daughter and wife.

After I had appeared in public somewhat more than two years, I found some drawings of Gospel-love, as I apprehended, to visit the meetings of Friends in some parts of New Jersey; and being but young in the ministry, I was in great fear, at times, lest I should be mistaken, in that which at other times I thought to be the Divine requiring. I much dreaded running when and where the Lord did not send me, lest I should bring dishonor to his blessed name, and expose myself without proper qualifications for so great an undertaking, to wise and discerning Friends. Great indeed was my distress, night and day, crying to the Lord for greater confirmation; which he graciously heard, and was pleased, by a dream or night vision, to afford me such

full satisfaction, that I do not remember I had any doubt afterwards concerning it.

I entered upon the journey on the 7th of the eighth month, 1736; having a companion much older than myself. We visited the following meetings, Pilesgrove, Salem, Alloways-creek, and Cohansey, where my companion left me, and returned home, being under some discouragement about the journey in his own mind. But as I found the Lord by his blessed power near, opening my mouth and enlarging my heart abundantly in his work, I was encouraged to proceed, being joined in travel by an innocent Friend belonging to Alloways-creek meeting, who had a few words to speak in meetings. We went from Cohansey, through a wilderness for about forty miles, without inhabitants, to Cape May, where we had a meeting. From there to Great and Little Egg-harbour and had meetings, then through the wilderness, to the Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury, which was large and much favored with the Divine presence; several ministering Friends from Pennsylvania being there, namely, Thomas Chalkley, Robert Jordan, John and Evan Evans, Margaret Preston, and others.

It neither suited my growth in the ministry, nor my inclination, to take up much time in these large meetings. I therefore, for the most part, gave way to such as were better qualified for the work, and in my esteem worthy of double honor. I had a great regard in my mind for those whom I thought pillars in the house of God, whether ministers or elders; and really think, if such had given it as their sense, that I was wrong in my offerings, at any time, I should have been more likely to depend on their judgment than on my own. I looked upon myself, for many years, as a child in experience every way; and therefore thought a subjection was due from me, to those who were fathers and mothers in Israel, and never, that I remember, manifested any disregard to them; which is now a satisfaction to my mind. I confess, I have at times since had cause to marvel at the forwardness of some, who though but children, if rightly children at all, have undertaken the work of men, hardly discovering a willingness to give the preference to any; and when they have been admonished by those of much more experience than themselves, they have been apt to retort, or to plead a Divine commission, and that it is right to obey God rather than man; as if they had the sole right of speaking and judging too. I had several times seen the great danger of being deceived and misled by the transformer, and therefore was afraid of being confident of my own sight, and looked upon it to be safest for me to stand quite open to instruction, let it come from what quarter it would; there being nothing more desired by me than to be right.

This large meeting ended well and sweetly. Praises to the Lord over all forever! From there I went to meetings at Chesterfield, Trenton, Bordentown, Mansfield, Upper Springfield, Old Springfield, Burlington, Bristol, the Falls, Ancocas, Mount-Holly, Evesham, Chester, Haddonfield and Woodbury creek; from where I returned home. The Lord made my journey prosper-

ous, and was to me at times, as a fountain unsealed, furnishing daily for the work he had engaged me in; being in wonderful condescension to my weak estate, both wisdom and utterance; as it is written, "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings you have ordained strength." Praises to his holy name forever!

Notwithstanding the Lord had committed to me a dispensation of the Gospel, and was pleased to reward my sincere labors therein, with the sweet incomes of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and with the unity of the brethren in a comfortable degree; yet great were my temptations, and various the combats I had for some years after, with my soul's enemies. Oh! how hard I found it to keep from being defiled, more or less, with the polluting floods, which were almost continually poured out of the dragon's mouth, in order to carry away my imagination into unlawful delights, from which I did not always wholly escape; being sometimes prevailed upon to set bounds to myself, that though I would not directly fall into the evil I was tempted to, yet I might take some delight and satisfaction in approaching as near thereto as I thought was lawful. Thus, for lack of a watchful care, not only to shun that which I knew to be really evil, but also every appearance of evil, I sometimes brought great anguish and deep distress upon my mind; and when I had gone but a little out of the right way, I found many, oh! many weary steps and painful heart-achings necessary, before I was received again into the way and favor of my heavenly Father. I have often since been humbly thankful for his preservation, even out of gross evils, considering my dangerous tampering therewith at times in the imagination. How can weak mortals determine what length they will go, when any way is given? Most certain it is, they go out greatly to their hurt, who take any pleasure at all in the thoughts of forbidden things. I have found by woful experience, that when the least way is given to the enemy, he gains advantage over us, and we are greatly enfeebled thereby; so that instead of growing as willows by the water-courses, there is danger of withering and becoming of those that draw back, in whom the Lord has no pleasure. I found it the first subtle working of satan, to draw me off from a constant care of bringing all my thoughts, words and actions, to be tried by the light of Christ in my own heart; and instead thereof, to examine them by my partial reasoning part. Here many things really evil in their nature or tendency, or both, would carry the appearance of indifference; the pleading would then be, there is no harm in this, that or the other thing; yet there has been a doubt perhaps in the mind to reason away, not duly considering, that he who doubts, is condemned if he receive. So have I many times found it, when the Judge of all has been pleased to arise, and to find me out, with my fig-leaf covering on; having, by giving way to wrong things, in a great measure lost the garment of innocence, and a holy confidence towards God. Oh! how very hot has my neglect occasioned the furnace to be made, that so the dross might be done away.

Thus it was with me, until the many chastenings of the heavenly Father brought me into more

fear, care and subjection. I could not be quite easy to omit giving these hints of my many weaknesses and failings, that others may learn thereby to be aware. This I apprehend to be the chief reason of our having the failings and miscarriages of God's people transmitted to us in the Holy Scriptures. You traveler Zionward, look forward to the joy set before you, not allowing your eyes to wander about you, lest they convey such delight to your heart, as may infect your soul with pernicious distempers, by which you may be rendered unable to proceed on your journey towards the holy city; and through the defect occasioned thereby to your sight, you may, in a great measure, lose the glorious prospect of its beautiful situation and the splendor of its structures. Beware you do not load yourself with the seemingly pleasant fruit of that country through which you travel. Although it may appear to hang plentifully on each hand, it will neither be of any use to you in that heavenly country where you are going, nor for refreshment on the way there. If you have a mind that your own way should be prosperous, look steadily forward, with a single eye to the recompense of reward. Bring every motion towards seeking satisfaction in forbidden places, immediately to the cross, and you will much sooner find the yoke of Christ made easy and his burden light, all his ways pleasant and his paths peace. This is abundantly better than that uneasy in and out way of traveling, sinning and repenting, repenting and sinning again, which lays a foundation for murmuring, labor and toil; crying out, as some do all their days, there is no complete victory to be obtained over sin on this side of the grave; miserable sinners we must remain; when the cause thereof is wholly in themselves; because they will not come into and abide in the help of the Lord, against the mighty enemies of their soul's happiness, which is altogether sufficient to give a complete victory over them; yes, to give power to triumph, and say, "We are made more than conquerors through him that has loved us."

In the eighth month, 1737, I set out in order to visit some meetings in East-Jersey; having Richard French, an ancient Friend to bear me company. We had meetings at Stonybrook, Bethlehem, Lebanon, and at a Baptist's house near Black-river. None of our Society were thereabouts, but there were some Ranters of Rogers's followers, who had taken upon them the name of Quakers, to the great scandal of Friends in that remote place: they came to the meeting, being mostly women. Their impatient restless spirits would not allow them to let us hold our meeting quietly; yet they did not seem inclinable to contend, but rather to flatter and applaud us. Some of them stood up, after we had each delivered what we had upon our minds, to signify their unity with our doctrine, pretending it to be the same they held forth to the people, though not enough regarded by them. But we were not free to receive their testimony, any more than Paul and Silas could that of the maid who was possessed with an evil spirit; but rebuked them openly, and publicly declared our disunity with them, desiring the people not to look upon them as belonging to the Society of the people called Quakers, as we could assure the meeting it was not so; and that we had no more unity with those pretenders, than they had. I thought the chief

service we had at that place, was to testify against those wild frantic people, who by being accounted Quakers, had caused the way of Truth to be evilly spoken of. This unexpected opposition raised their flighty spirits, so that they became very troublesome, being full of words, and asking frivolous questions. Whereupon the words of Paul to some such women in the Corinthian church, came freshly into my mind. I therefore called out aloud, "Let your women be silent in the church;" and opened to them, that it was such women as they were, whom the apostle rebuked and commanded to be silent; who not experiencing their spirits to be truly subjected, that they might know how to speak concerning the things of God with a right understanding, ought to learn in silence: not meaning to exclude those of my own sex in the like case; the same thing being as necessary for them. We left them as full of themselves as we found them, and went from there to Whippany, where we had a precious meeting in a Friend's house. The greater number being of other societies, the testimony of Truth flowed forth freely; they appearing to be much tendered and affected therewith. After meeting some of them took us by the hand, and in an affectionate manner expressed their satisfaction with our labors amongst them. From there we went to Plainfield and Woodbridge, where we had meetings, and then returned home; having been favored to accomplish this little journey to my own satisfaction.

Sometime before I entered upon the before mentioned journey, I found my mind pretty strongly drawn to enter into the marriage state with a young woman belonging to the same meeting, within the compass of which I had lately taken a farm, and to which I was then joined by certificate. Her name was Rebecca, the daughter of Josiah and Sarah Fearn, and grand-daughter of John Blunston: she being a valuable branch of a good stock. By the death of her brother, she was possessed of that part of her said grandfather's estate, where he had lived and entertained Friends from almost the first settlement of Pennsylvania, until his death; which afterwards was continued by his widow many years, but of late had been laid aside. It was in Lower Darby, about seven miles from Philadelphia, near a large meeting; the meeting-house being built on some of that tract of land. The reason of my being so particular in this account, is to show the Lord's kindness and gracious condescension to me, in so fully answering what I had often desired, namely, that in case I ever married and settled, I might be so circumstanced as to entertain the Lord's servants and messengers in an agreeable manner; on which account, as well as that he was pleased to give me an affectionate virtuous wife, I have great cause of humble thankfulness. We took each other in marriage the 30th of the tenth month, 1737, at a large and solemn meeting, held in the meeting-house before mentioned, under the precious overshadowing of the power of divine love, I think to a larger degree than I had often known before; which was no small confirmation of our being rightly joined together; it being that alone which can enable to make and keep covenant rightly with each other.

After my marriage I constantly attended our particular meeting, both on first and other days of

the week; also the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings as they fell in course, and frequently visited adjacent meetings. I visited Friends in the county of Bucks twice, but have no account of the exact time. I signified to my wife some time after we were married, that I expected in a few years, I should find a concern to leave her for a longer time than I yet had done, and gave her a hint what time I thought it would be; which fell out accordingly; having then a distant view of visiting New-England.

When the time for undertaking that journey appeared clear to me, I gave up thereto, in humble resignation and faith in the sufficiency of the divine power of Him, who, I believed, required it of me; yet not without some intervals of discouragement and reasoning in myself, what would become of my family and outward concerns. Neither did I then know of any companion to join me in this great undertaking, but at times believed I should be favored with one, if I gave up thereto. I laid my concern before the Monthly Meeting to which I belonged, requesting their concurrence and certificate, if upon a weighty consideration thereof, they had unity with my concern. A certificate was prepared, whereby I was left to my liberty to proceed; but I had not yet heard of a companion, and greatly feared going without. Our Quarterly Meeting falling quickly after, I went to it, where I made inquiry of my much esteemed friend, John Churchman, whether he knew of any suitable companion for me. He readily told me that his brother-in-law, William Brown, had procured a certificate in order for the same journey, and did not then know of any companion, but believed one would be provided for him. This was very acceptable to me. William Brown and I had an opportunity of conferring together the same day, and we found our concerns and views so exactly to agree, and our spirits so closely united for the service, that our hearts bowed in thankfulness to the Lord, for his care and providence over us; believing what we were about to engage in, was agreeable to his will and in his counsel. It being the meeting for ministers and elders that day, we laid our concern before that meeting, where it appeared to be well approved, which was no small strength to us. I did then, and hope I ever shall, greatly love and value the unity of the brethren; having found it no small strength and encouragement to me, in low and trying times, which are necessary and unavoidable in that solemn engagement of visiting the churches; especially now in their low declined state. It is indisputably clear to my understanding that it is altogether impossible to administer, in a feeling effectual manner to people's several states, unless we are baptized thereinto. Well adapted words and sound doctrine, as to the external appearance, may, without much difficulty be attained; seeing we have the holy Scriptures and many other good books, containing the principles of Truth and the Christian experience of the Lord's people; yet all this delivered with the tongue of men or angels, will prove an empty, fruitless sound, without the power and demonstration of the Spirit of Christ, who enables his upright-hearted ministers to search all things, yes, the hidden mystery of iniquity, as well as the deep things of God, even as he led his prophet Ezekiel to look through the hole in the wall, that the most secret abomination may be

brought to light and testified against.

I took leave of my dear wife, and set out with my companion the 5th of the seventh month, 1741. Passing through New-Jersey, we had a meeting at Chesterfield, crossed Staten Island and came to an arm of the sea, called the Narrows, which separates the before mentioned island from Long Island. The wind blowing very strong and the sea running exceedingly high, we were obliged to wait some time; the ferrymen being afraid to run the hazard of carrying us and others who were there, also waiting, over. Towards evening the wind abating, they appeared willing to venture, if we would; and we being desirous to proceed, agreed to go. I think we had eight or nine horses, besides people, in the boat. They set the horses heads to the wind, which proved of singular service, in bearing up the boat against it; otherwise it did not seem altogether improbable that she would have been laid on her side. We ran over in about ten minutes, the distance being accounted at least two miles and a half. We were thankful for preservation; as I believe most, or all of us, when we were on the water, apprehended considerable danger. We made but little stay on Long Island, only taking Newtown meeting in our way, and crossing the water to the main land in New-York government, had meetings at Mamaroneck, Longreach and the Purchase. From there, having a guide provided for us, we set out for our journey, about two hundred miles through the colony of Connecticut, to Rhode Island. We met with a kind reception and entertainment for our money, at a very low rate, amongst the Presbyterians of this colony: the case was very different formerly, when our Friends were banished from there by a law. I remarked as I passed along, that very good order was observed in their inns; and as far as could be discovered, the people in general appeared to be sober and religious in their way; far from being so vitiated and corrupt as I found those in the mother country, as they call it. We were several times attacked by some of them on religious subjects, but through divine favor, were enabled to answer them in such a manner, that I hope neither we nor the Truth professed by us, suffered thereby. I can say with thankfulness, I never was at a loss in giving answers to those who asked a reason of the hope that was in me, when my chief dependence was on the Lord, to be furnished immediately by him, without leaning to my own understanding. We were kindly received by Friends at Newport, on Rhode Island, where there is a large body; some of whom we found much hurt by differences and parties about government affairs; which caused hard close work for us, in their meetings. From Rhode Island we went to the island of Nantucket, where is. also a large body of Friends, amongst whom we had good satisfaction. We then returned to the main land, visiting meetings at Sandwich, Yarmouth, Suckanesset, and a Quarterly Meeting at Pembroke, where we met our friend Samuel Plopwood, who had arrived at Boston, from England, a few days before, in company with Moses Aldrich, on a religious visit. We went to Boston, where we had a meeting, there being a small number of Friends in the town, but Truth never prospered much there: it seemed to me that something of the same spirit was yet alive and to be felt, that formerly would have wholly extirpated our Friends, and Truth

as held by them, from the face of the earth, and prevailed to inflict cruel sufferings on many of the Lord's servants, four of whom they put to death, as is related at large in a book entitled, "New England Judged," written by George Bishop, and in "Sewel's History of the people called Quakers." Happening to walk into the prison yard, I observed a very ancient building, which I judged by its appearance, might have been the same in which our Friends had formerly suffered very great hardships. Upon which I asked some present, if that was the prison their forefathers put our Friends into? A woman answered, Yes; and added, "It was a very wicked thing of the rulers of that time, and the land has suffered for it ever since;" or to that import. A Friend of Boston related to me, what he said he had from an ancient inhabitant of the town, who had seen that wicked act of putting to death the four Friends as above hinted, namely, that he could well remember fine wheat growing about and near Boston, and never knew or heard of any wheat blasted, or peas eaten by bugs, until they put the Quakers to death; and that they never could raise either wheat or peas near that town since, perhaps not within fifteen or twenty miles. I suppose the inhabitants were so often disappointed formerly, that they have not attempted to raise any lately, the land being generally turned to grazing, and for raising Indian corn. They seem sensible of the extraordinary alteration; but I suppose few of them are willing to attribute it to that cause. I had some discourse with one of the inhabitants, as we were riding together near Boston, concerning the above mentioned event. He pretended to argue a natural cause for it; but I endeavored to show him, that according to my apprehension, those very reasons which he advanced to prove a natural cause for the change, if they proved any thing, proved directly the contrary of what he intended, for he urged, that clearing away the woods might so change the nature of the air, as to produce a blasting quality therein. But if the air any wise resembles water, the freer its course and the less the obstruction it meets with, the more it purifies itself, and is therefore less capable of producing hurtful consequences either to vegetables or animals.

We passed on and had meetings at Lynn, Salem, Cachechy, Dover, Hampton, Haverhill, Amesbury, Newbury, Taunton, Acoakset, and to Dartmouth Yearly Meeting, which was held there and at Acushnef, four days: it was large. After which we had meetings at Rochester, Freetown, Swanzey, Leicester, Smithfield, Providence Woods, at one Harris's, Greenwich, South Kingston, Conanicut Island, Portsmouth, Tiverton, Little Compton, and so to Newport again: several of which were large. The Lord was graciously pleased to furnish us according to the occasion, to labor amongst the professors of Truth in those parts, many of whom appeared to us ignorant in a sorrowful degree, of the life and nature of true religion. Our spirits were often very deeply baptized on their account, in great travail, that Christ might be formed in them. It was a very exercising laborious journey, but the Lord mercifully made all up to us, by the comfortable enjoyment of his love and peace flowing into our hearts. Glory to his name forever!

From Newport we set our faces homeward, taking Westerly meeting in our way, and proceeded

through the colony of Connecticut to Long Island; upon which we had meetings at Cowneck, Joseph Lealham's, Jericho, Westbury, Matinicock, and were at the Quarterly Meeting at Flushing. From there we crossed the water to Westchester on the main; got there some time before the hour appointed for the meeting, and staid a while at an inn in the town. The landlady coming into our room in a pleasant manner, said, "I suppose you are traveling Friends?" My answer was, "We are travelers and we are Friends; therefore we are traveling Friends;" "But I suppose," said she, "you are preachers;" and added, "I like your way very well, as you come up to the command of Christ, in traveling about as you do, more fully than our ministers: but there is something lacking with you." "What is that, said I?" "Why, said she, you should baptize as well as preach." I then asked her what we should baptize withal. She replied, "With water to be sure; for it is not in the power of man to baptize with any thing else." Upon which, I showed her from the holy Scriptures, that the primitive ministers of Christ were so gifted, as to be able to baptize believers into the name or power, of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; instancing, in particular, that passage of Peter at the house of Cornelius; "And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but you shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." It is evident from this account, that by the effectual preaching of Peter, the gentiles were baptized with the Holy Ghost; and as the dispensation of God to man is the same now as it was then, and he has graciously promised to be with his ministers always to the end of the world, and man, by nature in a fallen degenerate estate, is as much involved in sin and a stranger to God as he was then; no good reason can be given, why the same powerful efficacious means are not as necessary for his recovery, by a reconciliation with his Maker, as they were at that time. The woman was very attentive to what was said on the occasion, and seemed affected, being quite silenced as to that subject. We invited her to our meeting; she told us she intended to go, and if she could, to prevail with her husband to go too, but doubted being successful therein. She and her husband were both at the meeting, and the Lord was graciously pleased to give us a precious opportunity together, wherein I am persuaded she was made in some degree sensible of that baptizing power, which in a comfortable degree, accompanied the ministry that day. She was tendered, and at parting, with tears desired us to remember her and pray for her.

After this meeting we proceeded homewards, taking meetings in the Jerseys as they fell in our way, at Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, and Stonybrook. I got home the 7th of the tenth month, and found my dear wife and family well, which was cause of mutual thankfulness; having performed nearly as much, in about three months, as was usually done in about four. It is very necessary to avoid both extremes in traveling on Truth's account, neither to be over hasty, nor too dilatory; yet I have always found great satisfaction and peace in being as diligent and expeditious therein, as sits easy on the mind, and the constitution of body will bear; that all may have cause to be fully convinced we travel not for outward pleasure, but from a necessity laid

upon us; which will certainly add considerable weight to our service, and greatly tend, in the eyes of mankind, to maintain the credit of that truly disinterested Gospel ministry, which the Lord has been pleased to raise up amongst us as a people.

Having staid at home some time, to make necessary provision for an increasing family, I found a concern upon my mind to visit Friends a second time on Long-Island and the main land in New-York government, and set out the 27th of the eighth month, 1743; being accompanied by my well esteemed friend, John Sykes. The first meeting we attended on the island, was a Yearly Meeting, which was held on a first-day at Matinicock. It was a large precious meeting; many not of our Society being there, and the Lord was pleased to open the doctrine of his kingdom largely, and his glorious Truth was over all; to whom alone be the praise forever! Notice was given at this meeting, of our intending to be on the next first-day at Westbury, not far from this place; and that week we had meetings at Brook-haven, Islip, Bethpage, Rockaway, Henry Willis's, and so to the before-mentioned meeting on first-day. Friends came to it from several parts of the island, and also many people of other societies, so that it was very large. Their expectation was greatly after words, which the master of our assemblies did not see fit to gratify; for we were almost wholly shut up as to ministry; which I hope proved a profitable lesson to many. After this meeting we crossed the water, and had meetings at Westchester, Mamaroneck, Longreach, and Ryewoods; we then returned to the island, and had meetings at Flushing, Oysterbay, Cowneck, Flushing again, and Newtown. Having finished our service we traveled homewards, taking meetings as we passed along in East-Jersey, at Rahway, Plainfield, and Woodbridge, and in West-Jersey at Upper Springfield, and attended the Quarterly Meeting at Crosswicks; after which I returned home, and have to say with thankfulness, that in this little journey, the Lord was to me strength in weakness and riches in the time of poverty; and was pleased to conduct me safely to my dear wife and family in peace.

About the latter end of the year 1744, I found my mind drawn to visit Friends in the western part of our county; and had meetings at East and West Nottingham, DeerCreek, New-Garden, London-Grove, Hockesson, Kennet, and Concord. The Lord enabled me, both to do and suffer, in this little journey, as the same appeared to be my duty. At Hockesson I was quite shut up as to words, yet had peace, believing it was my business, as it has been many times since, in order as I apprehend to lead others into silence by example; as being the most profitable state they or I can possibly arrive at in mutability, in order to attain a right understanding of our religious duties.

Soon after my return home, I went into West-Jersey, to visit the following meetings as I found my mind drawn thereto, namely, Haddonfield, Chester, Evesham, Mount-Holly, Ancocas, Old-Springfield, Trenton, and Burlington Quarterly Meeting, in which I had good satisfaction.

I think it was about this time, I went in company with my well-beloved friend Michael Lightfoot, to the Yearly Meetings at Cecil, and Thirdhaven in Maryland, wherein we were greatly favored. He returned homewards from Maryland, but I went to some meetings in the lower counties of Kent and New-Castle, had a meeting at Duck-Creek, and went to the Yearly Meeting at LittleCreek, which was a very precious season, Divine goodness greatly overshadowing the same, to the tendering of many hearts. From there I went to George's-Creek, and NewCastle, and returned home.

I have no account by me, of any other journey in the service of Truth, until the second month, 1746, when I went in company with our worthy friend before-mentioned to the Yearly Meeting at Salem, in West-Jersey; and visited Cohansey, and Pilesgrove meetings. In the third month of the same year, I went to Chesterfield Quarterly-Meeting in Jersey, and had meetings at Stony-Brook, Burlington, and Haddonfield.

In the fifth month of the same year I visited the county of Bucks, and had meetings at Middletown, Bristol, the Falls, Wrightstown, Buckingham, and Plurnstead; taking North-Wales meeting in my return home. The Lord was my sure helper and sufficiency in all these journeys, affording the comfortable enjoyment of sweet peace in my return; to whom the praise, if any service was done, I hope ever will be freely offered up; for he alone is worthy thereof forever.

Soon after my return home, great and inexpressible afflictions were permitted to befall me and my afflicted family, most of whom were seized with the dysentery; of which distemper I buried a daughter between four and five years old, and was taken very ill myself of the same disorder. In this time, my dear wife was confined, and for a week or ten days after appeared hopeful to do well and recover; but being taken with the before-mentioned disease, was in a short time removed by death, leaving me three small children, the youngest about two weeks and three days old. I found the Lord near to support my drooping spirit under this great affliction. I well remember, when my dear wife lay with symptoms of death upon her, having also sometimes, as I thought, intervals of being better, my mind was in a painful suspense between hope and fear. It seemed to me then impossible to give her up, and to be wholly separated from so valuable a companion; but the Lord, who formerly rebuked the winds and allayed the raging of the sea, was pleased, as in an instant, to bring a holy calmness over my mind, in which there was an entire resignation to his divine will; so that I could say, with Job of old, "The Lord gives, and the Lord takes away, blessed be his name." I did not, from that time, look upon her as any more mine, but gave her up into his hands who had kindly bestowed her upon me. I write this by way of encouragement to others, that they may live in the fear of God, and give up in steady obedience to his requirings; and then, I am well assured, they may lean upon him in all their afflictions, and will find to their comfort, that those things which appear impossible with man, are

possible with God; who will make hard things easy and bitter things sweet to his humble followers. She departed this life the 22nd of the seventh month, 1746; we having lived together nearly nine years.

I have this short testimony to give concerning her; that she made it her early care to lead a sober and virtuous life; and a godly concern remained upon her mind, to keep a conscience void of offense, both towards God and man; being engaged, according to the ability received, for the promotion of the blessed Truth, and gladly entertained the Lord's faithful laborers; esteeming it a blessing to be favored with their company. When I found a concern to travel abroad in the service of Truth, she freely gave me up thereto; having, with great satisfaction, to acknowledge the Lord's goodness, in favoring her with true peace and contentment in my absence; and also in a steady trust and dependence on his providence, for our support every way in a faithful discharge of duty.

In her last illness, she was favored with great calmness and resignation to the Divine will, either to live or die; signifying, that she did not find any thing in the way; and that, if it pleased the Lord to remove her out of this world, she hoped it would be a glorious change, and that she should go to her innocent babes, who were gone before her; often confessing the Lord's goodness in giving her so much ease both of body and mind. She was very loving to those who visited her in her illness, and said, she had nothing but love and good-will to all. She took leave of our children in a very tender and affectionate manner, committing them to divine Providence, and expressing her belief that his watchful care would be over them when she was gone. The apprentice and servant boys were called at her request; she took them by the hand, and in a loving tender manner, gave them good advice; a heavenly sweetness accompanying her words, which much affected those present. She discovered great nearness of affection to me, almost to the last, and departed this life in sweet peace, of which I was favored, after her removal, with a certain evidence, to my unspeakable satisfaction; whereby I plainly saw my great loss was her everlasting gain, and was enabled to bow in humble acquiescence to the Divine will, who knows what is best, and orders all things in perfect wisdom.

Being apprehensive that I should be concerned to travel pretty much abroad in the service of Truth, for some years; I thought it my duty to go out of business, and as soon as I conveniently could, to place my children where they might be trained up in the way of Truth. This view had been gradually coming upon my mind for a considerable time; but now the weight of it much increased; the time also of entering thereupon, appeared pretty clear to me; having found it my incumbent duty, not only to wait for a full confirmation of a right call to travel abroad in the work of the ministry, but also to know the acceptable time for engaging therein; all which will be fully discovered by those who, with a single eye to God's glory, desire above all things to be

found faithful.

CHAPTER 3

His second visit to New-England—Interview with collegians at New-Haven—Religious concern to visit the churches of Great Britain—Embarks for Europe—Captured by a privateer and carried into Spain, and then to France—Is liberated—Lands in England and proceeds to London.

The first journey I entered upon, was a second visit to Friends in New-England. I set out the 23rd of the third month, 1747, and was at two meetings in Burlington next day. From there I went to a Quarterly Meeting at Chesterfield, and got to Flushing, on Long Island, the 27th. Next day I attended their week-day meeting. The Yearly Meeting for that province then came on, which held four days. It was large, and the Divine presence appeared therein to our mutual comfort and strength.

The 2nd of the fourth month, being four in number, we set out for Rhode Island: passing through the colony of Connecticut, we met with civil, courteous usage, as before, when I traveled through that country. I felt great love in my heart toward the people, in which I had a strong persuasion, if not something of a foresight, that Truth, in the Lord's time, will break forth and spread in that colony. For though I believe superstition and bigotry are very predominant amongst them, yet they appeared to me in general, a cleaner people in their morals, than in many other places where I have traveled.. At NewHaven in that colony, they have a college in order to train up their ministers, etc. I found an inclination to go amongst the collegians, who gathered about me, carrying themselves civilly and respectfully. I had much discourse and reasoning with them concerning our principles: they appearing desirous of information, I answered their questions in a concise manner; referring them to Robert Barclay's Apology, which I supposed they had in their library, for a further explanation thereof. I could not help remarking, with pleasure, the becoming order they observed in their questions and answers: one at once, without the least flout, jeer, or any thing like mockery. I found work also amongst them, to remove the prejudice some had imbibed against us as a people, on account of the wicked and frantic behavior of one Rogers and his followers, who I think dwelt about New-London, in that province, calling themselves Quakers; and as there were none of the right sort, that people might see the difference, they were ready to conclude, that all the people called Quakers were such, to the great reproach of our Society. I declared to them, that their actions were as much abhorred by us, as they could be by any people whatever; that Rogers and his company of ranters were no more of our Society than they were of theirs; that it would be very hard and

unjust, if we, as a people, should be defamed by means of a crew, whom we had nothing further to do with, than to let the world know our abhorrence of their practices, and that they took our name upon them, in all probability, as a cloak to cover their wickedness. The students readily admitted what I said to be very just and reasonable. I believe this opportunity tended to the reputation of our Society, and am sure it was to my comfort and satisfaction; feeling the love of God flow in my heart towards those young men, some of whom I did not think far from the kingdom. I called again to see them on my return, and gave them some books, namely,, two letters written by Samuel Crisp, giving reasons why he joined with the people called Quakers; a Treatise on Baptism, by William Dell; and I think some others, which they received very kindly, still carrying themselves respectfully to me.

I cannot well omit taking notice of the great difference observed by me since, at the two great universities of England, in the behavior of the students, whom they pretend to be training up for Gospel-ministers, and for other employments to get a living by. Oh! what floutings, jeerings, mocking and deriding of that which is serious and humble, like true religion! as though to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, were not now the way to the kingdom of God; but that a sufficient assurance to scoff at and ridicule what in the primitive church and by the people of God in all ages, was accounted religious, were now the distinguishing mark of true Christians and ministers of the Gospel. How have they frequently broken in upon our peaceable, quiet meetings, like the raging foaming waves of a troubled sea, casting up mire and dirt! Such conduct gives sober, discerning people, cause to look upon them as a nest of unclean birds; who, instead of promoting true religion, may be instrumental to subvert it. I have often wondered, seeing the conduct of many of these pretended Gospel-ministers, is obviously so very bad, not only while they are learning the trade of preaching, but also in their following the same for a livelihood; how it comes to pass that the people bear them. One reason appears to be, that the laws of the land are much in their favor; but the principal reason is, that people, in almost a general way, are strangers to the life and power of true religion; being satisfied with a profession thereof, and having itching ears, heap to themselves teachers; erroneously supposing the principal part of religion to consist in performing what they call religious duties; as hearing sermons, prayers, and singing psalms, etc., some of the hearers being so dark as to say, such a one is a good teacher, though perhaps a drunkard, a swearer, or guilty of other evils. It is plain that the strength and security of such ministers, is in the darkness and ignorance of people's minds. We do not read in the Revelations, of the locusts coming upon the earth, until the smoke arose out of the bottomless pit and darkened the sun and air; and whenever the children of men shall, in a general way, turn to the light of the Sun of Righteousness in their own hearts, mystery Babylon the mother of harlots must fall, and these her merchants will be wholly rejected. All their abominable craft will be fully discovered. Great will be their torment, fear and distress, in that day! The Lord Almighty hasten the time for his own name's sake, when all craft,

violence and shedding of human blood, may be at an end; and righteousness cover the earth, as water covers the sea!

Some of the inhabitants of New-Haven signified their desire that we should appoint a meeting there, but we did not find sufficient strength and courage to answer their request; so proceeded on our journey, and got to Newport on Rhode Island the 8th of the seventh month. Here we were kindly received by Friends, and attended their Yearly Meeting, which began at Portsmouth, where it held only one day, being a meeting for worship; after which the meetings for worship and business were held four days at Newport. They were very large and divinely favored, so that those who depended on the Lord alone for wisdom and strength, were enabled to come up in the discharge of their respective duties, to their peace and comfort. When this great meeting was over, I had meetings at Tiverton, Little Compton, Acoakeset, and Aponyganset, and was at their Monthly Meeting on second-day. Next morning about eight o'clock, I went on board a vessel bound to the island of Nantucket, John Hanes master, where we arrived about one o'clock next morning. I staid upon this island about six days, and was at their Yearly and Monthly Meetings; having good satisfaction therein. I returned in the same vessel, and landed on the continent in about six hours; had a meeting at Falmouth, and went to their Monthly Meeting at Sandwich, and attended the Quarterly Meeting held there. Here I met with several Friends from our parts, who were on the service of Truth. We had very close, searching, laborious service amongst them, as things were very low and much out of order; in part owing to the neglect of some members whose minds had been too much taken up with earthly things, to watch over the flock as those who must give an account. We endeavored to lay the weight of things more closely upon the active members, and left them to the Lord's dealings; knowing, "that although Paul may plant, and Apollos may water, it is he alone that can give the increase."

I went from there to Pembroke, where I had a meeting; and through Boston to Lynn, where I had a meeting also; from there to Salem Monthly Meeting, and returned to Boston, and had two meetings there, being first-day. From there I went directly to Rhode Island, and had meetings at Portsmouth and Newport, to good satisfaction: the Lord giving power and dominion, by the blessed efficacy of his pure word of life, over all of a contrary nature to itself, whereby I was enabled to clear my mind, to my great ease and comfort. I then returned homewards with much satisfaction and peace of mind; taking meetings in my way at Conanicut-Island, and South Kingston; so proceeded on my journey through Connecticut, and lodged at New-Haven. I spent part of a day in conversation and reasoning with some well disposed people, to satisfaction. I also visited the students as before hinted; after which I proceeded on my journey to Longreach, where I had a meeting, and went to the Yearly Meeting at West Chester. From there I traveled homewards, having cause to be humbly thankful to the Fountain of all goodness, who was near

to help, as my eye was single to him, in all proving times, whether in heights or depths; and as he was waited upon, gave wisdom and utterance. I desire he alone may have the praise and glory, if any good is done; as there is no good but what proceeds from him.

I had not been long returned from the before mentioned journey, when I laid before the Monthly Meeting I belonged to, a concern which had been upon my mind some years, to visit the churches in several parts of Great Britain and Ireland; desiring their concurrence and certificate, if upon weighty deliberation, they found unity with my proposal; intimating, that the period for entering upon this solemn undertaking had appeared to me for some time to be drawing near, and that I should look out for a passage before the end of the year. A certificate was prepared, setting forth their unity with my service in the ministry, and with my intended journey; desiring my labors therein might tend to the edification of the churches where my lot should be cast, and my return to them again in peace; also expressing that I had settled my outward affairs to satisfaction; for I had acquainted Friends how I had settled them, as I thought it concerned them to be satisfied in that as well as other things; it being my earnest desire to have the full concurrence of my brethren in so great an undertaking.

I took some little journeys in visiting adjacent meetings; and before the Yearly Meeting came on, I went to North Wales meeting, and about twenty miles further up the country to Richland, in order to take my leave of some Friends and relations, as well as to visit that meeting. In my return homewards I was taken very ill of what is there called the yellow fever; because the patient is turned as yellow as if he had the jaundice. I reached the house of my worthy friend, Thomns Foulke, who, with his wife and children, were as affectionately kind to me as if I had been one of their nearest relations. But this malignant fever greatly increased upon me. My sister was sent for, and several doctors were employed. Those who saw me, concluded all was over, and that I must depart out of this life. I took little notice of any thing; yet I think I was for the most part sensible, and could perceive I was given up for death, by those who had the care of me. Once they thought I was near drawing my last breath; they therefore drew a pillow from under my head and unbuttoned the neckband of my shirt, out of kindness, to make the last struggle between life and death the easier. For my part, I could not see how it would go with me; but had not much, if any apprehension of being taken away by death at that time. This sore illness happening in the Yearly Meeting time, which was held that year at Philadelphia, I requested the certificate I had obtained of the Monthly Meeting, for my intended journey into England, etc., might be laid before the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders', as is usual in such cases, for the concurrence of Friends; and if they found freedom and unity therewith, to signify the same to the brethren in England, by an endorsement thereon. It was laid before the said meeting by my good friend Michael Lightfoot, and the meeting's free concurrence being obtained, it was signed by a very great number of Friends. This was done when many thought

there would be no occasion for a certificate, as they fully expected it was nearly over with me, as to this world. But I was not easy to miss so good an opportunity of having a concern of so great importance solidly weighed by such a substantial body of Friends; as I was not likely to have another like opportunity, if the Lord should be pleased to raise me up again. This illness brought me very low indeed, so that when the fever abated, and I was fit to be helped out of bed, I could not stand alone; yet I recovered to admiration; being able, in about a week, to ride home in a chaise, about twenty-six miles; which I bore very well. On my return home, my friends and neighbors came to see me, greatly rejoicing at my recovery, which they did not expect from what some had seen and others had heard; for several of them visited me in my illness. This was a time of deep probation to me both inwardly and outwardly; being tried, as I sometimes have been when in great weakness of body, with distressing poverty of spirit; not having distinct satisfaction and clearness in my own mind how it was with me as to my inward condition, judging that an evidence of peace and comfort from the Holy Spirit would be a great support at such times of bodily affliction; and I have found it so, when it has pleased the Lord to favor me therewith. But he knows what is best and most suitable for us; and I find by experience, it is the safest way to resign our wills to his holy will; as we must, for the most part, while in this militant state, walk by faith and not by sight. I am fully persuaded such trying dispensations of divine Providence, are greatly profitable for our growth in the way that is well pleasing to him; and if patiently borne, will, in his time, be a means to work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

Soon after my health was restored, an ancient Friend whose name was Peter Davis, from New-England, came to Philadelphia in order to take a passage for England, and our friend Thomas Gawthrop having performed a religious visit to Friends on the continent of America, intending to embark shortly for the same, with Isaac Greenleaf, a Friend on trade, I joined them; all agreeing to take our passage in a new ship bound for London.

One thing I would remark, that some Friends, and, as I understood, some others also, taking notice how providentially public Friends had been preserved during the war which was then carrying on with France and Spain, so that none of them had been taken by the enemy, presumed thereon; and would say, There is no need to insure goods in that ship, as so many public Friends are going in her, she will doubtless go safe. I much disliked this unjustifiable confidence, seeing the judgments of the Lord are a great deep, being unsearchable, and his ways past finding out. It becomes us, in all our undertakings, to commit ourselves and all we have into his hands, in humble resignation to do or suffer whatever his wisdom may point out or permit to fall upon us, for the trial of our faith and patience; as his mercy, power and goodness, are as conspicuous in preserving, defending and carrying us through great probations, to his glory, consequently to our own advantage in the end, as in wholly exempting us from them. Even Job

had no cause to complain of his unparalleled afflictions, when they were over, and he saw how greatly he had profited thereby. A Friend said to me before we embarked, he did not pretend to determine whether we should be taken or not; but however that might happen, he did believe some Friends in our station would be taken; not only to check that unwarrantable confidence in some, both Friends and others, but he also apprehended, a service might arise from such being cast amongst those dark people, though against their will. I did not pretend to any assurance in my own mind, of preservation out of the enemies' hands; but was made willing to commit my soul, body, and all that I had unto the Lord, as into the hands of a faithful Creator, not doubting the sufficiency of his power for preservation in every condition of life.

On the 30th of the ninth month, 1747, the before mentioned Friends, who were to be my companions upon the mighty ocean, set out from Philadelphia in order to embark at Chester, in company with many Friends, and called for me at my house in Darby, being the direct road. I joined them, as well as a considerable number of friends and neighbors, and proceeded to Chester that night; where, at the house of our ancient friend Grace Lloyd, we had a solemn meeting. Next day, being the 1st of the tenth month, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we took leave of Friends in great love and tenderness, and went on board the ship, which fell down the river that evening a little below Newcastle. Next day in the evening, we came to anchor near Reedy Island, where we were detained by a great storm of wind and rain until the 5th in the morning, when we set sail with a fair wind, taking our departure from the capes of the Delaware about six o'clock the same evening. The wind continued fair for the most part, though very strong, and a following sea running very high, until the 18th; when, according to their calculation, we had run about two-thirds of our passage; seldom having more than a foresail set, and that sometimes reefed, and at other times double reefed. As we had such a high following sea, it was thought the ship was ahead of the reckoning.

From the 18th to the 23rd, the wind continued pretty fair, but more moderate than before. Then it turned about to the eastward and blew exceedingly hard, with a very high sea, until the 29th, in which time we lay-to, and drove about wheresoever the wind and waves would carry us. We could get very little forward, but were exceedingly tossed. This was indeed a trying time; the motion of the waves being so violent, that though she was a strong, new ship, she was beaten upon with so much force as to make her crack from end to end, as if she would have been broken to pieces. I then thought those in my situation had good reason to know well what "they were about, and for what they exposed themselves to such dangers; and had great need to have the mighty Ruler of the sea and land for their friend. For if he had been pleased to withdraw his protection, there was only about a two-inch plank between us and eternity, which was to me very awful to think of; for I was not without my tossings and combats of mind, during these outward probations. The 29th proved a fine day; they had a good observation, and judged we

were then about a hundred and fifty leagues from the land's end of England.

Next day, being the 30th of the tenth month, Thomas Gawthrop having had a very restless painful night, by troublesome dreams, etc., had some expectation of our being taken, as he afterwards intimated. He stepped upon deck about eight o'clock in the morning, and immediately espied a sail upon our windward quarter, giving us chase. He quickly raised the careless captain, who ought to have been looking out before that time, and to have watched more narrowly than he did, considering the trust reposed in him. The captain, when he perceived we were chased, appeared much concerned, giving the ship up for taken, in his mind, already. We urged him to put out all the sail he could crowd, and to exert his utmost endeavor to escape, offering to assist all in our power, as we often had done before, being very poorly manned; in part owing to the sailors' unwillingness to go in ships bound to London, lest they should be pressed on board men-of-war. It happened to be a moderate wind, so that we could have borne all the sail belonging to the ship; but through neglect, neither topgallant-sails nor sleering-sails were in a condition to be set; neither could the captain be prevailed upon to have a reef taken out of the main-sail. The vessel was very badly steered, as the French remarked when they had taken us. The captain ordered her to be close hauled to the wind, vainly hoping, as he intimated, we should get to the windward of them, being deeply laden. But this was very ill judged, if really the effect of judgment, as the way of the ship was thereby much hindered to what it would have been if she had gone large, taking the strength of the wind. Notwithstanding this, we held the privateer in chase about nine hours. She came up with us about five o'clock in the evening, and fired a gun under French colors; upon which our people lowered their colors and topsail, by way of submitting to them. They hoisted out a small boat, the sea running high, in which came the second captain and a lieutenant with seven or eight sailors, to take possession of a very valuable prize. She was a snow privateer, belonging to Bayonne, carrying ten carriage guns, and about one hundred men, commanded by one Peter Garalon. As the boat was rowing towards us, the people made such a dark, mean and contemptible appearance, that our poor sailors cried out in a very affecting manner, We shall all be used very badly and cruelly, like dogs, for they are a pitiful crew, and no officer amongst them; but in this they were mistaken. For my part, the Lord being exceedingly gracious to my soul, by the blessed support and solacing comfort of his Holy Spirit all that day, I was quite calm and easy; all fear of the enemy or whatever I might have to pass through in such a time of trial, was wholly taken away for the present; my mind being filled with humble resignation to the divine will; yet was willing, as I thought it a point of prudence, to use endeavors for escaping out of their hand if it were practicable.

The before-mentioned second captain of the privateer, whose name was Andrew De St. Andrew, boarded us with a naked cutlass in his hand, eight or nine men following him. He

spoke to us in good English very cheerfully, saying to this effect, “Your servant, gentlemen; it is the fortune of the war, although it is ours to day, it may be yours tomorrow;” and promised good usage. He then ordered the captain, mate, and sailors, except two, and us who were cabin passengers, being ten in number, to go on board the privateer; upon which the boat was loaded and went off. He took notice that we were of the people called Quakers, and gave us to understand that he was not altogether a stranger to us as a people. The chief reason of sending away those on board a prize being for their own security, lest there might be danger of their rising and recovering the ship again, we conceived some hopes, from the known peaceable principles we profess, to be so far indulged as to be allowed to remain on board the prize; and therefore did not incline to go with the first boat-full; making use of that space of time in earnest solicitation to remain, having much better accommodation than we could reasonably expect on board the privateer: but all the arguments we advanced seemed ineffectual. When the boat returned, he still urged the orders he had from the head captain to send us all on board; upon which I stepped over the side of the vessel, taking hold of the hand-rope, with a design to go into the boat; when there, it appeared to me exceedingly hazardous, the sea running very high. I turned about and looked this French captain full in the face, and expressed myself in as moving terms as I was capable of, concerning the danger he was about exposing us to unnecessarily; which, through divine favor, made such an impression upon him, that he took me by the hand and drew me into the ship again, saying, “You shall stay here to night however.” He had before demanded the keys of our chests, under pretense of preventing their falling into the hands of the common men, who might plunder them; but the true reason was, that he and the other officers might first do it themselves; which they did after we were gone to bed that night, returning our keys next morning, with large promises of protection and good usage; which, every thing considered, they in a good degree fulfilled. We could not help looking upon it as a kind providence, which made way for our remaining on board the prize; having there the free use of our private stores, and being better waited upon than before we were taken, having two cabin boys for that purpose. Captain Andrew, to give him his due, carried himself respectfully to us; frequently filling our plates plentifully, though he might at times have less left for himself; and when he wanted any liquors or other provisions out of our chests, he would ask us for them in a submissive manner, as if he had no authority to demand. This kind carriage gained upon us, to place some confidence in him, which in the end he made use of to his own advantage, by craftily getting from us about two hundred pounds sterling, the particulars of which would be too tedious to relate. After the French had got possession of our ship, they put her in a fine trim for sailing, so that it was plain she could readily outsail the privateer that took her. Captain Andrew said, that when they took us, we were about eighty leagues from Cape Clear in Ireland, and about one hundred and twenty-five leagues from the land's end of England.

The next day the chief captain came on board to examine the cargo, etc. He made Andrew cap-

tain of the prize, of which we were glad, as he could speak English, and from what we saw of him, there was reason to expect favorable usage under his care; which was also promised us by the head captain. They found the cargo so valuable that it was concluded the privateer should keep us company, in order to convoy us safely to some port of France or Spain. Having new masters, we had a new course to steer; but the wind set against us, blowing very hard and stormy. We lay-to often, and were exceedingly tossed for about two weeks, and did not in that time think ourselves any nearer Bayonne, than when we were taken. Our captors wanted more prey, and espied and chased several vessels, who had the good success to get away from them. We were once chased by a fine large ship, which they took to be an English man-of-war, and appeared to be greatly alarmed; but when she came up, they found her to be a privateer belonging to the town called St. Maloes, carrying twenty carriage guns, and about three hundred men. We left the privateer that took us, far behind, during this chase, our ship being fixed upon at a great distance, for the best booty.

It was the 22nd of the eleventh month, before we saw any land, and when we did, our captors proved much mistaken, thinking themselves sixty or seventy leagues nearer Bayonne than they found to be the case. We had pleasant sailing near the land on the Spanish coast, which borders on the bay of Biscay; it being high land, afforded considerable delight to us, as we had been long confined to the sight of water only. The 24th, in the dusk of the evening, we had nearly entered the port called St. Sebastian, when the wind chopped in right ahead and drove us out to sea again. The privateer got into a place called Port-passage, about a league from there, next morning early. But we being forced further off by contrary winds, had great difficulty to get in that day, being for many hours towed by fifteen boats, in which were one hundred and fifty men laboring at their oars. They appeared very anxious to get our vessel into port, as they feared some English ship cruising in the bay, might call them to an account. We poor captives went on shore the 26th in the morning, being glad and thankful to have the opportunity of setting our feet again on firm land, although in an enemy's country; for setting aside the great affliction of being taken, it had been an exceedingly boisterous and trying passage, of about eight weeks. It was mild spring-like weather there, though about the middle of winter. We diverted ourselves with walking about in the day and lodged aboard at night, while we staid in that place, which was till the 29th, when horses were provided for us to travel by land, about thirty miles to Bayonne; the doctor of the privateer being all the guard and guide we had. There was a very plentiful dinner provided for us at a seaport town in France, called St. Jean-de-Luz. I was not at all pleased with the forward, wanton carriage of the women, such as I had never seen before. I reprov'd them, but some by way of excuse said, the principal thing they intended thereby, was to cheer up our spirits in our captivity; yet I could hardly believe their design was so innocent.

We had been told by Captain Andrew, that on our arrival at Bayonne, we that were cabin passengers should immediately have a parole of honor granted us; but we did not find it so. Being brought before the commissary, he ordered us to be taken into the castle; yet we had the liberty there to hire rooms, with beds in them, such as they were, and to have provisions for our money; of which we soon found we had need to be well stored, as they had a knack of getting it from us; for we could not buy any thing ourselves, but all must come through the hands of such as knew how to make a profit of us. I never knew any people so thoroughly furnished with artful ways to get money, as the French. Their tongues were very much at command, and they could use them with great wit and address, in order to gain our good opinion of them, but I perceived that they meant in the main, advantage to themselves; and therefore, saw it necessary to be as much as I could on my guard. We were very much imposed upon on account of provisions, and our money went very fast. Not being without fear that if they should discover we had sufficient, some other way might be found out to get it from us, we made inquiry whether any was willing to supply us with money, and take our draft upon London, allowing them a premium. We soon found they were very willing to do it, merely upon the credit of our Society; such reputation has the possession of Truth gained Friends, far and wide; but to our sorrow, the bare profession of it, in some mournful instances of late, has produced the contrary effect; so that there is reason to fear, the great credit gained by our worthy predecessors for justice and punctuality, is in danger of being in measure lost to the Society, by the misconduct of some of their descendants. They told us that several of the people called Quakers had been amongst them, but they were not like us; that they looked upon us to be precise stiff Quakers; but those who had been there before, behaved in a complaisant manner, not sticking at the punctilio of the hat, etc. We let them know that our behavior in those respects, was no other than what is consistent with our principles; and that we could not answer for those who were hypocrites, professing one thing and practicing another. We could discover that upon all occasions, they seemed to have a greater dependence on our veracity, than that of the rest of our company; and upon the whole, they showed us as much if not more kindness. Our confinement and usage in the castle grew very disagreeable to us; we therefore took the opportunity when the commissary came, to lay before him the treatment we met with, and to request our liberty upon parole. He pretended to make some difficulty of it, and we found many then in the castle had been endeavoring some time to procure that liberty, and could not. But when we discovered danger of being put off” as they had been, we pressed it upon him with more earnestness. Hereupon we had a parole of honor granted for upwards of twenty. The place fixed upon for our residence, was Dax, an ancient town about forty miles up Bayonne river. We were sent there by water, and were in the boat all night, having very disagreeable company, the worst of whom were English and Scotch. These had laid a scheme to prevent our being admitted into the same boat, which was very ungrateful in them, as they knew we had been the principal instruments of procuring

that liberty, especially for some of them. Without doubt, their reason for that attempt was, that they might enjoy the intended frolic, without any rebuke or interruption from us. We bore their obscene discourse and behavior for some time; but at length, being exceedingly burdened, Thomas Gawthrop and I were concerned to reprove them very severely, desiring them to consider, what the French people in the boat could think of those who called themselves Protestants. Some of them seemed at first to retort, but the weight of our spirits came over them; and we being on Truth's side, which is strongest of all, they were soon overcome and silenced. From that time we kept them at a distance, not looking upon them worthy of our notice in a way of intimacy, so that when we came to Dax, we separated from them, boarding by ourselves.

On our arrival there, we were brought before the governor of the castle; and our manner of appearing before superiors being different from that of others, with which we did not expect he was acquainted, and might probably put an unfavorable construction upon; we therefore desired our interpreter to inform him, that we did not stand before him covered in contempt, or in any disrespect, it being our principle and practice so to appear before our superiors in our own nation. His answer was to this effect, "I am not at all offended with their appearance; I know something of those people." He gave us the liberty of the town and country around; and we got pretty good quarters, and lived much more to our minds than in Bayonne castle.

This town is now a mean place, but there are still remains of its ancient greatness. I find by history, it was once the capital of Aquitaine, and was then called Aqua Solis, from its hot waters. At one place I found the heat so surprisingly great, that I could not bear my fingers in the water a quarter of a minute. This water was enclosed with stone walls of about twenty yards square, having brass or iron cocks or spouts, to convey water for the use of the inhabitants; it answering the purpose of boiling water for washing linen, etc. There arises a steam or smoke therefrom, like a vast furnace or lime-kiln. We being there in Lent-time, as they call it, were told the priests were uneasy at our being indulged with flesh, and that they requested the governor to give orders for preventing it. We were informed that he turned very short upon them, and said, "I will give no such orders. What have they to do with your lent? Cannot you be contented to keep it yourselves?" He carried himself very civilly to us, and came once in person to invite us to a bullbaiting, offering, as we were strangers, to prefer us to the best place for the purpose of seeing, which was the balcony in the front of his house. We acknowledged his civility, but at the same time gave him to understand, we did not allow ourselves to attend such diversions.

There are many worship-houses, and two nunneries in Dax. Their clergy, of various orders, swarm like locusts, who fleece the people, so that it may be truly said of much the greater part, they are in a state of abject poverty and vassalage; stupidly devoted to follow these blind guides

whithersoever they think proper to lead them, not daring to judge for themselves in matters of religion. O happy England! O land blessed with liberty! What have you not to answer for, if a right use be not made of so great a privilege.

We went one day to converse with the nuns, which we did through large iron grates, by an interpreter. They behaved themselves very civilly, and were courteous and free in discourse. One of the sisters lay dead in an apartment. The corpse was laid in a coffin dressed in black, having twelve wax candles lighted and set in silver candlesticks, six on each side, and some at her feet, and a black cross fixed between her fingers on her breast, as if she were looking at it. Several of the nuns were about her, some kneeling, and others sitting on the floor, with books in their hands, praying for the departed soul, as we conjectured. One was ringing a bell, perhaps it was what they call a holy bell, that at the sound thereof all the evil spirits might be chased out of the soul's way in its flight towards the other world. We went from this to the other nunnery, but could not be immediately admitted to see the nuns, as they were employed in singing psalms or some kind of religious songs, which we could hear at a considerable distance. We stood in an open entry before a fine chapel, but did not go into it, though the door was open; for indeed I had no freedom to go into any of their idols' temples, yet we could see many upon their knees praying, some before one image, and some before another. As we waited here, not intending nor expecting to give any offense, it being an open entry, but I suppose it was hallowed or consecrated, as they call it, though not discovered to be so by us, there came a monk to us in a great passion, and talked very fast in French. We saw he was angry, but did not understand what he said, and therefore asked the interpreters, having, I think, two with us. They told us, he said we had polluted that holy place, in keeping our hats on, inasmuch as the Lord God was there; that if we had no more manners, they had a way to teach us better. We then departed, being deprived of the intended visit to the nuns, but that was no great disappointment. Their crosses, either of wood or stone, are very numerous, being erected in all the cross roads, and also at many places in and about their towns and villages; on some of which images are fastened, with an imitation of the crown of thorns, the reed, spear and sponge. That the people's great poverty may more fully appear, I shall give a short description of the shoes most of them wear, who wear any sort: they are wholly made of wood, being hollowed out for the feet, except a piece of leather about three inches broad, across the instep. They appear very inconvenient to walk in, as they do not yield at all to the feet. I am persuaded there is not one in sixty, in that part of France, who wear any other sort of shoes. Many wagon loads of these shoes are brought to Dax market every week.

The 21st of the twelfth month, a messenger from Bayonne brought us the agreeable news of a cartel-ship from England being arrived at Port-passage. An order came soon after for our return, and that we might be ready to embark the 24th. We hired a boat for that purpose, and

went to Bayonne, being on the water all night. It was very cold snowy weather, and I suffered much, taking a cold, which I did not get over for many days. What added to our distress, was the commissary's receiving us very roughly, and ordering us into the castle. I know of no reason he had for being in that ill-natured disposition; and was ready to imagine it was only to furnish a pretense to get something into his own pocket by our confinement. One thing which made me think he had a feeling in the profits, was his unwillingness to give us and others, a parole. However, when it appeared that we must go to prison again, the captain of the cartel-ship being present, demanded our liberty; which I suppose the commissary dared not deny; by which means we had the liberty of the town a few days, until matters were settled for our traveling towards the ship.

One thing I am not willing to omit, as it will be a specimen of the unaccountable superstition and idolatry of those people amongst whom our lot was cast. Thomas Gawthrop and I taking a walk, as we often did, into the fields, came to a small building, which was in the nature of a conduit, as there issued out at one end, spouts of water, over which was enclosed in net-work, an image whose head seemed as if cut off or severed from its body. It appeared to be a fine spring of water; but that which most attracted our notice was, to observe so many worshipping this water and beheaded image; I suppose not less than fifteen on their knees, some nearer to it than others. We inquired the meaning thereof; but none understood English, nor did we French enough to converse; so that we remained in the dark, until by making inquiry in the town, we received the following account, namely, that it is St. Leon's well, who is the titular saint of Bayonne. That this Leon was the first Gospel missionary sent there in pagan times, that he was greatly persecuted, and last of all, beheaded on a hill above that place where the well now is. That when his head was severed from his body it rolled down the hill and fell upon this place, upon which there immediately issued out a spring or fountain of water. That it is now the constant practice of professors to send people to do penance at St. Leon's well; who must fix themselves on their knees nearer or further off according to the nature of their crimes.

When our captain had fully settled with the commissary relative to us, we proceeded on our way towards the ship as far as the town called St. Jean-de-Luz, where we abode some time, taking up our quarters at a large inn. One day when at dinner, we received a visit from two friars, one of whom being an Irishman, could speak English well; the other knew very little English. We understood the design of their coming was to use endeavors in their pretended catholic spirit, for our conversion, by bringing us into the bosom of their church, out of which, they say, there is no salvation. This Irish friar began to ask questions, which, for a little while, we answered; but the dispute seemed too promiscuous and was not quite satisfactory; neither did it appear altogether fair for so many to engage with one; for the other friar could be of little use in argument, as he had not the language. Therefore, finding my mind pretty much opened and

warmly engaged, I entered into a close dispute with him, which my companions observing, left it to us. I soon found that his main support in argument was the authority and infallibility of their church, but more especially of the pope. I told him it was altogether fruitless to support arguments against me, by an authority I had no faith in; but seeing he and I both allowed the Holy Scriptures to be of divine authority, it would be much better for us to back our arguments by that authority only. It was exceedingly difficult to bring him to this, as I believe he clearly foresaw I should there be too many for him; which fell out accordingly, the Lord being near, opening my understanding, so that the poor man was confounded and knew not what to answer, nor how to support an argument; his memory scarcely serving him to quote one Scripture passage truly. I sometimes helped him, repeating the passages he aimed at, to see what use he could make of them; but I found him as deficient in applying, as he was in remembering the Holy Scriptures; which induced me to think that even their clergy, so called, find those sacred writings make so little for the support of their religion, that they do not much regard them. The dispute continued most of the afternoon; in which he carried himself with good nature and civility, at least in appearance. He would sometimes express his wonder at my memory; saying, he thought I could repeat all the Scriptures by heart from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Revelations. But I knew who graciously helped me; for I did not go against him in my own strength, the Lord being with me in such a manner, that I thought I should not have been afraid to engage with a hundred of their most crafty priests; and therefore I did, and do offer thanksgiving and praise to him alone who is eternally worthy! Towards the conclusion he asked me what I thought of their eucharist. I felt, as I thought, a snare in his question; and asked him whether he intended to ensnare me by that question; which he did not offer to deny. I was, however, enabled to answer him in such a manner that he could take no advantage, to bring me into trouble. I often cried unto the Lord to preserve us in maintaining our testimony, agreeably to what he knew was right in his sight; and at the same time to be exceedingly watchful over our own spirits, lest they should be too much heated and raised in a false zeal, with indignation against the detestable idolatry and abominations of those dark countries, that we might not thereby imprudently put ourselves into their power; not doubting if the Lord required any service of us amongst them, he would support us therein, for he has all power in heaven and earth. The friars took their leave of us in the evening, signifying they would visit us again; but they never did, and I hardly believe they intended it.

From this place we went into that part of Spain where we first² landed, and staid there and at Sebastian several weeks, waiting for the ship's sailing. The Spaniards are much more disagreeable to live amongst than the French. The men appeared to us in a general way, poor, proud and exceedingly lazy; filled with high conceit of themselves, both in a civil and religious sense. They sauntered about, walking with their cloaks over their shoulders, looking upon us with contempt, as we could bow neither to their pride nor to their religion; nor could we look upon

them in a favorable light, when we observed what slaves they made of their wives and of the women in general, who are employed in all or most of the drudgery, even in rowing their boats. I have seen near the two last mentioned places, in their ferries, and other business on the water, more than a hundred women thus employed; and scarcely a man is seen to touch an oar, unless he goes a fishing; and then his wife, or some woman, must bring his cloak or sword to the water-side against he comes on shore, and carry the fish home on her head, while he walks in state to the town. This one of the Friends who were with me assured me he saw. I am far from envying our English women their happiness; I think indulgent usage is due to the tenderness of their sex every where; yet I think were they to see even what I have seen, as above hinted, they would be very thankful to the Author of their being for casting their lots in the English dominions.

The darkness of popery seems greater here than in France; although it may be seen and felt there beyond all expression. Oh the pain and distress of soul I was almost continually under by the muddy rivers of Babylon in those lands of darkness! the harp being indeed hung upon the willows. No sweet melody nor song of Zion could be sung, the Lord knows, under the power of the king of the bottomless pit, who rules in the mystery of iniquity. Yet so it must remain, until that Almighty Being who cut Rahab and wounded the dragon, is pleased to arise and put on strength, that he may turn and overturn; pouring forth the phials of his wrath upon the seat of the beast and false prophet; that the nations may no more be intoxicated with their abominations.¹ May the Lord, for his oppressed Seed's sake, hasten that day, so that the people and saints of the Most High may obtain the kingdom, and the earth enjoy her sabbath, when sweet incense in every place on the Lord's footstool may be offered up to him with acceptance.²

I took notice at Port-passage that a person went about the street every evening tinkling a hand-bell, as if he had something to sell, yet I could not see any thing he had, which made me ask the reason of it. I was told, that it was to remind people of the souls in purgatory, that they might pray for them. The maid of the house where we boarded, brought a crucifix and desired us to kiss it; which some of the English then present did, to please her; but upon my refusal, and withal giving her a gentle rebuke for offering me such an affront, she alarmed the house with complaints what a bad Christian I was, for refusing to embrace that piece of brass. Having soon after to pass through an entry, I found two men, I suppose lying in wait for me. One of them came slyly behind my back, laying fast hold of both my arms, in order to confine me, while the other brought the image to my face; intending, no doubt, to force me into that which they could not bring me to do voluntarily. I soon perceived what they were about, and presently freed myself from their odious design; showing them, by a stern countenance and some sharp expres-

1 See Psalm 137, Isaiah 51, and Revelation

2 Daniel 7

sions, that I was much displeas'd with their uncivil treatment.

I cannot fully account for the cause, but while in Spain, I felt at times, or at least I thought so, something like snares laid to do us mischief. However that was, the Lord graciously preserv'd us, and gave us ability to maintain our testimony, as far as he was pleas'd to require of us in those countries; which was chiefly in feeling the distressing weight of death and darkness that covers the holy Seed sown in the hearts of mankind, and which is press'd down by their superstition, idolatry and wickedness, "as a cart is press'd that is full of sheaves." It as surely groans for deliverance as Israel did under Egyptian bondage. In sympathy therewith, my soul was mostly in deep anxiety; being, as it were, dumb with silence, and clos'd up in painful death and darkness; ready at times to say, Surely I am in the same spirit with them. But the material difference was this; it was their element, wherein they liv'd pleasantly and delight'd to breathe; whereas I could neither live nor breathe therein; so far from it, that I often look'd upon myself in a manner quite dead. But let everlasting praise ascend to the God of the living, world without end! He was pleas'd to bring me through this horrible death and darkness, to enjoy the glorious day of his salvation again, and to be one of those, though unworthy, who have "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," for their light and leader. Then I saw that even in that day of uncommon trials, both within and without, my life was sure, though not discern'd by me, being hid with Christ in God.

It was some time after my arrival in England before the thick darkness before-mention'd quite wore off my mind; yet I was favor'd at times, with the shining of the Sun of righteousness, as it were breaking through a thick cloud, to my unspeakable joy and comfort, and in the work of the Gospel I believe, to the great satisfaction of many others, to whom I was, through deep suffering, in some degree qualifi'd to speak, even as deep calls unto deep.

We arriv'd in England, and came to anchor in Torbay, the 26th of the first month, 1748, after a passage of five days. The ship was bound for Plymouth, but the sailors who had been prisoners in France, being in fear of another confinement by being press'd on board of the men-of-war, took the command of her from the captain, by something, in appearance at least, like force. He told them he had a safe protection from the government, whereby they would be secur'd from what they fear'd by going to Plymouth. But they did not regard that, neither was he, as we thought, averse to going into Torbay, as he had the sailors to lay it on; for we had reason to apprehend he did not keep us waiting in Spain so long for nothing; so that the bay might suit his purpose better also. It being the first-day of the week, in the evening, when we came to anchor, Thomas Gawthrop and I had a mind to go on shore, that we might endeavor to find a meeting of Friends.

Next day some of the company signifying their intention of going about midnight, that being

the time when I suppose the tide would serve best; we therefore requested they would call us, which they did. The ship lay a considerable distance from the town of Bricksham, where we intended to land. We had been in the boat but a little while, when a great storm of wind and rain beat furiously against us, so that the men at the oars found it hard to keep the boat up against it. We encouraged them all in our power to work for their own lives and ours, letting them know, if they would bring us safely to land, they should be well rewarded for their pains. The danger of being driven back to sea was very apparent, and I believe much feared by all in the boat. The poor men exerted their utmost endeavor, which, through the good providence of God, proved successful.

This I looked upon as a merciful preservation, having seldom, if ever, in the course of my life, apprehended greater danger. We were exceedingly wet with the rain, but having good fires made for us, and other necessary accommodations, we did not suffer much thereby. By inquiry, we found there was a meeting of our Friends held near a place called Newton-Bushel, about ten miles off, to which we went, being truly thankful for the great favor of a safe arrival in England, and the opportunity of sitting down in a meeting of Friends again; though we held meetings amongst ourselves in our captivity, on first-days, when it appeared practicable. This meeting was but small, and the life of religion seemed to me at a low ebb. I had nothing to deliver by way of testimony. Friends were very loving to us. On second-day we proceeded towards London, as far as Exeter, where Friends entertained us kindly that night. Next day Thomas Gawthrop, Isaac Greenleaf and myself, leaving our ancient friend Peter Davis with Friends there, hired horses as far as Honiton. There I bought a serviceable mare, that carried me safely and well through most of my travels in this journey in England and Wales. We took Bridport in our way, and lodged with our worthy friend Samuel Bownas, who, with his house-keeper, entertained us with affectionate kindness. Now did we begin to enjoy the sweetness of brotherly love again.

The Quarterly Meeting for Dorsetshire was held next day at that place, to which we went. It was very small, and the power of Truth, which is the crown of all our religious meetings, as I thought, was very low therein. We must live in that power at other times, if we expect its gracious assistance in the weighty affairs of the church when met for the management thereof; for that which is born of the flesh is but flesh, and cannot enter into the kingdom of God, nor so much as see it. All is certainly of the flesh that has its principal delight and satisfaction in sub-lunary things. So that, although some may maintain the character of God's people as to the outward appearance, yet if the love of earthly things has the chief room in their hearts, the love of the Father is not in them; and therefore such are not qualified to do God's work. Church-government, according to the discipline he in his wisdom has established, requires our understandings to be divinely enlightened to move rightly therein. The natural reason and understanding,

whereby we manage our outward affairs, although capable of this, is altogether unfit for the other; for “the world by wisdom knows not God;” and where persons speak and act in this, in meetings for discipline, they are not likely to understand his work; but in their pretended endeavors to promote, they mar it, and frequently darken counsel by a multitude of words without right knowledge. Instead of raising life in a meeting, they bring death and darkness over it, to the great pain of the upright-hearted, who are not always ready, like those above hinted at, but experimentally knowing their sufficiency for every good word and work to be of God, they dare not move until it please him, by moving upon their hearts, to open their understandings and to be a spirit of judgment unto them. In this only there is a binding and loosing, remitting and retaining, with divine approbation; which is livingly known and sealed upon the understandings of the faithful, by the Holy Spirit of promise. Our way was quite shut up as to ministry or other public service in that meeting; after which we pursued our journey for London. I found constant riding very painful, not only because I had not rode much for a considerable time, but having, according to the custom of America, been used to an easy pacer, my mare now being a trotter, was hard to bear until I was more accustomed to it, which then proved very agreeable.

Our friend John Hunt and his wife met us on seventh-day at Staines, and being in a coach, prevailed on me, as I was weary with riding, to go with them in it, and took me to their house, where I was kindly entertained, not only then, but also at other times during my travels in this nation. I continued about two weeks in the city, visiting meetings as they fell in course, being mostly low and pretty much discouraged in my mind with a deep sense of my own weakness, the greatness of the work before me, and the mournful state of the church, as it appeared to me, in London. I had but little openness as to ministry, yet endeavored to wade along as patiently as I could; it appearing to be my principal business to suffer with the oppressed Seed, mourning with a sensible remnant, who I could perceive had sackcloth underneath, because of the prevalence of worldly wisdom and grandeur in that great city; the lowly meek spirit of Jesus, which by the power of God was exalted amongst us, in the early time of our being a people, was in too general a way overlooked and disregarded; and man's will and wisdom taking its place, was grown very high, and assumed the government, where the wisdom of God formerly bore rule. But this did not prosper; instead thereof, greater waste and desolation prevailed. Those who were breathing and panting after heavenly substance were greatly discouraged, being ready to say, All is gone! the glory is departed from Israel! what can be done now? but I saw they were to be raised in the Lord's time, as an army to fight his battles against the uncircumcised in heart and ears; and that the victory over that spirit was to be obtained through sufferings. Having given a short hint of the afflicting view I had of the state of our Society in the city of London, I shall leave it for the present; as I shall, in the course of this journal, have occasion to make further observations thereon which may tend to explain the above.

CHAPTER 4

*Visit to his mother—Attends the Yearly Meeting in London—Meetings in Norfolk, Suffolk, etc.
—Visits Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, etc.*

I had an ancient mother in Radnorshire, South Wales, whom I had not seen for about twenty-two years. I therefore purposed taking meetings in my way there, and also in my return to London Yearly Meeting. I set out in order to be at Reading Quarterly Meeting the 16th of the second month, which I attended to good satisfaction. After this meeting I took the following in my way, Henley, Warborough, Witney, Gloucester, and Ross, the Lord being my gracious helper, either to do or suffer, in which I endeavored to be faithful, according to the discovery I received of the divine will: on the 26th I got to my mother's house, having sent a messenger a little before, lest a sudden surprise, although arising from much joy, might prove too great a shock for my dear ancient mother to bear without some inconvenience. I suppose our meeting might somewhat resemble that of Jacob and his son Joseph. It afforded much comfort to my worthy mother, she being a valuable religious woman, not only to see me again, but also that I was come upon a service she so greatly loved and valued. My honored father had been dead about three years. I had a brother and sister living with my mother, and another sister married, who lived not far from her. I staid thereabouts somewhat more than two weeks; in which time I had several large, and some very open precious meetings; many of other societies flocking to them, who seemed much reached by the testimony of Truth. But alas! I found things very low among Friends, which was cause of sorrow to my mind. Wrong things were creeping in, and very few if any, had judgment and courage enough to deal plainly with disorderly walkers. I was at their Monthly Meeting, and endeavored to stir them up to a more diligent and zealous exercise of wholesome discipline; but they appeared weak. On second-day, the 16th of the third month, I took leave of my dear mother, brother and sisters, and set out in order to be at the Yearly Meeting in London, Edward Jones bearing me company. I took the following meetings in my way, Ammelly, Leominster, a Quarterly Meeting held at Broomsgrove and Worcester, Evesham and Shipton; on first-day had two meetings, at Longcompton in the morning and Chippingnorton in the afternoon; then to High Wickham, Chesham and Uxbridge. Several were open satisfactory meetings, and some very trying and afflicting. The Lord was pleased to be my helper and support, to whom be humble thanksgivings for his gracious condescension to the low estate of his poor servants.

I got to London on the seventh-day of the week, and the day following attended Gracechurch street and Devonshire-House meetings; but I had very little openness therein. My spirit was very low and greatly depressed, so that I seemed near fainting under the weight of my burden. On second-day the Yearly Meeting began. The first was a meeting of ministers and elders in the

morning. Many brethren were met from various parts of the nation, amongst whom, I looked upon myself as a mere child, having much fear and reasoning in my mind lest I should dishonor the great Master's cause, and discover my great weakness, as it appeared in my own view, to those pillars in the church and experienced servants in the Lord's work. But he in great mercy condescended to my very low estate, and regarded my humble breathings, giving me the word of life to preach with demonstration that day, which much opened my way in the minds of Friends, and was of considerable advantage to me in my future service; for very much depends on our having good place in the hearts of the faithful, and that cannot well be until they know us. Christian prudence teaches not to lay hands suddenly on any; therefore such must see and feel the spirits one of another, in some degree, before they can unite. Was there not great care and caution in this respect, gross hypocrisy, by putting on the outward appearance, might be encouraged, which would be a grievous wound to God's cause. Many Friends after this meeting showed affectionate regard to me; but none more than that substantial minister of the Gospel Samuel Bownas. It had a proper effect upon my mind, to strengthen it, and raise, humble acknowledgments to the Lord for his mercy; it being my fervent prayer, that whatever I might go through on account of the unfaithful, my service and labors might be acceptable to the saints, and that I might be favored with a sense of the unity and help of their spirits accompanying me therein. I attended the Yearly Meeting constantly, both the meetings for worship and discipline, as they fell in course. The power and virtue of Truth was near, strengthening and comforting our spirits in a good degree; but I have known a much fuller enjoyment and overshadowing thereof, even when all the hills and mountains have been melted, as it were, before Him who is glorious in holiness and fearful in praises, working wonders for the help and preservation of his people. Then we could experimentally say, the Lord's awful majesty presided amongst us, being a spirit of judgment to them that sit in judgment, and all we stand in need of; even as a place of broad rivers and streams, where nothing of man's invention could obtain any place. These were times of rejoicing in the presence of the Lord, and drinking freely of the wine and milk, without money and without price. My soul said it is good to be here; having a desire, with Peter, to tabernacle there; dreading to descend again into this vale of tears, where I must struggle with my many infirmities, which I did not then much feel. I do not instance this with design to justify anxious fears and taking thought for the time to come; but rather as a mark of my great weakness and lack of growth in the most precious faith, which is the saints' victory, whereby, as we grow therein, strength and patience are received, to endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ; not viewing with anxious fear these light afflictions which are but for a moment; seeing, in due time, if we are properly exercised thereby, they will work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

On the sixth-day of the next week after the Yearly Meeting, I set out in order to be at the three eastern Yearly Meetings, being accompanied by my friends John Hunt and his wife, and Chris-

topher Wilson, who was to be my companion. We lodged that night at Brentwood; next morning early we passed on to Chelmsford, the weather being extremely hot, and breakfasted at my dear friend Frances Wyatt's, who afterwards, through the kind providence of God, became my truly affectionate wife. Many Friends went forward towards Colchester, but my companion and I staid at Chelmsford meeting on first-day. The weather continuing very hot, I think then equal in heat to our weather in America, there arose a storm of thunder and rain in the time of the meeting: one clap of thunder, while I was upon my feet, so terrified Friends as to take away their attention for the present, and I expected to be obliged to sit down; but waiting a short time, Friends recovered, and I went on. A boy was killed by the lightning as he was playing near Springfield steeple-house, about a mile from Chelmsford.

We went after meeting to Kelvedon, and next morning were accompanied by several Friends towards Colchester; but I was so ill of a fever, that I was obliged to alight at Lexton, about a mile from the said place. We mounted our horses again after I had recovered a little; but before we had proceeded on the way above half a mile, there came on such terrible thunder, as is seldom known in this part of the world. The lightning appeared to glide like streams of fire on the surface of the earth a considerable way, and there seemed, as I thought, a strong smell of sulphur. The thunder frightened my mare to such a degree, that I being poorly, could scarcely sit her; but through mercy, I received no hurt. I continued ill at Colchester, so that I did not attend many of the meetings. The Yearly Meeting ended there on fourth-day. On the sixth-day following, I was so recovered as to ride in a chaise to Maningtree, and had a meeting there the same day. On seventh-day we went through Ipswich to Woodbridge, in order to attend the Yearly and Quarterly Meetings there for the county of Suffolk. We were at their meeting on first-day; on second-day was held their meeting for discipline, wherein the power and virtue of Truth seemed to me low and depressed; and although I was fully persuaded there were some living, concerned members therein, who had the cause of Truth at heart, yet they appeared also depressed. The chief reason whereof I then apprehended, and have more clearly seen since, was giving too much place to a few busy forward members, in whom man's will and wisdom were too much exalted, who assumed the rule and government of that meeting; in which they were too much indulged by the cowardice of those whose proper business it was to work for God; that by his blessing and assistance, they might exalt the weight and authority of Truth over such spirits. For the dominion and majesty of Truth in a meeting soon foils and overcomes them, as it is abode in by the heirs thereof; but if they are slack and negligent in possessing their right, usurpers will often take it from them, in this sense. Such who are called to work for God in his church, by holding back more than is fitting, not only bring poverty and leanness upon their own souls, but also open a door for the spirit of antichrist to enter. I have often seen, that when the wise woman neglects to build the house, the foolish woman, by pretending to build, has pulled it down with her own hands: this has been no small cause of the waste and desolation in

some places. I have had much labor with that busy, active, forward spirit since, both in meetings and in private plain dealing; as also in stirring up and encouraging the right minded to stand their ground; which I hope has not been altogether without some good effect. I could not be easy to proceed without making the above remarks, as a caution to those into whose hands this may come, since it is no small thing to be guilty of negligence in the work of God, nor to engage therein without a proper qualification.

Meetings for worship were held on third and fourth-days, wherein we were favored with a good degree of that heavenly virtue, in which there is a renewal of strength and a comfortable fellowship one with another. From there we proceeded towards Norwich, taking Brandiston and Layston meetings in our way; where true religion appeared to be mournfully low. At Norwich we were favored with considerable openness and satisfaction in their meetings on first-day. The Quarterly and Yearly Meetings for the county of Norfolk, were held on second, third and fourth-days. Divine goodness was felt assisting in close exercise and labor, for the help and recovery of a declined people; and heavenly fellowship was sweetly enjoyed with those who preferred the prosperity of the city of God to their chiefest joy. On fifth-day we had a meeting at Wymondham, wherein we were opened in Gospel service, to our comfort and relief in a good degree. Next day we had a meeting at Tasborough, which was a very painful trying time; my duty therein was to set an example of silence. Here my agreeable companion and I parted. He had been with me ever since I left London. I was now alone, as to any constant companion, and on the first-day following attended Norwich meeting to pretty good satisfaction; and had the following meetings appointed in my way to Lynn: Lammas, North Walsam, Holt and Wells; in most of which I had close laborious service: being led, as was often my lot, to stir up and awaken, if possible, the careless lukewarm professors. Our friend Edmund Peckover, accompanied me to Lynn, where we had two meetings on first-day; they proved very painful and laborious: I had very little openness as to ministry. From there we went to Wisbeach and to Gedney, where things appeared to be very low; and at Spalding, had a heavy laborious meeting; where my friend Edmund Peckover left me and returned home. The same day was a considerable eclipse of the sun.

The next meeting I had was at Broughton, which was very painful and afflicting. The great loss which some in that part of Lincolnshire, through which I passed, have sustained, by forsaking the Fountain of living water and the commonwealth of our Israel, that they might embrace this present world, Demaslike, was sorrowfully felt. Although some of them retain the outward form, yet having lost the dew of their youth, they are become dry and formal; by whose means, and the undue liberties indulged in many of the youth, a thick darkness was raised that might be felt; which eclipsed the beauty of our Zion. I traveled from there through Newark, and a considerable way by the pleasant river Trent, to Nottingham. Being first-day, I was at the meetings

there, both fore and afternoon. Truth greatly favored me in opening doctrine and counsel in the morning; the afternoon not quite so open, but in a good degree to satisfaction. From there to Oxon meeting, which was small yet open, and to Mansfield, and had a painful trying meeting there. The next was at Chesterfield, where the company was small, yet Truth livingly favored, opening counsel for our help and encouragement in the way of well doing. Notice being previously given, I had a large meeting at Matlock on first-day. There were a few Friends and many others at this meeting, which proved heavy and laborious for some time; yet divine goodness afforded ability to work through, and the holy power of God was in a good degree exalted; praises to his name forever!

The next meeting was at Hansworthwood-house, on the borders of Yorkshire. There were but few Friends, and of those few, most seemed to depend much upon the labor of the ministers, as is sorrowfully the case in many other places. I had nothing to administer to them but an example of silence, that appearing best adapted to their states; for unless the great benefit thereof is experienced, there can be no real advancement in true religion. I went from there to Sheffield, which was a large meeting, and the doctrine of Truth was largely and livingly opened therein; I believe to general satisfaction, and to the comfort of the upright hearted. I went to Highflats, and was at their meeting on first-day, which was very large; being composed of plain country Friends. The Lord was pleased to favor us with a precious opportunity together, in the comfortable enjoyment of his love shed abroad; under which holy influence, the doctrine of Truth was largely opened; the glorious powerful name of the Lord was magnified, and his humble, dependent children were encouraged to serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind. The next meeting was at Brighouse, which was to pretty good satisfaction; Truth owning and comforting our spirits therein.

Next day I had a very painful afflicting meeting at Halifax, having reason to fear but few of the members were rightly acquainted with the quickening virtue of true religion in themselves: when this is the sorrowful case, it makes heavy work for the living. My labor amongst them was in a close arousing way, but it did not appear to make much impression. At Gildersome I had a pretty open comfortable meeting; and next day, one at Leeds to satisfaction. This being a large meeting, I staid over first-day, and am persuaded a sensible, weighty body of Friends belonged to it; yet there seemed to me a much larger number, who contented themselves in the profession of Truth, and in hearing the report of others concerning the heavenly country. The indifference of these, together with their eagerness after words, appeared to me a cause of the painful anxiety of spirit I had to suffer under both morning and afternoon. Here my friends John Hunt and his wife, from London, met me, with intent to accompany me to some meetings in that county, of which I was glad, being alone, often low and much discouraged, in a deep feeling of my own weakness. I had to wade along from place to place, in a painful sense of a

greatly declined people, amongst whom I was concerned to labor; so that had not the Lord at times made me sensible that his everlasting arm was underneath, to support my afflicted soul in various probations, I had certainly fainted. But blessed be his holy name forever, he was often graciously pleased to open a way for me to hold on when I could see none, leading me by the hand like a tender merciful Father, one step after another; and giving me more place in the love and regard of his people than I looked for, or could, as I thought, reasonably expect. I was many times greatly abased in my own sight; ready to say, to what good purpose do I visit the churches? for I seem to move in an untrodden path, as under the weight of the hills and mountains of exalted unfruitfulness; and often as it were, groping in the chambers of death, with such constant afflicting views, that I was ready to say with the prophet, "I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell amongst a people of unclean lips." But the live coal from the holy altar, soon removes all that tincture or seeming defilement, which does not proceed from our own sins and miscarriages, but from those of others. You deep wader for the good of souls, this is written principally for your sake, that you may see others have gone the same way before you, and be encouraged not to sink under your burden.

I found in the Lord's time that tribulation works patience, and patience experience, and experience hope. The Lord gave me thereby clearly to see that I must thus feel the wounds, bruises, and putrefying sores of the sons and daughters of Zion, or I could not speak to their states and conditions feelingly and effectually, for their help and recovery. Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, was touched with a feeling of our infirmities. He bore the weight and painful sense of the sins of the whole world, tasting death for every man; whereby he reached forth a merciful hand of help and salvation for the recovery of all, sufficient for all who believe in him and obey him. His faithful messengers must know, in degree, a drinking of the same cup, and being baptized with the same baptism he was baptized with, not only on their own accounts, but also on the account of others. He still suffers by his spirit, as under the weight and oppression of sin and iniquity, in the hearts of the children of men; and all those who are one in spirit with him, must in measure feel his sufferings, and sympathize with him therein; traveling in pain, that Christ may be formed in the hearts of mankind, ruling in his kingdom on earth, as he rules in heaven. But these things are too mysterious for the wise and prudent of this world to understand, being only revealed to those who are indeed born of God.

We staid at Leeds until fifth-day, there being a burial, attended by a large number of Friends and others. Truth opened our way in the ministry to good satisfaction. Next day we had a small meeting at Knaresborough, where we found things very low. From there we went to Thirsk, and on first-day had a precious open meeting there, in which the testimony of Truth was greatly exalted, and the upright hearted sweetly comforted. The praise of all belongs to the Giver of every good and perfect gift. Next day we went to visit our ancient honorable Friend John

Richardson, at his house near Hutton-in-the-hole. He had scarcely sight enough to distinguish us one from the other. We were received and entertained by him with true love and brotherly affection. He was much at liberty in his spirit, and very free in discourse about religious things, in which his life and great delight appeared to be. He showed us, in manuscript, a journal of his life and travels in the service of the Gospel, since published, wherein are many very useful observations and remarkable occurrences, which I hope will be of great service in the world.

On third-day we had a meeting at Hutton, wherein we were favored with some degree of openness; yet Truth did not arise to any considerable degree of dominion: but all is best as the Lord is pleased to order, for from him alone proceed the issues of life. On fourth-day morning we took leave of our said worthy friend in much affection, and had a small meeting at Bilsdale, where the life of religion was low; after which I parted with my friends John Hunt and his wife. John Scot of Leeds, continued with me, who was an honest laborer for the arising of life in meetings, and I thought of considerable help to me. The next meeting we had was at North Allerton; which was rather low and heavy. We went from there to Darlington, in the county of Durham. I had close painful labor there; earthly mindedness in professors is often the cause of hard work, as it obstructs the current of life in themselves; and also frequently in our religious meetings, like the Philistines stopping up the wells which the true Seed has opened in the hearts of believers; so that many times, instead of their having to sing, Spring up, O well, and we will sing unto you! there is mourning and painful labor in sympathy therewith, to have the spring opened again, that the flock of Christ's fold may be watered with the refreshing streams of that river which flows from the presence of God. I went next to Raby on a first-day; it was a large heavenly meeting, Truth having great dominion, and Friends were sweetly comforted together.

At Bishop Auckland, the Lord favored with matter and utterance to a considerable degree of ease and satisfaction. From there I went to the city of Durham, and had a hard painful meeting in silence: at Newcastle we had a close, trying, laborious time, of this work occasioned, as I apprehended, by undue liberties in thinking and acting, which had raised darkness to be felt in that meeting. We had an open comfortable meeting the next day at Shields. We went to Sunderland, and attended their meetings on first-day: that in the morning was very open and satisfactory, the testimony of Truth going forth freely to the several states of those present, who were much affected therewith. In the afternoon it was a heavy afflicting meeting; little being felt of that which crowned the meeting in the morning. We often find afternoon meetings are heavy and painful, occasioned, no doubt in part at least, by answering the cravings of nature to the full; whereas they should be denied a full gratification, as little sustenance would, for that short space of time, answer much better, and be no injury to the constitution. If any think this hint impertinent, there is reason to fear that they are yet too much strangers to the nature of true worship and the many impediments in the way of its due performance; what I have above-men-

tioned is none of the least. I was quite shut up as to ministry in the afternoon. Here I met my valuable friends Jonathan and Margaret Raine of Trawden in Lancashire, for the first time; concerning whom more hereafter.

On second-day we had another meeting in the city of Durham, wherein the Lord was graciously pleased to exalt his glorious and powerful name over all disorderly and corrupt libertine spirits; there being some such in the meeting, which was evident to me, from the testimony I had to deliver amongst them. It was with remarkable authority and sharpness against such, who having departed from the divine light, wherewith all mankind are enlightened, choosing rather to be in darkness, were so lost in a maze of error as even to call in question the truths of the Christian religion. I was afterwards informed that there were some such in that meeting, who had imbibed the dark and wicked principle of deism, or free-thinking, so called; but I had no outward information concerning the state of any there before the meeting, which I always carefully shunned. The next meeting I had was at Stockton, to pretty good satisfaction, as Truth opened my way to discharge the service required; yet the meeting was small, and the life of religion appeared to be at a low ebb. I went from there to Yarum in Yorkshire; had a meeting there, and at Yatten, and Moorsham, to a good degree of satisfaction. The next meeting I had was at Castleton. The two last named were on the Moors, amongst a very plain people, who appeared to be in a low station of life, but I found the savor and virtue of Truth amongst them, especially at the latter; to which that substantial minister of the Gospel Luke Cock, in his life-time, belonged; the remembrance of whom, although I did not personally know him, was very fresh and livingly before me in meeting, as if his spirit had been present. I could, as I thought, perceive the good effects of that worthy man's Christian labors amongst those people, and a precious meeting the Lord favored us with; to whom, for the multitude of his mercies bestowed upon us poor unworthy helpless creatures, be humble thanksgiving and praise, now and for evermore.

Whitby was the next meeting I attended, being on first-day, where I had very close laborious work. An earthly lofty spirit had taken place in some of the professors; the tendency whereof is, by darkening the understanding and blinding the judgment, to account various weighty branches of our Christian testimony small trifling things. Here the flesh, that wars against the spirit, having the ascendancy, its language is quite opposite thereto. The flesh says, there is little in dross; religion does not consist in apparel; there is little in language; there is little in paying tithes, etc. to the priests; there is little in carrying guns in our ships, to defend ourselves in case we are attacked by an enemy. To which, I think, it may be safely added, there is little or nothing in people who plead thus, pretending to be of our Society; for if they can easily let fall those branches of our Christian testimony, I am fully persuaded they will maintain the others no longer than they apprehend it will suit their temporal interest. I have often wondered why such

continue to profess with us at all. They are not really of us, who are not concerned to maintain those principles and testimonies which the Lord has given us to bear. I was, through mercy, enabled to discharge the service required of me, and went from there to Scarborough, where the Lord in gracious condescension, was pleased to open doctrine and counsel for their help; who appeared to me mostly low and weak, as to a real growth in true religion. From there I went to Pickering, where the Lord gave us a very precious opportunity together, in the comfortable enjoyment of his power and refreshing presence; to the exaltation and renown of his great name, who is” worthy forever.

Next day I had a meeting at Malton, being a close searching time; Truth seemed at a low ebb there. At Cransick the meeting was very small, but the Lord was pleased to own and comfort us together, affording counsel for their help and encouragement. I attended the meeting at Bridlington on first-day; it was small and the life of religion very low. Oh how greatly is that, and many other meetings declined, both as to number and a lively experience of true religion: some Friends informed me as I remember, that they knew the time, when fourteen or fifteen ministers belonged to it; and now perhaps, there is not a much greater number of members of all sorts. Once there was a wonderful time of gathering into the vineyard of Christ; but since, with sorrow and lamentation it may be said, there has been a losing, scattering, and dwindling away in many places; the principal occasion whereof seems to have been, an inordinate love for transitory enjoyments, lawful in themselves and in their places, but not to have the chief possession of the mind. When this becomes the sorrowful state of any, they cannot savor the things that be of God, but the things which be of men; and are of consequence deprived of that all-sufficient help, so to live and walk, as to answer the witness of God in others; to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and to maintain the testimonies of Truth with a convincing strength and efficacy. So that although the form is retained in a considerable degree by such, and they may also be fortified with arguments, to maintain the consistency of our profession with the primitive plan laid down in Holy Writ, yet wanting the salt of the kingdom in themselves, all their pretensions without it will prove nothing; yes worse than nothing; seeing that by how much they have had the opportunity of knowing more than others, by so much their condemnation will be greater.

Next day we had a small meeting at Hornsey, and from there went to Oustwick, and had a large meeting, wherein Truth favored in opening doctrine largely, and to a considerable degree of satisfaction. The next meeting we had was at Hull, which was indeed a very painfully exercising time of silence, in a mournful sense of great declension. We find it recorded in the holy Scriptures, that we must enter the kingdom of heaven through many tribulations. It is indeed a very wonderful mercy, that such unworthy creatures as we are should be so highly favored, as to be admitted therein on any terms. I have considered that our afflictions in this day, both in the

manner and cause, differ much from the trials of our worthy predecessors. Their bodies were frequently imprisoned and grossly abused by people of different religious persuasions; but our spirits, when engaged in the work of the Gospel, are often imprisoned, depressed, and greatly afflicted, by means of the great unfaithfulness of many under the same profession with ourselves; being at times, on account of such, so closed up in a painful sense of death and darkness, as to be somewhat like the prophet of old, quite shut up and dumb with silence. This may be occasioned by those who are so far alienated from the sensible reaches of the measure of grace in their own minds, as not to be opened thereby to receive to advantage the word preached; for the word goes not forth in vain; but will accomplish that for which it is sent. Silence may also be necessary, on account of those who have often been comfortably refreshed by sitting under a living ministry, yet neglecting their own duty in a spiritual labor for heavenly bread, look too much for food from the labor of others; which unjustifiable dependence and expectation, are often disappointed and mortified. The main design of Gospel ministry is to turn the children of men to the grace of God in themselves, which will teach them to work out their own salvation, and diligently to seek the Lord for themselves, and their strength being renewed in him, their spirits would unite with, and greatly help and relieve, the ministers in their Gospel labors.

From Hull I went to North Cave, where I had an open comfortable meeting. From there to Howden, where the meeting was small and things very low; it was held in silence. I went next to Selby, and attended their meetings on first-day. I had some strength and openness for service in the morning. In the afternoon I had to sit in silence, and could find but very little of the life of religion there. Next day I had an open comfortable meeting at Rawcliff; then one at Pontefract, where things were low and painful. The next meeting was a small one at Wakefield, wherein I was quite closed up in silence; the state of the people, as I apprehended, requiring it. I went from there to Leeds, and next day to the house of my esteemed friend William Hird, intending for Bradford Monthly Meeting, which was held on sixth-day, wherein I had thorough service, and the blessed Truth had dominion, to the joy and comfort of many hearts. I returned to Leeds, and attended their meetings on first-day, which were low and rather painful; my service therein was close and searching; but those who are at ease in Zion like smooth things best, and are almost ready to say now, as some did formerly to the seers, see not, and to the prophets, prophecy unto us smooth things.

I went from Leeds to the Quarterly Meeting at York, wherein I had considerable openness in service; yet my spirit was secretly pained most of the time; the cause whereof, as I apprehended, was the numbness and earthly mindedness of many members of that large assembly; in which there was, notwithstanding, a substantial body of wise and lively spirited Friends; which, by account, has continued in a succession from the early times of our Society. When this meet-

ing was over, I set out in company with several Friends in their way home, in order to visit some meetings in the Dales, on my way to Kendal Quarterly Meeting; John Scott being with me.

The first meeting we had was at Bainbridge in Wensley-dale, which was large, being on a first-day. It was a very trying laborious time. I had very little to say by way of ministry, but suffered deeply in spirit, under a sorrowful sense of carnality prevailing. Next day I had a very comfortable reviving meeting amongst a few plain Friends in Grisdale. After which I went home with that plain faithful minister of the Gospel, Alice Thistlethwaite, who had borne me company from York, to her house in Dent-dale, where we had a meeting next day, which I hope was serviceable, although things were but low. After this we went to the house of that worthy elder and minister of the Gospel, James Wilson, near Brigflats, where, next day, the Lord was pleased to favor us with a powerful glorious meeting; so that we could thankfully witness Truth was over all. Such thorough open meetings but seldom fall to our lot in this declined state of things. Yet the Lord is all-sufficient for the help and support of his faithful servants, in all times and dispensations of his providence to mankind; so that we not only can say, sufficient to the day is the evil thereof; but also, sufficient to the day is the strength and wisdom afforded for our assistance in the Lord's work.

Next day I went to Kendal, being accompanied by the before mentioned worthy Friend, who entertained me on the road with pleasing accounts concerning the spreading of Truth in those parts, and the wonderful convincements thereabouts, by that memorable servant of the Lord, George Fox, which the said Friend had heard related by eye witnesses, who were themselves convinced at that time. This made the journey exceedingly pleasant to me, nothing disagreeable therein, but its being too soon over, as that put an end to this delightful conversation.

There appeared to me a valuable body of Friends yet left in and about Kendal, although many had been removed by death but a little time before; the loss of whom was much lamented by the survivors, as they had been useful members in their day. It also appeared that good order was well maintained, and the excellent discipline established amongst us in the wisdom of Truth, seemed to be as duly put in practice, as in most places I have observed amongst Friends; yet my way was much closed up in suffering, during the Quarterly Meeting. I staid their meetings on first-day, and was largely opened in the morning, Truth having great dominion; but in the afternoon was shut up in silence.

On third-day I went to Windermere general meeting. Truth greatly overshadowed that large assembly, and the testimony thereof was much exalted, to the edification and sweet refreshment of the upright in heart, as well as deeply affecting the minds of many who had taken more liberty than Truth allows of; I hope it may be to their lasting advantage. Next day I had a small

meeting at Grayrig, where things were low. At Preston the Lord was pleased to favor us with an open comfortable meeting, and Truth's testimony was exalted; after which I went to Kendal, and had a very comfortable meeting amongst Friends there. From there I went to Swarthmore, and was at their meeting on a first-day, in a meeting-house built near the hall by George Fox. I could not discover much lively sense of true religion there, it being a time of painful suffering silence. The Hight meeting was to pretty good satisfaction; but that at Hawkshead was low and afflicting. My principal service was to give an example of silence, which frequently fell to my lot; the Lord favoring with resignation to his divine will. Next day I had a small open satisfactory meeting at Keswick; and went to Isel meeting, but had nothing to deliver by way of testimony.

From there to Pardshaw, which I think is the largest country meeting in England, and Friends generally made a plain becoming appearance, much resembling many meetings in Pennsylvania, both for largeness and otherwise; the view whereof gave me singular pleasure, and abundantly the more, as the great Master of our assemblies was graciously pleased to honor and comfort us with his living presence, in which there is fulness of joy. Matter and utterance were given by him for the discharge of duty, in which there was peace. I had an open satisfactory meeting in the evening, at my friend and old companion Christopher Wilson's. Next day I had a meeting at Whitehaven, and then went to Broughton, where I had a meeting. I endeavored to lean upon the Lord alone, for guidance in my service, and by him was frequently much opened to see the states of meetings and individuals. The meeting at Cockermouth, was to satisfaction, and at Allonby, Truth favored with a good degree of openness and peace. From there I went to Holme, a meeting remarkable for having been, I suppose, more than sixty years interrupted and grievously disturbed by a wicked unruly company of Ranters. It began in some of the Pearsons, and when they were removed, others succeeded in the same spirit. Some of them were at the meeting when I was there. A woman of the party spoke several times in such rancor, that I do not remember ever to have taken notice of a voice so much tinctured with a dark diabolical spirit. But Friends in the blessed enjoyment of the powerful Truth, were quite over it and them, and I believe, had been in a good degree preserved; as that meeting appeared to me the liveliest of any thereabouts, having, as I remember, five or six public Friends belonging to it.

The next meeting I had was a small one at Bolton; where Truth favored with a comfortable degree of openness. I went to Wigton, and attended both their meetings on first-day; which were exceedingly painful and exercising. My mouth was closed up in mournful silence, yet not without a pretty clear view and sense of the sorrowful states of those amongst them who had been the principal cause of the death and misery which I felt. I saw what they were doing in the dark, as it were, through the hole in the wall. O! what a great snare bright genius and extensive

natural abilities are, to such as are deluded by satan to trust in them, and presumptuously to imagine they are sufficient to answer every purpose for guidance and help, not only in temporal but spiritual things, without divine aid immediately communicated. I have met with no state more at enmity, or in greater opposition, to the Truth; nor from whose spirits more pain and distress are to be met with, than from these worldly wise and self-sufficient people, who no doubt, would deride this observation, or any thing that asserts an inward sense of things. They are very much out of the way of being reached unto and helped; therefore they are in great danger of being left alone, that they may wonder and perish. I sincerely wish that the tender hearted, both youth and others, may be preserved from the infection of the poison of asps which is under their tongues.

Next day I had a poor small meeting at Kirkbright, where my business was to set an example of silence. From there we went to Moor-house, where I had some openness and satisfaction, though things were but low as to religion. The next meeting was in the city of Carlisle; where my way was closed up in painful silence. I had a small open meeting next day at Scotby; then went to a meeting at Sowport, where there were but few Friends, and things were very low amongst them, as to the life and sensible understanding of religion; but many of the neighbors came in, towards whom I found great openness to declare the Truth, and it was a good meeting. I went next to Kirklington, or the border meeting, being on a first-day. Friends having, without my knowledge, given notice to their neighbors, and to several people of account in the world, it is likely they expected great things from one come so far to visit them; and some perhaps hoped to get credit by that day's work; but we see sometimes when man appoints, the Lord disappoints; which in the issue, seems to have been the case here. I sat the meeting, which was very large, in silence, to the great mortification of many present, some of whom, one might have expected from their appearance and pretensions, understood the nature of spiritual worship better, than to have been so anxious after words. It proved, I think, as painful and exercising a meeting as ever I knew, to which the expectations of Friends and others did not a little contribute. At the conclusion I was fully satisfied that I had discharged the service required of me that day, in an example of silence, in which I had peace. I could perceive great uneasiness in many under our name, at the silence of the meeting. This evidently discovers a mournful degeneracy, seeing silent worship is so directly consistent with our Christian profession of the inward teachings of the grace of God that brings salvation, which has appeared to all men, and teaches all who diligently hearken thereunto, that no time is more suitable than when assembled together, unitedly to wait for this blessed teaching, and thereby receive a renewal of our strength. How absurd is it for those who profess this teaching, and access to the Fountain of all good, to depart therefrom and gaze at the clouds, or depend on the conduits and water spouts, as if it was in their power to fill themselves, and so to supply their wants? For although the servants have at times, by the Lord of all, been used as a means for our help and edification, yet such means or

helps are not so essentially necessary to the spiritual worship professed by us as a people, but that it may be as effectually and as acceptably performed without them, in an awful solemn silence: than which nothing can be more reaching and convincing to those in whom the divine witness is regarded, and it may also tend greatly to raise that in the minds of such where it is depressed.

Some have remarked, that those who have been convinced in the silence of our meetings, have generally stood their ground in religion best. The reason is plain, because they have at the very first laid hold of and embraced the very substance of religion; whereas, the understanding may be, in a great measure convinced by testimony, and the mind much tendered and affected with lively declarations of the truth; but all this goes off sooner, and will leave such minds destitute, unless they happily come to be fixed under the teachings of the grace of God in themselves, and have to sit under their own vine and under their own fig-tree, where none can make them afraid. None need be ashamed of a solemn awful silence before God, and in the sight of men; seeking the Lord, who will be found of all such, and will, by his secret invisible power, vindicate that sort of silence in the hearts of all who allow his pure witness to arise. All who reject the voice of this holy witness, may justly be disregarded by God's people, so as not to be discouraged by what they say on that account. But on the other hand, when any thing of this nature is done in the form and by way of imitation only, there being nothing supernatural to support and defend the same, it must necessarily fall under contempt, and like the salt that has lost its savor, will be trodden under the feet of men. That Scripture passage is very observable, where some undertook to cast out devils in the name of Jesus, whom Paul preached. It is plain the evil spirits knew, notwithstanding their pretenses, that they wanted power to subject them; and therefore answered these imitators and pretenders, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are you? and the man in whom the evil spirit was, leaped upon them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of the house naked and wounded." I instance this passage to show how inefficacious imitation is: those would do well to consider this, who, upon a serious examination, do not find the Lord with them in their religious performances; for assuredly nothing can stand approved in his sight, nor maintain a dignity worthy of him, in this state of probation, but the product of his own spirit in us. Therefore, let all who profess spiritual worship, greatly dread being found in senseless stupid silence, although it be in the very same form which the people of God have been, and are still led into; knowing, that the best and most consistent form is of little avail, without the heavenly power. I perceived that some were much offended with me, for abiding in the station in which the Lord placed me that day, which they did not altogether forbear letting me know by words; neither did I let them pass without some close remarks on their sorrowful state and great blindness. In about a week after, I received a long letter upon the subject, setting forth amongst other things, how great a mystery it was to the writer, that a person in my station, traveling from one nation to another, should disappoint people, Friends and others, by such

unaccountable silence. Had not I discovered sufficient cause to believe that this Friend was not then what he had been, his letter would have been as great a mystery to me as my silence in that meeting was to him. When I had perused the letter, I was most easy to let it pass without answering.

This was a time of great anxiety to me, and I have made the above remarks, as I felt my mind opened thereto; for no other reason, than as a caution or warning to all professors of the blessed Truth into whose hands this may come, that they may watch and pray continually; lest, by departing from the pure leadings of Truth in themselves, they fall into the like absurdities; manifesting to others, that they are but mere pretenders to spiritual worship; and also for encouragement to painful travelers in the work of the Gospel, whose lot, in the course of their service, may fall amongst such, to whom they may be as signs and gazing-stocks, because their time is not always ready. What makes such examples more necessary in some places, is the busy forwardness of unskilful ministers amongst themselves, who may be too apt to feed the people with a multitude of words; perhaps frequently recommending silence in words, but not sufficiently by example. I have seen it much my place, especially at home, to show Friends by my example, the benefit and necessity of silence, and as it were, to lead them into it. And as may be seen by this account, I often found it my duty to sit meetings appointed for me in silence; (being at times greatly distressed in a sense of the states of the people,) like a sign unto them, of what they ought to be more in the practice of. This indeed was no easy task to the flesh, as the expectation of people was greatly towards me, being come from far to visit them; yet there was no remedy but patience and resignation to the divine will, without whose assistance, I knew it was in vain to attempt any thing by way of ministry. My way of traveling as above hinted, often silent, was looked upon then by many, as a strange and unusual thing; but some others have been led pretty much in the same track; however I had mostly great peace and inward strength, to stand my ground therein, as all will who follow the Lord whithersoever he shall be pleased to lead them.

I had a meeting on third-day at the house of Cuthbert Wigham in Northumberland, which was a sweet refreshing time, and tended much to strengthen and revive my drooping spirit. Next day I had a pretty open serviceable meeting at Allondale. From there I went to Alstonmoor, where the Lord was pleased to favor me with a thorough arousing opportunity, and God's everlasting Truth was exalted. The next meeting I had was at Penrith, where things appeared to me but low. I went from there to Coldbeck, and was at their meeting on first-day. It was a very hard distressing time. There I felt, as I thought, some of those hard dark spirits, who had occasioned great anxiety at sundry places in that county, who might, as I apprehended, be compared to the bulls of Bashan that compassed David about. It is likely they would scoff at the expression of their spirits being felt, but the time will soon overtake them, wherein their spirits will feel,

though now perhaps in a great measure past feeling. Next day I had a small but pretty open meeting at Massdale.

From there to Terril, where I had a good open meeting, Truth being exalted and Friends comforted. The next meeting was Strickland, which was but small, yet to good satisfaction. I went from there to Kendal, and attended their meetings on sixth-day, first-day and third-day. Most of them were to me trying and laborious. I was not much opened as to ministry. Friends in many places had need to be brought from words, to the one eternal in-speaking Word. On fourth-day at Yelland in Lancashire, I had a close searching meeting. The next day I was favored with an open comfortable time at Wray, and from there went to Bentham, where Truth assisted to discharge what I had before me, to a good degree of satisfaction. At Settle on first-day we were favored with a precious open time; the testimony of Truth went forth freely and affectingly, tendering many hearts: praises and thanksgiving to the Lord for the same. Next day I had a small but a very open meeting at Monybent. From there to Soly meeting, which appeared to me in a very weak, low condition, as little of the life of religion was to be found therein. After meeting I went to the house of my kind friends Jonathan and Margaret Raine; and from there to Marsden-Height meeting, in which the Lord's power was livingly felt, whereby the testimony of Truth was delivered with clearness and good demonstration. Next day had a meeting at Trawden. On first-day I went again to Marsden meeting, which was a thorough good opportunity, and we were sweetly comforted together.

Being fatigued with constant traveling and close labor, I rested at Jonathan Raine's about a week, and then went to a large meeting of Friends in Lothersdale, where I was much favored, and largely opened to deliver the doctrines of Truth, with good demonstration and to my own peace. The next day had a comfortable open meeting at Airton; my friend Jonathan Raine bearing me company, and then to Skipton meeting, where things were low. I had that evening a good open opportunity amongst our worthy friend David Hall's scholars. Then I had a meeting at Fairfield, which was small, but pretty open and I hope serviceable. The next meeting was at Nethersdale, where I had very laborious searching work; the testimony was close and sharp against formal professors, yet, through divine favor, I was enabled to get through to very good satisfaction, and the meeting ended comfortably. At Asquith, I had a small open meeting, and then at Rodan, which being on first-day, was very large; a plain solid body of Friends belonging thereto. We were favored with an open meeting, and the testimony of Truth was exalted. Next day I had a very comfortable open meeting at Bradford, and went to Keighley, which was also satisfactory. There I received from my worthy friend David Hall, an encouraging letter, and as it contains matter of weighty instruction, I give it a place here, not doubting but it will be agreeable to my readers.

“Esteemed and well-beloved friend,

“In the sweet spirit and fellowship of the everlasting and glorious Gospel of peace, I hereby kindly salute you, and your dear companion and fellow-laborer in the acceptable work you are now engaged in; not forgetting his worthy consort Margaret, when you see her. Be not at all discouraged on any account, for I trust, your good Lord and Master, whom you serves, has made you willing to leave your outward habitation and little ones, and to traverse the ocean with your life in your hand, as an ambassador in Christ's stead, to preach glad tidings of good things to the meek; to call upon and arouse the indolent and careless; to direct the straying sheep to the fold of rest; to raise the drooping ones that are too low, and endeavor to bring down the lofty who are too high, to the true centre, even the midst of the path of judgment: in short, to bring unto us the pledges of your Master's love and yours, and to receive ours He who, after he had in his wisdom and counsel, allowed you to be taken captive for the trial of your faith, and in mercy ransomed you as an evidence of his power, will never leave you nor forsake you. I have unity with your spirit, gift, and with the manner of the administration thereof. I entreat you, dear brother, keep to your steady bottom way. The present state of the church loudly calls for entire resignation, faith, hope, charity and patience, in the ministers of the Gospel.

“The diversities of gifts, operations and administrations, from the one Spirit, are beautiful and serviceable; as the stars in the firmament are not all of one magnitude, have not all one station or degree of luster, but each is ornamental and serviceable in its respective places and season. The Lord bless you, and be your shield and exceeding great reward in time here and in eternity hereafter. Now as the apostle, in a paternal way, advised his son Timothy to drink no longer water, but use a little wine for his stomach's sake and his often infirmities; I desire, as you serve not an austere man or hard master, but the most merciful and bountiful King of kings and Lord of lords, you will take due care of yourself, and rightly consider your constitution. Do not drive on too fast in this cold climate and season of the year; consider, nets are not always to be spread and cast into the sea, but sometimes to be mended and repaired. You finds the good Seed lies low in many bosoms and many meetings. Experience teaches, that where and when our Master suffers; who said, where I am, there shall my servant be; we ought to be content to suffer with him; that when he reigns, we may also reign with him. Shall the servant think to reign, when and where his Lord and Master suffers? There are, my dear friend, you know, times of sitting at the King's gate; a safe, honorable and profitable situation, previous to advancement. They that are faithful in this low, safe sitting, in due time receive a call from the King to put on his royal robes,

mount his horse and ride around, which is a high dignity and a high day; yet those so favored, must not expect always to sit in that saddle, nor always to be clothed with that royal apparel, but as certainly to dismount, as ever they mounted; and must by no means forget the road to the King's gate, and their honorable seat there. We should be glad to see you here once more. Pray write to us. My wife joins with me in dear love to you, and those above-mentioned.

“I am your truly affectionate friend,

David Hall

Skipton, the 19th of Tenth month, 1748

After this meeting I went home with my companion Jonathan Raine, to Trawden, and next day to Todmorden, and had a laborious exercising meeting; yet through the extending of heavenly help, I was enabled to discharge the service required, to my own ease and comfort in a good degree. I had a small poor meeting at Oldham next day; in which silent labor seemed to me to be my proper business.

On first-day, the 25th of tenth month, I went to Crawshawbooth in Rossendale, which was a pretty large meeting; but I was in so weak a state of body, being much spent with traveling and deep close labor, that my spirits were greatly exhausted. Finding my mind engaged in that meeting, I stood up in order to deliver what seemed to be required, but was obliged soon to sit down again, being so weak that I could not raise my voice so as to be heard. I then concluded it was time to take some rest, in order to recover strength, if it was the Lord's will, which I did not then much expect, thinking myself far gone; nor indeed did I desire it, for my afflictions, several ways, were very heavy, which made me weary of this world, and had it been the Lord's will, should have been glad to embrace death rather than life yet I endeavored to be resigned to the divine will. Great care was taken of me, with affectionate kindness, by my worthy friends Jonathan Raine, his wife, and her sister Ann, who then lived with them; having often the company of that valuable family, the Ecroyds of Edgend. I was brought very near to these two families, in that love that thinks no evil; being by illness, or rather weakness, detained there about nine or ten weeks. It was an exceedingly wet season, being also the middle of winter, yet I got mostly out to their meeting, which was near; and went several times to Marsden-Height, about four miles off; and once to Skipton and Lothersdale, about eight or ten miles off: in most of which meetings the Lord was with me to my great comfort, enlarging my heart in service for him and his people, to my satisfaction and encouragement.

As soon as I was pretty well recovered and the weather more fit to travel, I set out for Lan-

cashire, my kind friend Jonathan Raine bearing me company; and attended both their meetings on first-day; which were painful and laborious. I had nothing given me to deliver by way of public testimony; many Friends there appeared to me then, and more since, lively and sensible of the work of true religion; yet I apprehend the expectations of too many were after words that day, which were to be disappointed. O that all were really turned to the divine Word, that they might never be disappointed! I was next day at their Monthly Meeting of business, which was low, Truth not having much dominion therein. I went to Wyersdale, and had a pretty open meeting, and returned to Lancaster, where, through divine goodness, we were favored with a heavenly baptizing meeting, to our great joy in reverent thankfulness. Friends were sweetly united in the precious enjoyment of the pure love and goodness of God; having an additional confirmation, that when the Lord is pleased to shut, none can open, and when he is pleased to open, none can shut. As there had been very little openness at some meetings there before, and at this the Lord opened places of broad rivers and streams, to the unspeakable pleasure and refreshment of thirsty souls; in a sense thereof I took leave of Friends, being accompanied by my esteemed friends William Backhouse and Jonathan Raine. We had a pretty open comfortable meeting at the Fylde.

Next day had a thorough awakening opportunity at Freckleton, being enabled to divide the word with great plainness to their states; wherein I had ease and peace. We then went to Preston, where the number of Friends was exceedingly small, and but little to be felt of a spiritual travail or lively sense of religion amongst those few, there having been a mournful declension; yet I found the Lord's merciful loving-kindness graciously extended towards them for their help and recovery. From Preston I went to the following meetings, namely, Capel, Ashton, Bickerstaff and Liverpool: in all which the Lord was graciously pleased to afford wisdom and strength, to open doctrine and counsel, stirring up careless luke-warm professors, as well as to the encouragement and edification of the sincere-hearted, also to my own ease and peace.

I went from Liverpool to the house of Gilbert Thompson, and was at Penketh meeting on first-day; where my spirit was deeply afflicted, under a sense of many professors sitting down at ease, seeking to be fed with words and outward declarations concerning the things of God. I have found this much the case at some places where eminent instruments have dwelt. Friends have allowed their minds to be too much drawn from a diligent spiritual labor, to receive the bread and water of life immediately from the fountain thereof; and depended upon the labor of such instruments, who are but as clouds or water-spouts; having no power to fill themselves or to feed the flock profitably, until furnished for that purpose, by the bounty of the inexhaustible treasury of wisdom and all-sufficiency. Here the fountain is forsaken for the stream's sake; the eye being more to the gift than the giver, which is an abuse of the gift, and provokes the Lord to jealousy; giving him just cause to withhold such instrumental means. The reason of such a dan-

gerous mistake, to me is obvious, namely, because it is found easier for flesh to receive by such a medium; "Let not God speak unto us, lest we die, said the people of Israel, but let Moses [the instrument] speak unto us." There is a life that ought to die on the cross, which is easier saved alive under testimonies, be they ever so substantial and excellent, than under the immediate teachings of Christ; whose voice is as a fire against evil of every kind, and affords no peace after it is discovered, until it be given up for destruction, and to be purged away by the spirit of judgment and burning. This pure voice speaks to us in such a manner, that we can by no means turn it off from ourselves by applying it to the states of others; which may be done under the most searching testimonies; there being a partiality to ourselves, which, through the deceitfulness of the heart, we are apt to fall into; and also to flatter ourselves, by supposing the pleasure we take in hearing the doctrines of Truth delivered, arises from the good in us, when it may be no other than the state of those to whom the prophet Ezekiel's words and declarations were as a lovely song of one that has a pleasant voice: for they heard his words, it seems, with pleasure, but did them not; their heart going still after their covetousness.

I have made these remarks, because of the very hurtful consequences I have often seen and felt, by an over-anxiousness in people after outward declarations; even to the neglect of that great and necessary work, of drawing near to God with true hearts, in full assurance of faith; wherein is our only safety and help. May this consideration deeply engage all minds to return unto the great Shepherd of Israel, who puts his own sheep forth and goes before them, leading into green pastures, bringing them up from the washingpool, bearing twins, none being barren amongst them. I found it my place to give that meeting an example of silence.

From there I went to the Monthly Meeting at Hardshaw, wherein I sat a considerable time in silent waiting upon and seeking the Lord, who was pleased in his own time to open a living spring of ministry, and truth greatly prevailed, to the comfort and edification of Friends. There were also several not of our Society present during the meeting for worship, one of whom expressed the sense he had of an awful solemnity to be felt in the meeting before any words were uttered, which to him exceeded words, or to that effect, as a Friend told me afterwards. This, doubtless, would be much more the case with many who at times come amongst us, were our religious meetings held in the sensible feeling of the divine power.

From there I went to Manchester, and had a meeting, which was low and afflicting. Some who should have been way-marks and leaders of the flock, not keeping their own spirits in due subjection to the peaceable spirit of Truth, had not maintained the unity thereof, which is the bond of peace; whereby that meeting was hurt, and the pernicious effects thereof were painfully felt. I staid until their first-day meetings were over, where the Lord was pleased to afford sufficient ability to discharge the service required, to my own ease and comfort, in a good degree. I went

from there to Stockport in Cheshire, and had an open comfortable meeting, to the reviving of the few who labored to keep their habitations in the Truth, and to the warning of careless professors. I had next day a small poor meeting at Macclesfield, and from there to Morley, where, although the appearance of professors was large, yet very little was to be felt of the life of religion amongst them; but instead thereof, a sense of death and darkness, occasioned by wrong things. I had no openness at that time to administer any thing, but an example of silence.

I had a meeting next day at Frandley, where Truth favored with a degree of openness, and went from there to Sutton, where things appeared low. I found it my place to sit the whole meeting in silence. The next meeting was at Newton, being on first-day, where I was favored with a pretty thorough opportunity to clear myself. Then went to West-Chester; had a small meeting there in silence, and things appeared very low. The next day had a good satisfactory meeting at Namptwich; and went to Middlewich, where I met our worthy friend, Joshua Toft. The meeting was, through divine goodness extended for our help, to pretty good satisfaction. I went home with the above-mentioned Friend, and had a meeting next day at Leek in Staffordshire: I sat the whole time in silence; Friends appeared to me, in too general a way, at ease in an empty form of religion, depending on the labor of others.

Next day in company with Joshua Toft, went to the burial of a Friend at Stafford; where there are but few of our Society, but many others came, some of whom were very rude and noisy in the meeting. Our way was quite blocked up as to ministry. I returned with Joshua Toft and went to Leek meeting on first-day, where I had a thorough arousing opportunity; Truth being exalted, and the great name of God magnified, who alone is worthy forever. I went from there in company with my dear friend to the Quarterly Meeting for Cheshire, to be held at Middlewich: Infinite kindness was greatly manifested at that meeting, for the benefit of Friends in general and the encouragement of the upright-hearted in particular. Things respecting Truth and Friends were very low in that county; yet the Lord, in condescending kindness, extended his love for their revival and recovery. Here I found my mind engaged to visit Morley meeting again, the aforesaid Friend joining me therein; and sending notice by some Friends returning from the Quarterly Meeting, we had a very large meeting, composed of Friends and others. I had thorough service; yet near the conclusion, not finding my mind clear of those under our profession, others were desired to withdraw, which they immediately did. Our labor was very close and searching amongst those under the profession of Truth, things being much out of order and undue liberties having crept in. The Lord favored me with wisdom and strength, so to discharge myself of the service required, as to go away with a peaceful easy mind.

CHAPTER 5

Goes to Yorkshire again—Attends the circular Yearly Meeting in the North of England—Visit to Ireland—Returns to England and proceeds in his religious visit there—Goes to London and embarks for home—Lands at Chester in Pennsylvania.

I have now to give an account of an unexpected turn I found in my mind, respecting the course I was to steer in my travels. When I left Lancaster I had no other view than to visit meetings agreeably to the foregoing account, and to proceed in a pretty direct course through the midland counties towards London. But, very contrary to my expectation, I found my way quite blocked up as to what is before hinted, and another way opened before me, namely, to turn into Yorkshire again, and take meetings in my way to the Quarterly Meeting there; from there to Lancaster Quarterly Meeting; and to the circular Yearly Meeting for the Northern counties, to be held that year at Kendal; after which, to cross the sea for Ireland. This unlooked-for turn brought close exercise upon my mind; not so much out of reluctance to obey the Lord's requiring, provided I was favored with clear certainty thereof, as from a fear of being mistaken; and great reasonings I had in my weakness; yet through divine favor, I was enabled, in a good degree to get over them, and to yield obedience to what I believed was required. I acquainted my friend William Backhouse with the time I purposed going for Ireland, as he, when with me in the Fylde county of Lancashire, had signified his desire of bearing me company therein, when I found it my duty to undertake it. Neither he nor I thought then it would be so soon; however, I received his answer, that he intended to prepare against the time proposed, in order to bear me company. We went from this meeting to Lowlayton in Derbyshire, and were favored with a good open meeting, and proceeded over the mountains of Derbyshire-Peak, to Sheffield in Yorkshire; where the Lord was pleased to give us a very gracious confirming meeting, Truth and its testimony being greatly exalted. This blessed opportunity removed all my reasonings and fears; for which my soul was humbly thankful to the Lord, my only helper.

After this meeting, my much esteemed friend Joshua Toft and I took leave of each other, he returning home. I went with our worthy friend John Haslam, to his house at Handsworth Woodhouse, and the next day had a very open satisfactory meeting; the Lord affording doctrine and counsel suitable to the states of the few belonging to that meeting. When at the house of this Friend, my mind had some view of his bearing me company to York, and from there to Kendal Yearly Meeting, of which I informed him; but he made very light of it, perhaps thinking my motive was only for the sake of having his company. I advised him to take with him such things as he might think necessary, in case he was to go; and if, when at York, he found no such concern, he might return home. We set out together for York, taking meetings in our way at Newel-Grange and Barton, which were precious open times; the life and power of Truth attending to

our great comfort. We traveled on to Leeds, and lodged at our worthy friend Christiana Home's, who had been a succorer of many of the Lord's messengers, being a truly open-hearted woman, a mother in Israel. She did not continue a great while in mutability after this.

Next day we proceeded to York, attended the Quarterly Meeting, and staid over their first-day meetings, which were hard and painful; I had nothing by way of testimony, save a little at one of them. My truly valuable friend John Haslam acquainted me, that what I had said to him of bearing me company to Lancaster Quarterly Meeting and the Yearly Meeting at Kendal, had laid such close hold of his mind, that he could not find freedom to leave me. He said, that although he did not much regard them at first, the few expressions I used had cast such a mantle over him, or to that effect, that he found he must go with me, though not so well provided for the journey as he could desire.

We went from York to the Monthly Meeting at Settle, and in the afternoon of the same day, were at the burial of a Friend there, which was an open satisfactory time. Truth overshadowed the meeting, and the testimony thereof was greatly exalted to our solid comfort. Next day we had a pretty open comfortable meeting at Bentham, and went from there to the house of our friend William Backhouse, whom I expected to find prepared to go with me into Ireland; but to my surprise, I found he had reasoned it away, under an apprehension that his proposal of accompanying me proceeded more from love to me than any real concern. I was fully persuaded his concern was right, as he informed me that it had remained on his mind for some years, to visit Ireland again; I therefore had a great travail in my mind for him, that he might be brought to a right sense and discerning of the Lord's requirings; being fully satisfied he was a man of sincerity, who would not willfully transgress.

I took an opportunity with him next morning and his concern returning, and he abiding steadily under the weight thereof, afterwards performed the journey to his own peace, and was to me an agreeable friend and fellow-laborer. Having appointed to meet me at Whitehaven; we went from his house to Lancaster, and attended their meeting on first-day, in both which I found it my business to set an example of silence. That night after all were in bed, I was taken suddenly with an uncommon swelling in my throat, not much unlike a quinsy. I could scarcely swallow liquids for some time, so that it seemed very probable to those about me, that it would soon be over with me, as to this world; concerning which, I was very easy in my mind. A doctor was quickly sent for; by whose care, under divine favor, I soon recovered, so as to attend the Yearly Meeting at Kendal. It was very large, there being a great collection of Friends from many parts, and large numbers of people of other societies. It was divinely favored, especially at the concluding meeting, wherein God's everlasting Truth triumphed gloriously, and my poor depressed spirit, that had long waded under the weight of wrong things, was raised into comfortable

dominion, and obtained, through the Captain of our salvation, complete victory over those hard unmortified spirits, undue liberties, and carnal lifeless professors, under a painful sense whereof, I had long mourned in my northern travels. Now I was set over them all, for I sensibly perceived, and livingly felt his eternal power set over wrong spirits, and clearly saw that the Lamb and his followers will obtain the victory: and although it has been, and will be, through great sufferings, yet those who patiently suffer with Christ, shall also reign with him. This meeting crowned my service in those parts; after which I found my mind at liberty to embark for Ireland.

I set out next day for Whitehaven, in company with my good friend Christopher Wilson; a very pleasant journey we had, in that sweet innocent freedom which clothed our spirits, feeling the consoling streams of that river which makes glad the city of God. We, in degree, enjoyed the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwells righteousness, the fruit and effect whereof is quietness and assurance forever. I was at Pardshaw meeting on a first-day, which was a precious opportunity; Truth being greatly in dominion and its testimony exalted, the sincere-hearted were sweetly comforted and united one to another. Next day I went to their Monthly Meeting, and had good service both in the meeting of worship and that for transacting the affairs of the church. The weighty service of visiting families was before it, and I understood had been sometime obstructed by some of the members, to the concern and uneasiness of others. It was clear to me, when it came to be weightily considered, that the power and virtue of Truth was livingly with the promoter of so good a work, and I did fully believe the Lord would bless it in their hands. I therefore endeavored to sift the opposite side as well as I could, to the bottom, and found very little or no weight in what they had to offer against it. Upon which they were earnestly desired not to hinder the service of others, in that important work that had so often and so evidently been blessed, although they might be unwilling to put their own hands to it. Truth arose and came over them, so that Friends appointed fifteen or sixteen men and women, to go in several companies on the service, as that Monthly Meeting is large in its extent. This afforded great relief and satisfaction to the sincere travelers for Zion's prosperity. I went from there accompanied by several Friends, to Whitehaven, where I met my intended companion William Backhouse; and a ship belonging to a Friend, whose name was James Nicholson, being ready to sail for Dublin, we went on board of her, the 19th of the second month, 1749, in the evening, and were soon under sail. We met with contrary winds, and a very rough uneasy passage as to our bodies; being five days and as many nights before we landed. What made it much harder for William and me to bear was, that we had given up the beds prepared for us to two women Friends who came on board and were unprovided, they being very sea-sick most of the time; so we were under a necessity of lying down on the cabin floor or upon some of the chests, in our clothes, which we did not take off all the while, that I remember. This proved very trying to us, and we were greatly spent and fatigued when we landed at

Dublin. We were received and entertained with affectionate kindness by our friend Samuel Judd and family, at whose house we lodged while in that city. The Half-year's Meeting began in the morning of the day we landed, it being afternoon when we got on shore.

The next day we attended two meetings for the affairs of the church; and I was fully persuaded, there was a faithful exercised remnant, painfully laboring for the restoration of ancient beauty and comeliness, and the affairs of the church were transacted with considerable order and decency; yet my spirit was clothed with deep mourning, and much closed up in painful anxiety. The cause thereof I did not then distinctly understand; but when I had traveled through the nation, visiting the churches, and sorrowfully viewing the desolations thereof, my sufferings in spirit at the Half-year's Meeting were no longer a mystery to me. The next morning was held a general large concluding meeting for worship and in the afternoon a meeting of ministers and elders; at both which, especially the latter, I had open thorough service; as also in their week-day meeting at Sycamore-alley on sixth-day. We staid at Dublin over first-day: at Meath-street in the morning the Lord was pleased to furnish largely with matter and utterance, to a good degree of satisfaction. In the afternoon at Sycamore-alley, I found it my duty to be silent.

On second-day we set out from Dublin, accompanied by James Evans and wife, in order to visit the following meetings in our way towards Cork, namely, Ballycane, Wicklow, Errats, Wrights, Cooladine, Wexford, Lambston, Ross, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilcomon, Youghal, and so to Cork. We found things very low indeed in most of the said meetings; my service in them was generally searching, painful and laborious; Truth seldom having that comfortable dominion, (by reason of the prevalence of wrong things) which was earnestly labored for, both by us, and also by a few mourners scattered up and down in those parts, who waited for and ardently sought the prosperity of Zion. Such can only rejoice when the righteous Seed bears rule. We had several meetings in the city of Cork, where there is a considerable body of Friends. But the love of this world and other undue liberties, have prevailed, to the great hurt of the Society there also. Our labor was for the most part, painful and exercising amongst them. From there we went to Kilcomon again; so to Cashel, Limerick, Jonathan Barns's and Birr. At several of these meetings I found it my place to example the people with silence, which was the case at Birr, having, as it was said, all the people called Methodists residing there, and their preacher at the meeting; than whom, I think no people are more at a loss what to do with silence in worship. I am persuaded there have been awakenings of merciful kindness to them, and they have seen the necessity of the new-birth; but their notions about it have been for the most part, in airy visions, and flightiness of their own imaginations; not coming lo cease from man, nor from their own willings and runnings. Oh that they were so happy as to be emptied, that God might be all in all, working in them the will and the deed; then would they come really to experience true poverty of spirit, and to abhor forward active self, whose time is always ready. In this safe, self-

denying situation, they would really feel an absolute necessity to wait, as with their mouths in the dust before the Lord, until he shall be pleased to arise in their hearts; whereby all his and their enemies would be scattered. Then would true worship be performed, and they established upon the immovable Rock that the gates of hell cannot prevail against. After Birr, we had meetings at the Moat, Old-Castle, Ballyhaise, Coothill and Castleshane; which meetings were mostly small and painful. Truth favored with a degree of strength, to labor for their help and recovery; but, alas! the life of religion appeared to be at a very low ebb. The next meetings we had were at Ballyhagan and Charlemont, which were large, yet but little to be felt of the life of religion stirring in them, neither did there appear to be much soundness amongst some of the foremost rank; several of whom having administered cause of stumbling and discouragement to others, it had a bad savor and influence; instead of gathering, it had tended to scatter from the fold of Christ's flock. I had very close searching work amongst them, in order to bring the judgment of Truth over such, as the Lord was pleased to open my way and to discover their states to me, being altogether without any outward information thereof. I understood afterwards some of them resented it, though they said nothing to me about it; but as some had before, so I understood one or more of them did soon after, manifest a base ungodly foundation.

We proceeded to take the meetings round Lough Neagh, namely, Toberhead, Colraine, Ballinacre, Grange and Antrim; which meetings appeared indeed almost a desolation with respect to the sensible possession of Truth, although it was professed by some. A time of deep mourning and distress it was to my soul, to view their captivity and loss, of which themselves did not seem to have much sense. The next meeting was Ballinderry, being very large, but heavy and painful; yet the blessed power of Truth prevailed in a good degree. From there we went to the following places and had meetings, namely, Lisburn, Hilsborough, Lurgan and Moyallan; where, although we found some true mourners in and for Zion, yet the bulk of the Society seemed to love the world and the things that are therein, to that degree, as to have very little taste or relish for the things of God. Even some of those, who, by their stations in the church, ought to have been lively examples of self-denial in this respect, appeared to be as deeply plunged into this mournful cause of desolation as any. Alas! what account will they have to give of their stewardship, when the chief Shepherd shall appear. From this place we crossed the country to Edenderry; once remarkable for a brave, lively body of Friends: there are now a large number of professors belonging to it; but, alas! the glory is much departed, and the fountain of living water forsaken by many. Oh, how are they gone into captivity by the muddy waters of Babylon! We attended their meeting on a first-day, but could hear no melody or song of Zion; all being closed up, and our harps hung, as it were, upon the willows. It was a time of deep silent mourning. About the time of breaking up that meeting, it livingly sprung in my mind, that as they had rejected abundant favors bestowed upon them, that they might be gathered to God, so the Lord would reject many of them.

The next meetings we had, were at Timahoe, Rathangan, Mount-melick, Monrath, Ballinakill, at James Hutchinson's, Carlow, Kilconner, and the province meeting at Castledermot. Pain, distress and close labor, either in testimony, or an example of silence, attended in the last-mentioned meetings; yet the Lord was a gracious support through all. I hope our deep wadings and painful service, were not without some good effects, both in stirring up the careless, and comforting the mourners in Zion. I had very close service at the province meeting; yet, by divine favor, was carried through to pretty good satisfaction, and I believe it was a serviceable meeting to many. From there, in our way to Dublin, we had meetings at Alby, Ballitore and Baltybois, which were small, and true religion very low. From there we went to Dublin, intending shortly to embark for England. We attended the meetings in the city, both on first and other days of the week during our stay, but I had very little openness therein; being made to the professors as a sign and example of silence from meeting to meeting. Great indeed were my inward distresses, on account of the mournful declension of the church in Ireland: the Lord knows, and was my only support under it. Blessed be his name forever! Many there were amongst themselves, who greatly lamented it; the travail of whose pained souls, I hope the Lord of sabbaths will regard in his own time, so as to turn his hand again upon a greatly declined church, that, by the spirit of judgment and burning, he may purely purge away her dross, take away her tin and reprobate silver; that her judges may be restored as at the first, and her counsellors as at the beginning.

It may by some be looked upon rather imprudent, to lay open the defection and spiritual condition of our Society, which depends so much upon my own testimony of an inward sense given me thereof in my travels. In the first place, no other person can do it for me, and I cannot find my mind easy that it should be wholly omitted. It has been so repeatedly, and confirmed with such clear evidence to my understanding, that I have not the least doubt of what I write in that respect. Although it be with a considerable degree of reluctance, yet it seems my way, and I am not easy to go out of it; intending no other by those close remarks, than as lessons of instruction, caution and warning, to succeeding generations; if, when I am removed hence, this be looked upon worth printing. So far I may add, that the laying open the mournful declension of the Society, and pointing out some of the causes thereof, as my understanding might be opened thereinto, was one of the principal things that engaged me to write a journal: it never entered into my thought, that my travels and little services, singly considered, were of such consequence as to merit the regard of my friends, so as to be published; but thinking the account of my travels and the observations of the state of things are necessarily connected together, so that in doing the first, I could not well avoid the last. I have further to add, that I think myself also warranted herein, by the example of God's faithful witnesses in ages past, with whom it was usual to lay open the states of the people, both in an individual manner and in a more collective body, that is, as nations, societies or churches; also setting forth, for a warning to all succeeding generations, those particular evils which caused the Lord's displeasure, and would, if not turned

from, bring down his judgments upon them. We also find, that, even these warnings and heavy denunciations of judgment, were preserved in writing, as a testimony for God and against themselves, even by those against whom they were really given forth; yes, the particular evils and frailties which, through inadvertency, the Lord's choice servants fell into and deeply repented of, are recorded; not only as warnings to all, but also to excite charity and tenderness towards those who have fallen into evil, in case they repent and forsake; considering that we may also be tempted, and therefore never dare to upbraid those, who, through their own imprudence, have fallen amongst thieves and are naked and wounded, provided they return again to the Father's house.

I have further to remark, that I have observed a prevailing disposition in some of considerable eminence in the Society, and in a great many others, to cry up for peace and charity, and the maintenance of unity, and not to press any thing very closely, lest the peace of the Society should thereby be endangered; although, perhaps the things urged cannot well be objected to upon any other principle than groundless fears and a faint heart not yet quite upright to God, nor wholly redeemed from the praise of men: as there is an unwillingness to displease them, though in maintaining the Lord's cause: "for if I yet pleased men," said Paul, "I should not be the servant of Christ." What makes me take notice of this, is, that I have seen a great snare in it, wrong things being allowed to remain and prevail under it, and the fire of primitive zeal against undue liberty, much quenched. We have no such examples in the prophets, or in Christ and his apostles, of indulgence and winking at wrong things and false ease. They, in their concern to testify against such things, had no fear of breaking unity nor disturbing the quiet and peace of any people, let their rank or station be what it may. Had this noble spirit of ancient zeal been more generally exercised in plain dealing and speaking the truth one to another, the mournful declension justly complained of amongst us as a people, would not so generally prevail.

It is but about a century since the Lord by an outstretched arm, gathered our Society as from the barren mountains and desolate hills of empty profession; choosing them for his own peculiar flock and family; as by many evident tokens of his love and mighty protection, does fully appear; even when the powers of the earth like the raging waves of the sea, rose up against them, with full purpose to scatter and lay waste. The remarkable evidences of his regard, must, I think, gain the assent of considerate persons, who yet may not have a capacity of understanding clearly the Lord's gracious dealings with his people, in a more spiritual and mysterious relation. When I view the multitude of his favors and blessings to them in this respect, I am afraid to attempt the recounting and setting forth of so copious and amazing a subject, which can better be admired, and the bountiful Author adored for the same. It may be justly queried, What could the Lord have done for us that he has not done? Notwithstanding which, what indifference, lukewarmness and insensibility as to the life of religion, are now to be found amongst

numbers under our name; no, in some places, this painful lethargy is become almost general; although I hope a few may be excepted, who are much afflicted on that account, and burdened with an earthly, carnal spirit. Oh! how does covetousness, which is idolatry, and an inordinate love of things lawful in themselves and places, cloak and shelter themselves under a plain appearance in some; yet plainness is no more to blame for that than the name disciple or apostle was to blame, because Judas once bore it. I could write much more on this mournful subject, having suffered deeply in my travels on account of the grievous declension; but hope to ease my mind by dropping here and there a remark, as I proceed in giving an account of my travels.

We embarked at Dublin the 18th of the fifth month, in the morning, and landed at Peel, near Swarthmore-hall, next day. One thing I am not quite free to omit, as I could not well help looking upon it a providential preservation of my life, namely, the sands being very extensive thereabout, and we happening rather too late, as to the time of tide-serving, to be set on shore, could not, owing to the waters leaving us, bring the boat up so as to land in time. We were thus set fast, about half a mile from firm land. We could, therefore, think of no better way in this difficulty, than accepting the poor sailors' assistance, which they kindly offered, to carry us to land on their backs, which was no small undertaking, as we were, especially myself, none of the lightest. I was the first, and believe the sailor, who was a strong man, would have carried me to land, had not both of us, in our journey there, fallen into a large quick-sand. The sailor immediately left me, his burden, to shift for myself, while he did the same; but he had greatly the advantage of me, as he could swim, which I had never learned. However, I was some how or other, buoyed up in a wonderful manner, so that I never was plunged over head; to which, perhaps, my great coat buttoned about me, might in some measure contribute. I well remember that I could feel nothing under my feet but water or soft mud, which could not bear me up, my head being all the while above water; I knew which way we tumbled in, and being near the bank, I made some shift to scramble to it, and to climb up of myself. I then waded to the shore, being exceedingly wet and dirty. We went to a cottage where the accommodations were very mean; but the poor people's kindness and hospitality were very noble, which we did not let pass unrewarded. We got that night to my affectionate companion's house; having traveled the before mentioned journey with great diligence, in much love and harmony one with another, and were not quite three months out of England. The first meeting I went to after we landed was Yelland, which was a good open time; Truth being exalted over wrong things; and from there to Lancaster, where I had a satisfactory meeting; the Lord's power in a good degree having dominion, to our comfort. I was at Penketh meeting in the forenoon, on first-day; where the Lord was pleased to favor us with a precious opportunity, Truth being exalted over all, and the sincere travelers Zionward greatly comforted in the sweet enjoyment of the Lord's presence, which was livingly felt amongst us. Praises to his holy name forever! In the afternoon we had a large meeting at Warrington, where it appeared my duty to sit in silence; the lack of which,

properly employed, proves a great loss to our Society in many places. Next day accompanied by my worthy friends Samuel Fothergill and William Dilworth, I set out in order to be at Marsden-height Yearly Meeting, and to visit Friends thereabout. Marsden week-day meeting on fifth-day, was satisfactory.

On the first-day following the Yearly Meeting was held, to which came a large collection of Friends from parts adjacent, and many people of other persuasions. The Lord was pleased to exalt his glorious Truth and the testimony thereof, in a free and open manner, to the comfort of many hearts. I went from there to Manchester, accompanied by my affectionate friends Jonathan Raine and his wife, and had an open comfortable meeting, Truth having dominion; wherein alone the upright hearted can rejoice, with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Oldham meeting on first-day, was in a good degree open, and I hope serviceable. The next day I traveled to my worthy friend Joshua Toft's, near Leek, and had a meeting there, in which I found it my place to sit in silence. Having my said friend with me, we attended both their meetings at Birmingham on first-day; which were very heavy and laborious, through the prevalence of lukewarmness in some and undue liberty in others; so that I had but very little openness at either of them, and in one was quite shut up in silence.

The next meetings we had were at Wigansal and Atherstone; but found the life of religion very low in them. The Yearly Meetings for the westerly counties being to be held at Coventry, we went there in order to attend them. They began on first-day, the 6th of the sixth month, 1749, and were held in a large town-hall; conveniency being made therein for the purpose; so that one room which was called the hall, would contain by computation, not less than a thousand people; and another under the same roof, it was supposed would contain about five hundred. We had a pretty large meeting-house besides. These, I think, once or more, were all filled at one time. There was a great collection of Friends from many parts, and a very great flocking in of others, amongst whom there was considerable openness, and their behavior in general was becoming. The Gospel was preached with power, clearness and demonstration. I found myself much excused from public service, which I accounted a favor; having greatly to rejoice in the exaltation of Truth's testimony through well qualified instruments; a considerable number being present whom I greatly preferred, and was glad the public service fell chiefly upon them. I have ever accounted it a concern of great importance, to appear by way of public testimony in those large assemblies, and have earnestly prayed they might be conducted in best wisdom; which, doubtless would be the case, if the spirits of all who undertake the great and awful work of the ministry, were truly subjected to the alone source or fountain thereof; who is, to his humble dependent ones, wisdom and utterance. The meeting ended on third-day to the comfort of Friends, and as far as appeared, to the general satisfaction of others; whose attention to what was delivered, and behavior to Friends in general, were to their honor, and the reputation of the

city of Coventry.

On fourth-day there was a meeting appointed at my request in Warwick, to which I went; but when I saw the great company of people, many of whom by their appearance, seemed to be of the principal inhabitants, I was intimidated, and fell under discouragement for a time, knowing my own great weakness. My fear was, lest through my means or that of some others present, Truth might suffer. I cried with earnest concern to the Lord who sees in secret, and he was graciously pleased to hear and to furnish with might, by his spirit in the inward man; so that the everlasting Truth and its testimony were exalted that day, and the people appeared to be much affected therewith.

I have many times seen it very profitable to be deeply humbled and awfully prostrated before the almighty Helper of his people; that so what we are in the ministry may be by his grace only; having observed that where the creaturely part is not wholly abased, but some sufficiency or treasure belonging thereto is saved or reserved, it being very close work to be stripped of all, there has been a mixture brought forth, like the linen and woollen garment, or sowing the field with two sorts of grain; and when any by custom, their own unwatchfulness, or the neglect of others whose care should have been over them, become as it were established in this mixture, they seldom get out of it the right way, by the bad being removed and the good preserved. Oh, it is a great thing to stand fully approved in this solemn service! to speak as the oracles of God, and to minister of the ability immediately given by him. Blessed will that servant be, who when his Lord comes, is found dividing the word aright, giving the flock and family of Christ their proper portion of meat, and that in due season.

Having a desire to take some meetings in my way into Wales, where I intended in order to visit my dear ancient mother, I look the following, namely, Henley, Broomsgrove and Worcester. I had close laborious service in them, as was often my lot where I traveled. I spent about a week at my mother's, having several large serviceable meetings amongst Friends, my old neighbors and acquaintance; their hearts being tendered, and some much affected. But alas! things are at a low ebb with our Society in those parts, and the conduct of some rather administers cause of stumbling than convincement to others. I traveled to Bewdly, Stourbridge and Dudley; my brother Benjamin bearing me company, and had good service at the said meetings, and then to Birmingham, where I had a hard trying meeting as before. From there to Hartshill general meeting on a first-day, which was, through divine favor, an open good meeting. My kind friend John Bradford bore me company to Hinkley in Ijeicestershire, where we had a pretty open meeting, and then to Leicester, where the Lord was pleased to favor us with a satisfactory meeting. Next day I had a small meeting at Soilby, things being very low; and at Castle-Donnington, I had two meetings on first-day; to which many Friends from Nottingham came; they were, I

believe, serviceable to many.

Next day I had a small poor meeting at Wimes-wood, then to Longclawson, where I could perceive very little of the life of religion; and from there to Oakham in Rutlandshire, and had a comfortable meeting; Truth and its testimony had considerable dominion. At Leicester Quarterly Meeting and Kettering in Northamptonshire, I had a good degree of openness, and Truth prevailed. At Wellingborough I attended their fore and afternoon meetings on first-day; the first was a close exercising time in a painful silence, and a sorrowful sense of the indifference and insensibility of many. It was a large meeting, and to me the greater part of those present appeared very ignorant of the importance of that worship and service they professed to meet about. In the afternoon I was favored with wisdom and strength to discharge my mind, in a close searching testimony. The next day I had a meeting to pretty good satisfaction at Ranees, and the day following went to the Monthly Meeting at Ramsay in Huntingdonshire, where I had good service. Then had meetings at Ives, Godmanchester, Erith and Hadenham; most of which were pretty open and serviceable, through divine help, for without the Lord's blessing on our labors, they prove altogether fruitless, the increase being from him alone. I went next to Mildenhall in Suffolk, where on a first-day I had a large meeting to good satisfaction; then at Burry and Haverill; the last of which, being mostly people of other societies, was open, and the testimonies of Truth appeared to be well received. At Saffron Walden in Essex, we had a very painful afflicting meeting: very little to be felt of the life of religion therein. Oh! what pity it is, so many up and down, satisfy themselves with a mere profession of Truth; only having a name to live, when they are really dead, as to the quickenings of heavenly virtue. At Stebbing we were favored with the opening of the living fountain; yet there appeared to me to be some obdurate unfaithful spirits under our profession, who seemed sorrowfully out of reach and very hard to be made sensible of the weight and importance of our religious testimonies; especially in some branches thereof. Such cause a secret pain and anguish, which covers the minds of poor travelers in the work of the Gospel, like the sackcloth underneath. I seldom found room and opportunity to put it wholly off, though I was frequently favored with a comfortable evidence that the Lord was with me, graciously owning my service for him and his people.

At Coggeshall on first-day, I had close, searching, laborious service, and found something exceedingly heavy in that meeting; yet by divine favor, I was carried through to a good degree of satisfaction. The next meetings were at Kelvedon and Witham, in both which, my testimony was very close and arousing; in order, if possible, to awaken and stir up lukewarm, unfaithful professors; and by the blessed efficacy of the word of life, the wholesome doctrine of Truth was set over them, and the few upright hearted had relief. I went from there to Chelmsford, where I had good open service at their week-day meeting, and also on the first-day following: notwithstanding which, a secret pain accompanied my mind, occasioned by those unfaithful professors

before hinted at, who have neither courage nor fidelity to maintain any branch of our Christian testimony, when there appears a probability of outward losses or suffering thereby: dealing with our principles in a very lax, indifferent manner, taking what they please and sacrificing the rest to their own selfish views; such are as spots in our feasts of charity, and a mournful load to the living in religion: but the Lord Almighty, who hears the groanings of these, will in his own time grant relief; and the others shall bear their own burdens. At Royston in Hertfordshire, the life of religion appeared very low; and I had nothing to minister to the people but an example of silence. Next I had a meeting at Baldock, which was low and rather painful, then to Hitchin, and was at their first-day meetings, which were pretty open and satisfactory; and to Ampthill, where things appeared low. At Hogstyend, I had some openness and satisfaction; but the meeting at Sherington was low and painful. The next meeting I had was at Northampton, which was a very trying time; but the Lord by his powerful word, gave me dominion in a good degree, over dark, libertine spirits: true religion seemed almost lost there. At Bugbrook I had some openness, got through my service to pretty good satisfaction, and was at their meetings on first-day at Coventry; in one whereof, I had close searching labor, and was silent in the other. The meeting at Edington was small, and things but low. I went from there to a marriage at South Newton, and found it my place to sit the meeting in silence. The earnest expectation of people, especially on such occasions, I believe often obstructs the current of right ministry. Silence, if duly considered, may be the best lesson of instruction for those whose life is in words or outward declarations.

I have thought some amongst us are so void of a right understanding, as to suppose there is a kind of necessity for something to be done by way of ministry, at marriages, and funerals especially; it being hard for them to apprehend that they can be so honorably conducted without. I have observed some who, though but little concerned, to maintain our testimonies by a uniform, consistent deportment, yet appear very zealous on these occasions; taking a deal of pains, and riding many miles, and sometimes from one preacher to another, to make themselves sure of having one; and when they have been so successful as to prevail upon any to come, it would no doubt be a great disappointment, were they to be wholly silent. In this situation, the minister himself may, unless well-grounded, be exposed to temptation to gratify such. My principal view in this remark is, to show how remote such are from the truth they profess, and how nearly allied to some other professors of Christianity, who make religion chiefly consist in outward performances, and think it not like a Christian burial, when a corpse is committed to the earth without something said over it. If that over-anxiousness in the people should prevail on the preachers amongst us, to answer their cravings and expectations, either in attending, or when there, in gratifying them with words, without a due regard to the holy weight and impressions of the Word of life, as the alone moving cause to public service, they would be in danger of being lost as to the living body in the Society; and although such might continue in a consist-

ent form of sound words and sound doctrine, as to the external appearance, yet the substance being lost, their performances would be no more than as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. Some, to our sorrow, have been observed to lose ground by such means: what can we imagine more offensive to the gracious, bountiful Giver, than to prostitute such a precious divine gift, by making it subservient to the carnal unsanctified desires of those who are strangers to God, yet love to hear of him and his glorious acts, by the hearing of the ear?

From this place I went to Hooknorton, and had a meeting; wherein my business was to example with silence; then to Sibford, where I had a meeting, and some openness; yet things were but low. I had open thorough service in the meetings at Banbury on first-day, and the testimony of Truth was in a good degree exalted. Next day I went to South Newton again, where I had great openness, and Truth was comfortably in dominion. Much satisfaction is received by following the safe guidance and conduct of our holy Leader, whether in heights or depths, sufferings or rejoicings. I had a good meeting next day; and then went to Adderbury, where things are low. At Bicester I had a small poor meeting; there being but very few under our profession, and but little to be felt of the life of religion amongst them.

My face being now turned towards the city of London, I had a small meeting at Alesbury, and some open service therein to my satisfaction. There are but few Friends thereabout. I went to their first-day meeting at Jordans, which was large: my service was to example the people, Friends and others, with silence; which I believe was a considerable disappointment to many; but I hope it was profitable to some. Several Friends from London met me there, and we got to the city next day. I continued there about three weeks, visiting meetings diligently every day in the week, except the last, and one more. It was a very painful time of deep suffering in spirit, even beyond expression. I was as a sign of silence from place to place, especially at Grace-church street meeting; which, doubtless, was a great mystery to many. But it was my way to peace, and I sought after contentment, though it might occasion me to be accounted a fool, by the lofty towering spirits in that city, who may justly be compared to the tall cedars of Lebanon.

I left London the 19th of the tenth month, 1749, to visit meetings at Hertford and St. Albans, where our friend Benjamin Kidd met me, and accompanied me to Hempstead, Wickham, and the Quarterly Meeting at Oxford. The meeting there for worship was exceedingly disturbed and hurt by a company of rude students, who came in like a flood, and allowed little or no stillness, till by breaking up the meeting they dispersed; by which means, we held the meeting for discipline and good order, in a quiet peaceable manner. At Whitney I had a very painful exercising time, not only under a sense of undue liberties prevailing, but also of an exalted self-righteous, self-sufficient state; than which, none is harder to be reached to, or made any impression upon: my business was to sit in silent suffering with the oppressed seed. I went next to Burford,

where there seemed to me very little of the life of religion, and to Cirencester, where my spirit was deeply distressed, under a painful sense of wrong things and wrong spirits. The next meeting was Nailsworth, where I had close searching labor, in testimony against luke-warmness and undue liberties.

At the Quarterly Meeting for Wiltshire, being a stranger and altogether unexpected by Friends there, the close searching testimony given me to bear, especially relating to the state of some active members, might be better received, and have more effect, than if the same had come from one better acquainted with their states. I always coveted, to be wholly unacquainted with the states of meetings by outward information, in all my travels; and when, by the discourse of Friends previous to my attending them, there appeared any probability of their inadvertently opening in my hearing, any thing of that kind, I have generally either stopped them, or walked away out of hearing. But in general, Friends who entertain us in our travels, have more prudence and a better guard in these respects; as indeed all ought: for it straitens, and may give much uneasiness to right spirited ministers, who have a sure infallible guide within, and therefore have no need of any outward guide or information in their services. I visited meetings in that county, at the house of John Fry, in Sutton, Cain, Chippenham, Melkshara, Corsham, Bradford, Lavington and Salisbury, and found things mostly low, painful and laborious to work through. Those under our profession appeared to me, in too general a way, to be satisfying themselves with the religion of their education only; without much experience of the life and virtue thereof, operating upon their hearts. Some, it is to be feared, undertake to rule and act in the church without a proper qualification, and so do not therein seek the honor that comes from God only. Here the equal balance and standard is not kept to; partiality gets place; men and women's persons are respected because of riches or outward substance: true judgment is perverted, and wickedness escapes censure, to the affecting of the whole community, as in the case of Achan. Such things provoke the Lord to withdraw, who is the only strength and defense of his people. They then become languid; their hearts become as water, and the inhabitants of the land prevail against them, till they are in the end made desolate.

The next meetings I had were at Andover, Whitchurch, Basingstoke and Alton; having, through divine help, some profitable service, tending to warn and excite Friends to a more diligent and careful discharge of the several duties their stations required: but I could not help viewing, with some painful reflections, the lukewarmness and declension which sorrowfully prevail in many places. At Alton, which is a large meeting, I found some solid, weighty Friends, to whom my spirit was nearly united; having, in the main, good satisfaction and openness amongst them; with searching close service to the unfaithful; in which I was favored with the comfortable help of upright spirits, whose sincere travail is maintained for an increase of faithful laborers in the Lord's vineyard and the restoring of ancient beauty.

Now did my deep and painful labors in this visit begin to wear off, and to draw towards a close, as far as related to my travels at this time, in Great Britain and Ireland. I therefore soon expected a full discharge, as I saw little before me, save the city of London. I had meetings at Godalming, Guilford and Esher, in my way there; in which I had some service to my own satisfaction, and I hope to the help of Friends.

I continued in the city some time, visiting meetings with diligence. My mind was deeply exercised as usual in a painful travail, with and for the suffering Seed of God in the hearts of professors, who to me appeared, in a general way, living, moving, acting and breathing, in an airy exalted region above it. I have often been ready to say, By whom shall Jacob, the true Seed, arise? for he is very small in the esteem and regard of professors of most ranks. Yet I could see an afflicted, suffering remnant, lie very low, as under the ruins, and panting as it were, struggling for life. And although we could see and knew one another, and traveled together under a degree of the same painful sense of things; yet, not having it in our power to relieve one another, our proper business was to travail under our respective burdens, until the Almighty Deliverer was pleased to appear, calling his suffering ones to dominion and rule with him, who is Lord of lords and King of kings: for the Lamb and his followers shall have the victory; though they are permitted sometimes to suffer long. I had then, at times, faith to believe he would raise the dry bones, and they should stand upon, their feet; an army to fight the Lord's battles; to bring the mighty from their seats, and to take the crowns of some from them, who seemed to reign as kings, making their nakedness appear.

Surely the complaint of the Lord, by the mouth of his prophet concerning Israel, was mournfully verified in the city of London, respecting a great part of the Society, namely, "My people have committed two great evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewn them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." Such is a mere profession, though of the Truth itself, without the real possession. This is holding the Truth in notion, speculation and imitation only. The same may be said of whatever is done in religion, without the immediate influence, direction and leadings of the holy Author's spirit and power. Sound doctrine may be preached, as to words and the main scope thereof, and true principles imbibed from education, tuition, or other outward means; yet the man's part being alive, active and always ready; the child's and fool's state, that knows its sufficiency for every good word and work to be immediately received from God alone, is neither experienced nor abode in. "For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaks in you, or by you." I say, without this living sense of things, all is but a broken cistern; it will hold none of the water of life; which is the real cause, that the endeavors and seeming zeal of some for the promotion of religion, are so dry, insipid, and inefficacious. Truth will carry its own evidence. The spring of action being the holy Spirit of Christ, it will gain the assent of all his children, and answer his pure witness in

the hearts of the rebellious, far beyond what many conceive or imagine. Upon which I would just observe, that the only way to preserve the strength, glory, and dignity of a religious society, is for all who undertake to be active in it, certainly to feel the Lord leading and directing them in all their services; and on the other hand, the sure way to desolation is, when the active members in religious things move therein by the strength of human abilities only. A great deal depends on that, more than some are aware of: it is observable, that the preservation of the Jewish church in purity, much depended upon the governors and rulers thereof; and so do and will, the prosperity and purity of the Christian church.

I had very little openness in respect to ministry, but was silent as usual, from meeting to meeting. Indeed, my sufferings in spirit were great and deep, day and night, in that city, so that I was weary of this life, and as it were, sought for death; being at times ready to say, it is better for me to die than to live. I much wondered why it should be so; but have since seen it was in order for the filling up that measure of the sufferings of Christ allotted to me, of which I have seen the great advantage, with respect to giving dominion over those things and spirits, that were the cause of those great sufferings, which could not be stood against nor overcome any other way. For, as says the apostle, "If so be we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him." And our Lord also said, "Verily I say unto you, that you which have followed me in the regeneration; when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, you also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

I have sometimes thought, as I believe it may, by the foregoing account, appear to others that I was led in a manner somewhat uncommon, to see and feel the sorrowful declension of our Society, in my travels through these nations; though I am very sensible, several faithful brethren have shared in the like painful travail; which, in some degree, may be compared with that of Nehemiah; who, under great anxiety and distress of mind, entered upon a long and hazardous journey, and went in the night to view the breaches and desolations made in the city of the great king, before he and the people arose in the name of the Lord, to build the walls of that city and to set up the gates thereof. He found the hand of the Lord upon him, moving and strengthening him to seek the good and prosperity of his own people.

These things are written for encouragement and instruction to the painful laborers in the Lord's work; that they faint not under the weight and exercise thereof; nor think strange concerning such fiery baptisms and trials as they may meet with in the course of their travels. They may be well assured, that such things are all directed in wisdom; which, in the Lord's time, will appear to their full satisfaction and comfort. For it is far from the Fountain of infinite kindness, to permit such heavy affliction to fall upon his servants unnecessarily.

I went from London into Essex, in order to visit some meetings in that county, which I had not

been at before, and was at Chelmsford week-day meeting on fifth-day, where I had good satisfaction; the virtue of Truth being shed abroad, to the joy and comfort of the living. On the first-day following, I was at Colchester meetings. My mind was painfully depressed, under a sense that Truth suffered much in that place by wrong things. Where evil is winked at, and undue liberties in a religious society are allowed to escape judgment or censure, weakness, and as it were a cloud of darkness come over meetings as well as individuals. The Lord was graciously pleased for his blessed name's-sake, to arise, and in some good degree, to dispel the darkness; whereby Truth and the testimony thereof, was exalted over all corrupt unsanctified spirits; and the few upright hearted were sweetly comforted; it being a time of relief to their spirits, in a good degree.

I went from there to meetings at Copford, Coin, Halstead and Braintree, wherein I had thorough service, in plain dealing and close labor with the unfaithful, of which number there seemed to be many; and but few who had really bought the blessed Truth. It is such only, who know how precious and valuable it is, and who cannot easily be prevailed upon to sell it for a thing of naught, nor for any consideration whatever. But it is not so with those who have their religion, if it may be so called, by education only, or derived by way of inheritance like their outward possessions, from their ancestors. The principles of religion only thus received and held, are often subjected to temporal conveniency and worldly interest. Where the world and true religion stand in competition with each other, such professors will soon give place to the world; wherein they do really deny Christ before men, and will as certainly, unless they repent, be denied by him before the Father and his holy angels.

I returned out of Essex to London; for though I had had but little openness as to ministry there, yet I found my mind engaged to attend their meetings, as I apprehended, in order to suffer and travail with the true Seed, for its enlargement, as well as to be a sign and example of the important duty of silence, to the professors of Truth. They had been long and greatly favored with living testimonies, even line upon line, and precept upon precept; under all which, for lack of a proper application and improvement thereby, the Society declined, and the ancient beauty thereof greatly faded away; I mean, in what relates to the life and spirit of religion in the practical part thereof; for the body of the Society everywhere, as far as ever appeared to me, are remarkably one in faith and profession, the same which has been held and professed by us as a people, from the beginning. This wonderful oneness and agreement amongst us everywhere, which I have not observed, neither do I believe it is to be found amongst any other set of Christians, to that degree, is to me a clear evidence, that the original foundation thereof, was the one infallible Spirit of Jesus Christ our Lord, who prayed the Father, that his followers might be one, as the Father and the Son are one. And notwithstanding great numbers in our Society are resting satisfied with an empty profession, and by their unfaithfulness, fall greatly short of the

dignity our worthy predecessors attained unto; which, considering the abundant favors bestowed from time to time, for the help and preservation of the Society, is cause of deep mourning and sore lamentation; yet there has been, through the kind providence of God, from the beginning down to this time, a living body, preserved the same in faith and practice with our ancients. These are scattered and interspersed throughout the whole Society, like the salt thereof, in order, if possible, that all may be seasoned. I think there are very few, if any meetings, wholly destitute of some of that sort; so that I would not have it understood, by the foregoing mournful complaints, although there may be just cause for them, that I think the Society is become desolate, or that the glory is departed therefrom: far be that from me; I am fully convinced to the contrary, and at times have faith to believe, the glory will never wholly depart, nor shall we cease to be a living people: yet I believe, numbers under our profession, for their great unfaithfulness and unfruitfulness, will be blown upon by the Lord, and rejected, and others called into the vineyard, who will be more diligent and faithful.

After I had continued some time in the city, I apprehended myself nearly clear of further service at this time in these nations, and that I might with safety look out for an opportunity of returning to my outward habitation in America. I therefore applied to the brethren for a certificate of my travels, etc., which they readily granted; setting forth their unity with my services and demeanor under this weighty engagement. But as no suitable opportunity appeared likely to present for some time, I had leisure to look into and carefully to weigh an affair of great importance, which had by this time so far prevailed on my attention, that I was afraid wholly to reject it, as I had done for a considerable time after it first came into my thoughts; looking upon it almost impracticable. This was, entering into a married state with my endeared friend Frances Wyatt, before mentioned. I never had any other objection to it, than our both being, as far as appeared then to me, settled in our places; from which I thought it would be very unsafe, without the best counsel, to remove. But that objection was wholly removed, by my way opening, as I thought, with great clearness, to settle in England on account of my future service. I was deeply concerned in my mind to be rightly guided herein; which was answered so indisputably clear to my understanding, that I could no longer hesitate about it.

The next thing was, settling matters relative thereto with my said friend; that so, if she found no objection, our marriage might be accomplished, if Providence permitted, after my returning home, settling my affairs there, and removing in order to settle in this nation. I therefore laid the whole before her, desiring her solid consideration and an answer, when she was prepared to return me one. I found the same powerful hand which had removed my objections, was at work in her mind to remove hers also; so that she could not be easy to put a negative upon the proposal, as believing the thing was right, which was still confirming to me. We therefore in the fear, and as we had cause to believe, in the counsel of God, engaged with each other to accom-

plish our marriage, when way should be made by divine Providence for the same. We had no views on either side for worldly advancement; as I was fully persuaded we were directed in our said engagement, by the wisdom and counsel of Him, who can give or take away outward blessings at his pleasure. I therefore had not freedom, previous to my engaging with her therein, to make any inquiry into her circumstances in the world. All which, however, with the superior blessing of an affectionate wife and true help-mate, I afterwards found agreeable and comfortable.

Having as above, paved the way to remove and settle in England, and a good opportunity presenting of a ship, in which several valuable Friends intended to embark, I went on board the Speedwell, John Stevenson master, at Gravesend, the 8th of the third month, 1750, in company with our friends Jonah Thompson and Mary Weston, who were going on a religious visit to the churches in America. We had fourteen or fifteen passengers belonging to the cabin and state rooms; some of whom were bad people, whose conversation proved very disagreeable to us; so that we spent much of our time on the deck, night and day, except when we took our rest in sleep. Our departure was from the Start Point, the 11th in the evening, being the last land seen by us until we discovered America. We had a fine gale of wind down the English channel, and a good set off to sea by the same; but we often had scant and sometimes contrary winds afterwards, which made it rather a slow passage, though much quicker than some have gone. The 17th of the fourth month, we found ourselves on the banks of Newfoundland, and in the midst of nearly twenty sail of French ships, who were fishing for cod. We spoke with one of them, who told us we had about twenty-five fathom water; whereupon the captain ordered the ship to be brought to, that we might take some fresh cod. This was very agreeable to us all; and succeeded so well, that in about two hours, there lay upon the deck twenty-four of the finest cod fish I ever saw. This proved an agreeable feast to us for about one week; and although through mercy, we had very great plenty of provisions, yet this was an acceptable change.

It was the 5th of fifth month, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when to our great joy we saw the land of America; and by sounding, found ourselves in about twenty-five fathom water, and entered the capes of Delaware that night. We had a prosperous gale up the bay and river, so that I landed at Chester in Pennsylvania, about eight miles from my own house, on the 7th of the fifth month, about three o'clock in the afternoon, and got home that night; having been on board two months lacking one day, and from home in the whole journey, two years, seven months and eight days; having traveled in that time by sea and land, I think on a moderate calculation, eleven thousand eight hundred and seventy-five miles, and was at about five hundred and sixty meetings.

CHAPTER 6

Returns to England to settle second marriage—Labors for a reformation in discipline—Attends the circular Yearly Meeting at Broomsgrove, and meetings in Wales, etc.—Visits Friends in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, etc.

I had before concluded, with divine permission, to return in the same ship, and left a large chest of stores on board. When discharged of her loading, she was to sail for Maryland, there to take in a cargo of tobacco, where I intended meeting her; it being about seventy miles from my house.

In a day or two after my arrival I went to Philadelphia, where I found my friends generally much alarmed, with news brought by letters in the ship I came over in, (for they had not heard it before) of my intention to return, to marry and settle in England. Many, I believe, being ignorant of the grounds and motives upon which I acted therein, judged concerning the same from the outward appearance only; supposing that having found one I liked, I had let my mind out towards marrying, and made that the principal inducement of my removing. Had this been the case, I freely acknowledge that I should have deserved blame; as acting upon a very dangerous bottom to myself, and setting an unsafe example for others to follow; believing some have sustained great loss, by inadvertent steps of this kind, in their travels on Truth's account. This was what I greatly feared in relation to myself, and therefore, as before hinted, dared not give way to the thoughts of entangling myself therein, until I had repeatedly, as I thought at least, received clear evidence in my mind of its being my duty to remove into this nation for future service. I do therefore earnestly caution all, to be aware of taking any encouragement from my example herein, unless they have the same evidence, and act upon the same bottom that I did, agreeably to what is above mentioned, and are well assured of divine direction. That I was rightly guided in my removal, has not only been fully confirmed to myself since, but I am persuaded also, to many others: and even at that time, those who were free enough to confer with me thereon, appeared to be well satisfied, whom for their freedom and openness to me on that account, I looked upon to be some of my best friends; and as to others, I thought it my duty to bear with patience and meekness all they were pleased to say and conjecture, until time made manifest who were in the right.

I attended the Yearly Meeting held at Burlington, for Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, in the seventh month, wherein the Lord was graciously pleased to overshadow our large assemblies with his heavenly power and presence, to our great comfort and edification; having with joy to draw water out of the wells of salvation, and to offer the praise and humble thanksgiving to the alone fountain thereof, who is forever worthy.

Having settled my affairs, and obtained a certificate of removal from the Monthly Meeting of Darby, in Chester county, in Pennsylvania, to which I belonged, directed to the Monthly Meeting of Witham in Essex, old England; myself and daughter set out from my house in Darby, accompanied by my sister Mary, (who since my wife's decease, had been my careful house-keeper) together with several Friends, the 12th of the eighth month, 1750. We traveled to East Nottingham, being about sixteen miles from the place where the ship lay in which I intended to embark. My sister and one of the Friends staid with us about a week, and then took their solemn leave. My daughter and I staid there until the 2nd of the ninth month. I visited some meetings in the neighborhood to good satisfaction, and was at many in East Nottingham, it being a very large meeting, and a zealous body of Friends then belonged thereto; amongst whom I had good service and great openness; the precious unity of the one spirit being livingly enjoyed, in which we took a solemn farewell of one another. The 2nd of the ninth month we set out, accompanied by several of our worthy friends, and crossed the Susquehanna, taking our quarters at Jacob Giles's house within sight of the ship; but were not ordered on board until the 8th. We did not sail until the 11th at noon. The unskilful pilot ran us aground twice that afternoon, and caused the poor sailors hard labor and much fatigue, for which I was sorry. It was the 18th, about two o'clock in the afternoon, before we got clear of Chesapeak bay; and having then a fine wind, we soon lost sight of land.

We had been at sea but about four days, when he espied a sail or two, who, by their motions, appeared very desirous to speak with us, which, at length, one of them belonging to Rhode Island effected, informing us, they were reduced to a very small quantity of provisions, and earnestly intreated the master to afford them some assistance. To my grief and surprise, he gave them a very short denial; alledging we were but newly come out to sea, and did not yet know what we might lack ourselves. I was much troubled in my mind at the hardness of his heart, and immediately stepped up to him, and in as moving language as I was capable of, interceded for the poor sufferers. The first mate being a man of a good disposition, joined with me, and we at length so prevailed on the master, that he gave them liberty to hoist out their boat, and come on board; telling them he would see what could be done for them. The poor creatures gladly complied with this; the master of the ship and four of his sailors, being quickly on board of us. It was very affecting, to behold the need so conspicuous in their faces, and to see how greatly they rejoiced, with thankfulness, that kind Providence had, in mercy, cast us in their way, for their relief; in which I could heartily join with them; rejoicing that we had not inhumanly turned them off without help. The master, to give him his due, handed to them pretty liberally; for which he charged what he thought proper, and took the master's draft for the money, on his owner in London, I spared them some out of my private stores, for which I wanted no other pay, than the satisfaction of relieving their wants; being very glad I had been instrumental thereto.

The next day we had a great storm, and an exceedingly high sea, so that we could carry no sail, but fastened the helm and let the ship drive whithersoever the wind and waves would carry her: we were indeed mightily tossed; but through divine favor, my mind was sweetly calm and comfortable, feeling his living presence to be near, who is God of the seas and of the dry land. My heart was filled with the joy of his salvation, so that I could sing and make melody therein to him; in which I had confirming evidence, as I many times had under the same precious enjoyment, both by sea and land after I left England, that my way and undertaking was approved of the Lord, and would be blessed and prospered by him; which yielded more comfort to my mind, than any thing in this world could do. The severest part of the storm lasted about twelve hours; and although we had two considerable storms afterwards, yet for the most part, it was a good passage.

On the 17th of the tenth month, in the morning, we sounded, and in sixty-nine fathom water we found ground. The same morning, about ten o'clock, we had the very agreeable sight of England. Next day, the wind being against us, we made but little advantage of sailing. The 19th, about eight o'clock at night, we came to an anchor in Falmouth harbor. Going on shore next day, we went to an inn in the town. Our kind hospitable friend, Joseph Tregelles, came and invited us to his house, where we had generous entertainment while we were at that place. I was several times at their meetings, both at Falmouth and Penryn, and had openness and good satisfaction. My worthy friends of that town, Andrew Hingeston and his wife and daughter, were affectionately kind to me, which I cannot well avoid mentioning, out of a grateful sense I retain thereof, as we were entire strangers; for I had not been that way when in England before.

Having been detained there about a week, we put out to sea again, in order to proceed to London, where we were bound. The second day of our being out, towards evening, as we were sailing within about a league and a half of Dover, a boat came on board for letters. The wind then not being fair to go up the river Thames, we went with them to Dover, and next day to Gravesend, where crossing the water at Grays in Essex, I proceeded to Chelmsford.

My dear friend Frances Wyatt and I, after proceeding according to the good order of Friends, accomplished our marriage with each other, at a large meeting of Friends and others in Chelmsford meeting-house, the 14th day of the then first month, 1750-1, in the sweet and sensible enjoyment of his presence, who saw in the beginning, it was not good for man to be alone; and therefore, in great kindness, provided a help-mate to be with him, who was bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. It is therefore said, they shall be no more twain, but one flesh. The Lord then joined the man and his wife together. Happy would it have been for mankind, had they never sought, nor found out any other way of joining in that relation since. But as the sons, or worshippers of the true God, formerly looked upon the daughters of men, with an eye that tends

to pervert this ordinance, following the dictates of their own evil heart, instead of the counsel of God, in this great undertaking; so it is evidently the case at this day with many. It is also often not so much what” the woman or man is, as what worldly substance they have. Where there is plenty of that, many real defects, with respect to those qualifications and endowments essential to real happiness in a married state, are over-looked. Thus, by man's ignorantly and presumptuously taking upon him the guidance and government of himself, instigated thereto by the subtilty of satan; those outward accommodations, which were by divine providence intended as blessings, become quite the reverse. To prevent such unhappy consequences to young people and others, I know of no advice better adapted for their safety and preservation, than that of our Lord's, namely, “Seek you first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.” Those who have happily, by seeking, found this kingdom, and live therein, which consists in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, have great advantage, even in outward things, above all others; as the blessing of God, which makes truly rich, attends all their worldly affairs. They enjoy what appertains to this life with a proper relish. “Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.”

As it is man's duty and safety to seek the Lord's counsel and blessing, so it is truly honorable amongst men; for this, Jabez was said to be more honorable than his brethren; for he called on the God of Israel, saying, “O that you would bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast, and that your hand might be with me, and that you would keep me from evil, that it may not grieve me!” And God granted him that which he requested. Let me conclude this observation with tender advice and caution to all whom it may concern, into whose hands this may come, to be aware they do not fall into that dangerous snare of supposing, as marriage is an outward affair, they need consult nothing further therein than their own inclination and reason; it is said, “Woe to the rebellious children, that ask counsel, but not of me, says the Lord.” And Christ is called Wonderful, Counsellor, as well as Mighty God. Now as marriage is allowed to be the most important affair in this life, and may tend greatly either to promote our happiness or misery in the next; if we have no occasion to seek the Lord's counsel herein, in what are we to expect or desire it? Abraham's servant, when he was only engaged about procuring a wife for his younger master Isaac, with great earnestness sought the Lord's guidance and blessing therein, and obtained it in a remarkable manner. What, say some, are we to look for, or to expect a revelation in such cases? We must desire the Lord to guide and direct our steps in this, and all other affairs of consequence in relation to this life, or we shall certainly miss our way. But this we cannot clearly understand, until the man's part is reduced in us, and we see what we are without God, that we may find occasion to pray without ceasing, and in every thing to give thanks. Then the constant cry will be, Guide me with your counsel. When this is, with great sincerity, the state of the mind, we cannot miss our way; because divine protection is ever present, although we do not always see it, no more than the prophet's servant did, until his eyes were

opened. The great thing is, to have a single eye, that whatever we do, may be done to the glory of God. When this is the case, we say, if this or that be not agreeable to your will, O God, you have all power in your hand; do you, by your overruling providence, direct me according to your blessed will. The Lord will keep such in all their ways, and be their sure defense.

We settled together after marriage, at Chelmsford, in the county of Essex, where I enjoyed great satisfaction and comfort in an affectionate wife. Yet such I found the low and almost desolate situation of our Society in the said county; especially in relation to good order and that discipline established amongst us, by the power and in the wisdom of Truth, as a hedge to defend and preserve from hurtful things, that it gave me much painful concern of mind. The difference appearing so very great, as I had before resided where discipline in the general was well maintained. I could not discover, either by their books or inquiry, that the unfaithful or disorderly walkers had, a few instances excepted, been for many years regularly dealt with, and their misconduct censured, either by Monthly or Quarterly Meetings. I diligently attended those meetings, but my spirit was greatly distressed therein, as the members seemed to move and act in another element, as I may say, than that I had been accustomed to, in managing the weighty affairs of the church.

The first thing of importance that laid hold of my mind, as wanting to be reformed, was relating to women's meetings; there being no such held quarterly, and at but few of the Monthly Meetings; and where there was any thing of that nature it was of little or no service, in the manner then held. Having therefore the advices and directions of the Yearly Meeting, relating to women's meetings, I requested liberty of the Quarterly Meeting to read the same therein, which I did, making such remarks thereon, as appeared to me then necessary. At the same time, I proposed that the meeting should take that weighty affair, of establishing women's Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, agreeably to the repeated pressing advices of the Yearly Meeting, into solid consideration; and if it was thought proper, that a few Friends might be appointed to form some general directions for the assistance of our women Friends, pointing out to them, as for lack of opportunity, they were pretty much strangers thereunto, how such meetings are to be conducted, and the part of church discipline that properly comes under their notice, and requires the management of the women. All which was agreed to and minuted. The proposed directions were prepared by the Friends appointed, brought to the next Quarterly Meeting, and there agreed to. The women having previous notice, withdrew at the close of the meeting of worship into an apartment, to receive what we had to lay before them, and unanimously agreed thereunto.

A Quarterly Meeting of women Friends being then established, pressing advice was sent by minute, to Monthly Meetings, that they should encourage and establish women's meetings

amongst them also, which was complied with. And although our women Friends, for lack of being brought up by their ancestors in the management of the discipline, might be rather inexperienced at first, yet I am well assured, this step tended much to enlarge our meetings and to make them more lively; opening the way of sincere travelers to a fuller enjoyment of spiritual good, wherein alone is our ability for every good word and work. Some few, from a right sense of the importance of the work, joined me in an earnest labor for a general reformation, and as we felt the weight of things upon our minds, we gave up to visit Monthly Meetings, to help the weak and to move forward the wheels of discipline, which, especially at the first, moved very heavily; for although we had many in the county under our profession, yet few of them had their hands clean enough to handle the affairs of the church; many being, as it were, crippled with unfaithfulness, especially in their mean and cowardly compliance with the anti-christian demand of tithes and things of that nature, which of itself unfits for service amongst us; for I never saw much, if any, true living zeal for the cause of God, in those who have fallen into this defection. Oh! the darkness and cause of stumbling it has occasioned in this poor county, and in other places where it has prevailed. We found ourselves concerned, repeatedly to visit such in their families, laboring in Christian love, to bring them into a sense of the inconsistency of their conduct with their profession therein; which labor, though prevalent with some, has been no otherwise successful in general, than the discharge of that duty which one member of a religious community owes to another; and by bringing the judgment of Truth in some degree over them, they became more distinguished from the faithful.

We had great peace in this labor, though hard and unpleasant, as we found them dark and difficult to be reached to, a few excepted. However, these endeavors greatly tended to exalt Truth's testimony, for which our worthy predecessors deeply suffered. In process of time, through the blessed assistance of our holy Head, engaging a small remnant to labor in the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for a reformation, good order has been much promoted, and our Christian discipline in its several branches, has been in a good degree put in practice; and some came to understand that it is necessary to receive wisdom and strength from God, for maintaining that work. So that, although things in that respect, through the unsoundness and lukewarmness of many professors, are now low, yet the Lord continues to be gracious, in affording us the blessed assistance of his holy Spirit, both in our meetings for divine worship and those for discipline; whereby some are enabled in meekness to labor for maintaining his cause, notwithstanding the discouragement they meet with, not only from a view of the languid state of the Society in general, but also from the brittle jealous spirits of some.

Having labored in our own county, according to ability received of God, for without his divine assistance, I have, by long experience, known I could do nothing, I attended the sittings of the Yearly Meeting in London as they fell in course, therein to join with the sincere travelers for

Zion's prosperity, in the important care of Truth's affairs throughout the world; this weighty engagement coming more upon some of us than heretofore, as many of the elders and faithful laborers were removed to their rest. Our valuable friends John Churchman and William Brown from Pennsylvania, were at several of the first Yearly Meetings after my settling in this nation. They labored in these nations in the service of Truth nearly four years, having left affectionate wives and children for Truth's sake. Such noble disinterested endeavors, without any view towards temporal interest, are a very great mystery to the worldly wise. The above named Friends were great and good instruments in the Lord's hand, not only at the Yearly Meetings, but also in their travels up and down, for the promotion of discipline and good order in the churches; though not without considerable opposition from some, who, under pretense of acting for the good of the Society, were in reality advocates for undue liberty.

Notwithstanding some such difficulties, the Lord has greatly strengthened the hands of his pained ones for Zion's welfare, and blessed his work to the promoting of good order, as the likeliest means of reviving ancient beauty and comeliness; there having been great stirrings and much labor of late years, to bring the several members of the Society into the holy order of the Gospel. May the Lord yet continue the blessing of wisdom and strength, that the work may be carried on, to the praise of his worthy name and the preservation of his people, is the earnest prayer of my soul.

I set out the 16th of the sixth month, 1751, intending to take some meetings in my way to the circular Yearly Meeting for the western counties, to be held at Broomsgrove in Worcestershire, and from there to visit the meetings of Friends in Wales. I first went to the burial of a Friend at Stebbing, and proceeded through Walden, Cambridge and Huntington, to Wellingborough in Northamptonshire; and attended both their meetings on a first-day; having close earnest labor, in a sense of great dulness, and much insensibility prevailing on many professors. My spirit was greatly burdened therewith; but the Lord was pleased to arise and dispel the darkness in a good degree, giving me thorough service, especially in the afternoon; I hope not easily to be forgotten. I went away greatly relieved, and had a meeting at Coventry, which was heavy and laborious, though I was, through divine favor, enabled to wade through to my own ease, in a good degree.

I had a good open meeting that evening at Nun-Eaton; there being but one family of Friends in the town, but a large number of others were at the meeting; several of whom seemed affected with the testimony of Truth. I had a close exercising meeting the next day at Atherstone, where things were very low, yet Truth arose and opened doctrine for their help; and that evening one at Polesworth, which was open and comfortable.

From there I went to Woolverhampton, where I had a small meeting, things being very low. At

Colebrookdale meeting, I had close thorough service, tending to stir up Friends to diligence, as well as to encourage the upright-hearted; then to Shrewsbury, where the number of professors was very small, and the life of religion very much depressed, not only by the lukewarmness of some, but also by a blasting, lifeless ministry, which they had long sat under; doubtless, to the great uneasiness of the few sensible amongst them. I had a painful sense of the great hurt thereof in that meeting, being concerned to sit the meeting in silence, I believe, as an example to Friends, and rebuke to that forward unsanctified spirit: the same soon after was made manifest both to Friends and others to be very corrupt, and was deservedly testified against by the Monthly Meeting.

I have several times, in my travels, perceived great hurt to the prosperity of Truth, by such unsanctified pretenders to a divine commission, intruding themselves into the ministry; but always have apprehended them a bad sort of people to deal with by advice and caution, as they are commonly very positive and self-willed; being seldom, in this declined state of the church, without a party, who had rather have almost any kind of ministry than silence. This makes it much more difficult for those, who have a right sense of their spirits, to bring the judgment of Truth over such; as those above-mentioned are apt to screen them, and cover their heads, unless they manifest themselves, which has frequently happened, by their being guilty of some immoral conduct.

I went after meeting to visit two Friends, who had been imprisoned a considerable time for refusing to pay tithes. As soon as I had entered the place of their confinement, I sensibly felt that the Son of peace was there. My mind was brought into great nearness, unity, and Christian sympathy with them in their suffering state, which they appeared to bear with cheerfulness and resignation to the divine will. The sense of the great importance of the testimony they were concerned to maintain, by suffering for it, and what our worthy predecessors went through, in nasty stinking prisons and dungeons, where many of them ended their days in support thereof, who may be very justly numbered amongst the faithful martyrs of Jesus Christ, overcame my mind with tenderness to that degree, that I could not presently discourse with them about their sufferings. We had a blessed opportunity together, and took our leave of each other, in the sweet enjoyment of the pure love of God. Oh, how much more joyous and refreshing it is to visit such faithful sufferers, than to visit carnal professors of the same Truth, who violate that precious testimony, by voluntarily putting into the priests' mouths, lest they should prepare war against them, making religion bow down to their supposed temporal interest, thereby not only declaring themselves mere pretenders thereto, but also increasing the sufferings of those under the same profession who dare not temporize!

I returned to Colebrookdale, where I had a hard trying meeting held in silence; and went to

Birmingham, where I had been several times before, and generally had painful laborious meetings; but now it pleased divine Goodness to favor with openness and good authority, to declare the Truth largely, I believe to the stirring up of the careless, at least to a present sense of their duties; as well as to the comfort and edification of the honest-hearted, and to my own peace and relief.

From this place I went to Broomsgrove, in order to attend the Yearly Meeting, which began on first-day, the 1st of the seventh month, being held in a barn, fitted up by Friends for that purpose: it ended the third day following; many ministering Friends attended it, some of whom were largely opened by the power and wisdom of Truth, to publish the Gospel tidings with clearness and good demonstration. The people, though numerous, being generally very still and attentive, appeared to receive the testimony of Truth with pleasure, and things were in the main well conducted. Here my friend John Bradford joined me as a companion. We had a large meeting at Worcester on fourth-day, in which Truth had comfortable dominion, especially near the conclusion, to the great satisfaction and joy of many hearts. Blessed be the Lord our God, for his continued favors to his people! On fifth-day we had a small poor meeting at Broomyard in Herefordshire; things being very low in that place, as respects Truth and Friends. On sixth-day we had a meeting at Leominster; the fore part was very cloudy and painful, yet by the gracious springing up of light and life, I got through my service therein to good satisfaction. The next day, being the seventh of the week, I went to my dear mother's in Radnorshire. On first-day, the neighbors being apprized of my being come, flocked to the Pales meeting in abundance. The Lord was pleased to favor me with a large open time, to declare his everlasting Truth amongst them, with which they appeared to be much affected. I had another such opportunity with Friends and many others, at Talcoyd, near my mother's house. They seemed greatly affected with the virtue of Truth; but I fear they stumble at the cross. On second-day we had a meeting at a place called the Coom, about six miles from my mother's, pretty open and comfortable. On fourth-day, the 11th, I took leave of my worthy affectionate mother, relations and Friends thereabout, having my brother Benjamin for our guide over the bleak mountains into Cardiganshire. The wind blew hard and it rained, but through mercy we received very little harm.

Next day we had a small poor meeting at one Evans's. Religion was at a very low ebb in that place, and my chief business, as far as I could see, was to detect a vile impostor, who had, by a feigned and hypocritical show, got the advantage of the weakness and credulity of Friends there. I never had seen him before, that I know of, but my spirit was exceedingly burdened with his deceitful groanings and feigned agitation in the meeting, and was satisfied his spirit was very foul and corrupt, as it was like a nuisance to me all the time. I warned Friends to be aware of him, and to keep him at a distance; but they seemed willing to hope that there was some good in him, as he appeared so much concerned in meetings. I saw whereabouts they were who

pleaded thus, as they seemed taken with, and rather to approve of, what was so very offensive and even odious to me, namely, his pretended exercise in that meeting. But if people will lay hold suddenly on such, they must partake with them in their sins; for this man afterward discovered himself to be very bad, by being guilty of gross wickedness. I think the meeting was held in silence.

We went to a place called Penbank in Carmarthenshire, where a meeting was held next day to pretty good satisfaction, being favored with matter and utterance for their help, though things appeared low; in the evening I had a very poor afflicting meeting at Penplace; where great slackness and weakness appeared in the few professors. We were quite silent as to public ministry. We went from there to Carmarthen, and attended their meetings on first-day; and had good open service therein, especially in the afternoon, many of the neighbors coming in: the testimony of Truth went forth freely and largely amongst them, with which they appeared to be much reached and affected; and might, I hope, tend to remove a prejudice they had imbibed, from the misconduct of one or more, of high pretensions lately in that place, but then removed.

We had a meeting on second-day in the evening, at Laugharn, where very few, if any properly of our Society, resided; many of the neighbors came in, and we had a good opportunity amongst them, in the free extendings of Gospel love; the doctrine whereof seemed to have a considerable reach upon them. On third-day we had a meeting amongst a few professors at Jamestown. It being their harvest time, they seemed more concerned about their corn than religion; several rushing out in a disorderly manner, to take care of that, as there was some appearance of rain.

It was with much difficulty we procured a guide to Haverfordwest. At length we prevailed on a young woman to go, who seemed to have the most lively sense of religion of any amongst them. Having a large ferry to cross over Milford Haven, we were so hindered, as not to reach the place, until about an hour after the time appointed for the meeting, to our great uneasiness. This meeting was, for the most part, held in silence; yet near the conclusion, I had some things given me to deliver, with considerable weight and Gospel authority. I went next to Redstone, where the meeting was small, yet open and comfortable; then to Carmarthen, and next day to Swansea, about thirty miles, being a very rough open road; and the day very stormy, so that we were exceedingly wet. Great care was taken of us, when we got to our friend Paul Bevan's house, so that, through mercy, we received but very little harm.

On first-day, being the 22nd, we attended their meetings; that in the forenoon was held in silent labor. In the afternoon I had a close searching testimony to bear, tending to stir up and arouse Friends to more zeal and fervour of mind; and was favored to get through to satisfaction.

On third-day we had a poor small meeting amongst a few Friends at Freeveraque. I had nothing to administer, but an example of silence. We went after meeting to Pontypool, and next day had a precious open meeting; the testimony of Truth went forth with good authority and clearness, and the upright in heart were sweetly comforted in the enjoyment of the Lord's presence, returning him the praise, who is worthy forever!

On sixth-day, the 27th, we crossed the Severn at the New-Passage, and went that night to the widow Young's at Earthcott; had a hard trying meeting there next day; after which we went to Bristol, and on first-day, the 29th, attended three meetings there; the first two were held in painful distressing silence, and the last also, except a few words near the breaking up of it. This was the first of my visiting that city, and a time not easily to be forgotten by me. It was indeed a season of sore mourning and lamentation, in a sense of their great declension. There was very little to be seen or felt of that plainness, pure simplicity, humility and contempt of the world, so conspicuous in their worthy predecessors, who trampled upon the glory of this world, counting it as dross and dung, in comparison of the smiles of the Lord's countenance and being clothed with the beautiful garment of his salvation. Oh, how was the choicest vine planted, made to spread and mightily to prosper, through great suffering and persecution, in that city, in early times; sufficiently, one would think, to have deeply established the permanency thereof, and to have recommended its superior dignity and excellency to many generations! May not that of the apostle to the Galatians, be justly applied to them? "O foolish Galatians! who has bewitched you, that you should not obey the Truth; before whose eyes Jesus Christ has been evidently set forth, crucified amongst you? Are you so foolish, having begun in the spirit, are you now made perfect by the flesh?"

I parted with my companion at Bristol, and turned my face homewards, taking meetings in my way to London, at Frenchay, Corsham, Chippenham, Cain and Reading; in all which I had considerable openness, largely and with good authority, to publish the doctrine of Truth, to my own peace, and I hope to the comfort and help of many; though in some places my spirit was much pained with a sense of the prevailing indifference and lukewarmness, in this day of ease and outward plenty.

On seventh-day, the 5th of the eighth month, I got to London, and staid their meetings on first-day. After which I returned home, and found my dear wife and family well, to our mutual comfort; being thankful to the kind hand of Providence, whose goodness attends those who trust in him, both in heights and depths; taking care of their bodies, souls and those outward benefits he has bountifully favored them with; affording real comfort therein, with his blessing, which makes truly rich, and adds no sorrow with it. I was out on this journey about eight weeks, and traveled about seven hundred and forty miles, having been at about forty meetings.

I have preserved very little or no account of short journeys and services in this and the adjacent counties; in which, however, I was several times engaged to labor, both at Quarterly and other meetings, for reviving ancient zeal and diligence. But alas! the inordinate love of worldly enjoyments, good in themselves, covers the minds of many professors, like thick clay, who are exceedingly hard to be made sensible of the chiefest good, so that I have often feared some of them will not hear, until the Lord is provoked to speak with a louder voice in judgment, from which they will not be able to turn aside or in any way to shun. Many in our Society, as in others, having departed from the life, rest satisfied in a profession of religion: some also have departed from the power and form too, in a great degree; appearing neither one thing nor another. Could they see themselves as judicious persons see them, shame and confusion of face would cover them.

The next considerable journey I have any account of, was entered upon the 27th of the eighth month, 1753, in order to visit Friends in some parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, etc. I met some Friends at Walden, who with myself were appointed by the Quarterly Meeting to visit that Monthly Meeting for its help. I was largely opened in the meeting of worship, to set forth the beauty, order and excellent harmony of the several members in the church of Christ; and Truth had considerable dominion therein, to our great comfort. This prepared our minds for close and painful labor with wrong spirits in the meeting of business, who had the boldness to plead that the payment of tithes was justifiable, because required by the laws of the land; not considering the gross absurdity of making human laws to be preferred before the laws of Christ, however contrary thereto, and enjoined as an absolute rule for Christians; unless they suppose it impossible that any human laws can be made contrary to Christ's laws, which is equally absurd. Such an opinion tends to invalidate the great sufferings and martyrdom of all those, who gave up every thing they had in this world, and even their lives, rather than actively comply with the laws of the land, when they believed them inconsistent with the nature of Christianity, and therefore a transgression of God's law. But the ground of the misapprehension, which such reasoners fall into, appears to be a presumption that the source of property is in the law, and that the laws of the land can alienate the right of one, without rendering him any equivalent, and give it to another, who had no right therein before. But right and wrong are immutable, and cannot be altered by human laws, which only grant people aid to preserve and recover that which of right appears to belong to them; so that human laws cannot bind the conscience, any further than they are consistent with the laws of God.

When a sincere Christian is persuaded they enjoin any thing contrary to the perfect law of liberty in his own mind, he may not actively resist, but passively suffer the penalty thereof, whereby he faithfully bears his testimony against the iniquity of such a law, and so far contributes to have it removed. Tithes under the Gospel, being an anti-christian, popish error, and the

laws enjoining their payment being grounded upon a supposition, that they are due to God and holy church, how can any clearly enlightened person pay them in any shape, as he thereby assents to that great error and contributes to support it, to the great scandal and abuse of the Christian religion, and that noble, free, disinterested ministry, instituted by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; whose direction in that case is, "Freely you have received, freely give?" Much more might be said to manifest the absurdity of such a plea for the payment of tithes; but I would hope there are not many amongst us so blinded by the god of this world, as to adopt such an argument. Truth prevailed in the meeting, and the testimony thereof was exalted over all such spirits. Praises to our God for his gracious assistance, mercifully afforded to all those who put their trust in him alone!

I proceeded on my journey and had meetings at Godmanchester, Oakham and Leicester; and had close searching labor, in order that careless, lukewarm professors might be stirred up and awakened to a sense of their states. The testimony of Truth also flowed forth at times, as a refreshing stream of encouragement to the mourners in Zion and sincere travelers thitherward. From there I went to Nottingham, and had a meeting; the Lord graciously favoring with wisdom and utterance, to divide the word aright to the several states of those present. Truth greatly prevailed, overshadowing the meeting to the rejoicing of many hearts.

Next day I had a small meeting at Furness in Derbyshire, wherein I had close labor with indolent professors, who, neglecting their own proper business, were too much depending upon the labors of others, to their great loss; besides which, such unwarrantable dependence greatly tends to load and depress the life in those concerned, making their exercises much greater. The next meeting I had was at Matlock, which was large; the greater part being people of other persuasions. It was, through the blessed efficacy of the Word of life, an open good time, and the doctrines of Truth were largely declared; showing that the world by wisdom knows not God, as well as how and to whom he is pleased to make himself known. The meeting was much affected with the virtue of Truth, which was eminently extended that day, and I hope would not be easily forgotten by many. I went from there to Sheffield, and attended their meetings on first-day, which were large. In the morning my spirit was deeply baptized into a painful sense of the empty formal state of some, and also of the undue liberties of many others. I was made willing and resigned to go down into suffering on their account; that if it pleased the Lord, I might be the better qualified to administer effectually to their several states, as experience has taught me repeatedly, that I could not speak feelingly to mankind for their help and recovery, in any other way. At the afternoon meeting I was concerned to lay their several states open before them. It was a blessed and seasonable opportunity, tending much to their awakening to a sense of duty, and I think it may with thankfulness be said, Truth was over all.

The next meeting I had was at Highflats, which was large, there being a numerous body of plain Friends, as to the outward appearance, belonging thereto. It was a laborious meeting, but through divine favor, there was strength afforded to lay before them in a close pressing manner, the great danger of resting contented in a decent form of religion without the life and power thereof. I hope it was a profitable time to many.

I went from there to Brighthouse meeting, wherein matter and utterance were given, tending to arouse the indolent and to encourage those who were truly concerned for Truth's prosperity. The meeting at Rawden was very large and open, and the testimony of Truth had dominion. I had a pretty open meeting next day at Bradford; after which I went to visit a friend who was very low and weak in body, few expecting her recovery. I felt the pure virtue of the holy anointing to be with her, and had it given me to signify, that I did believe the Lord would raise her up for further service, which accordingly came to pass.

I went from there to Leeds, and attended their meetings on first-day. In the forenoon the testimony of Truth was greatly exalted, in setting forth the power and efficacy of living faith: it was a glorious time, Truth being over all. In the afternoon, it was thought several hundreds attended, mostly of the people called Methodists. I was quite shut up as to ministry, I thought, in order to set an example of the important duty of silence to Friends and others. The meeting concluded with an awful solemnity, which I hope was profitable to many. I went to Skipton, where the meeting was large, and the power of God's eternal Truth went forth in a searching, awakening testimony, as well as in a refreshing stream of consolation to those who stood in need of encouragement in their travels towards the city of God. The meeting next day at Airton was a heavy painful time of silence in the fore part; but the Lord was pleased to appear and afford ability to search some barren professors, by opening their states to them, with which they seemed somewhat affected; but alas! how hard it is to reach effectually unto those who are settled as upon their lees, living in a state of mind that can rest satisfied in an empty profession.

Next day I had a pretty large meeting at Settle: there I found the life of religion much depressed with an earthly formal spirit; but through divine goodness, Truth arose and prevailed over it for the present, and was exalted, as being the one thing needful. I went from there to Lothersdale, where I had a very large meeting; the Lord enabling me, who am otherwise a poor helpless creature, to bear a thorough testimony, suited to the various states of those present; and his glorious name was exalted above every name. From there I went to the house of my beloved friends Jonathan and Margaret Raine, at Trawden; whom, for their tender regard to me when I wanted succour both for body and mind, I have heretofore had occasion to mention; as likewise the Ecroyd family. We greatly rejoiced in the opportunity of one another's company once met their Quarterly Meeting, being accompanied by my friend Jonathan Raine. I was at the Monthly

re; Truth having nearly united us in our former acquaintance. I staid there something more than a week, attending several meetings there and at Marsden-height; at some of which the Lord was eminently with us, opening the wells of salvation, that we might drink together and sing praises to him the Fountain of all good. I had great openness in my service amongst them; and we took our leave of one another in a sweet sense of God's love uniting our hearts one to another.

On second-day, the 1st of the tenth month, I set out for Lancaster, in order to be a Meeting there on third-day, where I had considerable service. Fourth-day in the morning, was held their meeting of ministers and elders; which was to comfort and edification. I found myself concerned to set forth the nature of true Gospel ministry; as also to point out some dangers which, without a steady care and watchfulness, might attend those exercised therein. I hope it was a profitable opportunity to some present. The same day was held the Quarterly Meeting, wherein the Lord was graciously pleased, according to his customary goodness, to appear for the help of his sincerely concerned laborers. Blessed be his worthy name, he is found of those that truly seek him, and does not fail those who lean upon him, and not to their own understanding, nor to former experience of his assisting power and wisdom. Truth was greatly in dominion and Friends much edified, the unity of the one spirit being livingly enjoyed.

I went next day, accompanied by Samuel Fothergill, William Backhouse and William Dilworth, to the Quarterly Meeting at Kendal. The select meeting for ministers and elders was held that afternoon; and I had some good open service therein, on the nature of Gospel ministry and the mysterious workings of Satan in his transformations. It was a time of edification and comfort. Next day was held the Quarterly Meeting; the fore part for worship, and afterward for the discipline of the church, wherein I had some service. Things were low: we had a large meeting in the evening, both of Friends and others; it was, through the pure efficacy of divine virtue, a blessed opportunity. I was largely opened in testimony concerning Christ, the divine light, who enlightens every man that comes into the world. It ended in solemn prayer and praises to Almighty God; our friend Samuel Fothergill being engaged therein, in a very powerful and affecting manner. I staid at Kendal to attend their first-day meetings; at both which, especially the latter, I was very largely opened to declare the Truth with power, which affected and tendered many hearts, there being a great number of Friends, mostly of a younger sort, in that meeting; it having been stripped, like many other places of late, of several substantial elders. My labor was very earnest, that the rising youth might come rightly under the yoke of Christ, that they might be really prepared and fitted to succeed those who are removed hence, having finished their day's work.

Accompanied by several Friends, I had a meeting at Grayrigg, to good satisfaction. The testimony of Truth went forth with clearness and demonstration, tending to awaken the careless, as

well as to strengthen and encourage the honest hearted. I returned to Kendal, and went next day to a general meeting at Windermoor. The Lord's blessed power was livingly felt in that meeting, whereby I was enabled, from the expressions of our Lord to Nicodemus, to show the necessity of regeneration or the new birth; a doctrine highly necessary to be pressingly recommended to the youth in our Society and carefully weighed by them, lest any should vainly hope for an entrance into the kingdom of God, by succeeding their ancestors in the profession and confession of the Truth. A lamentable error! which many I fear have fallen into, imagining they are God's people, without his nature being brought forth in them; or, as says the apostle, being made partakers of the divine nature, and escaping the corruptions that are in the world through lust. Great opportunity have such by education, the writings of our predecessors, and also by the Gospel ministry with which the Lord has been pleased to bless our Society, to collect and treasure up a great deal of knowledge in the speculative understanding part, even to profess and confess the Truth in the same words or language made use of, by those who really learned it in the school of Christ. This is no more than an image or picture of the thing itself, without life or savor; and where it is trusted to is an abomination to God and his people.

I have touched the more closely on this head, being apprehensive the danger is very great to which the rising youth are exposed, by dwelling securely and at ease, as it were, in houses they have not built, and enjoying vineyards they never planted; for great are their advantages above others, if rightly improved; otherwise they must increase the weight of their condemnation. I have often looked upon the mournful condition of those who trust in the religion of their education, to be aptly set forth in the holy Scriptures, by a hungry man dreaming that he eats, and behold when he awakes, his soul is empty. Oh, that all may deeply and carefully ponder in their hearts, what they have known in deed and in truth, of the new birth, with the sore labor and pangs thereof! I cannot but believe, if they are serious and consider the importance of the case, that they will soon discover how it is with them in this respect, by observing which way their minds are bent and thoughts employed, whether towards earthly or heavenly things. To those who are born from above or risen with Christ, which is the same thing, it is natural to seek those things which are above; their affections being fixed thereon. So on the other hand, that which is born of the flesh is but flesh, and can rise no higher than what appertains to this transitory world; for flesh and blood cannot inherit God's kingdom; and it is said, those who are in the flesh cannot please God. The apostolic advice therefore, is to walk in the Spirit; that is, let the Spirit of Christ be your guide and director, how to order your lives and conduct in all things; for the children of God are led by his Spirit. I have often greatly feared, lest the descendants of the Lord's worthies, who were full of faith and good works, should take their rest in the outside of things, valuing themselves on being the offspring of such: a sorrowful mistake which the Jews fell into! May all duly consider that it is impossible to be the children of Abraham, unless they do the works of Abraham.

Truth was greatly in dominion that day, and many hearts were much tendered and contrited before the Lord; to whom be everlasting praises, Amen! The next meeting was at the Height, where I had close arousing service, in order to awaken careless formal professors. The day following I had a large meeting at Coltis, near Hawkshead, where I was favored with great openness upon the nature of true faith, and that it must be evidenced by good works; for faith, when only an assent or consent of the mind to principles of religion true in themselves, being alone, is dead, as a body is, without the spirit. The power of Truth had great dominion, it being a time not easily to be forgotten. The next day I had a meeting at Swarthmore; where also I was led to speak largely of faith, of historical and implicit faith, and to set forth the nature of that faith which was once delivered to the saints, and was their victory over the world and all the corruptions thereof. It works by love, to the purifying of the heart, and when the heart is made pure, we can see God. "Blessed are the pure in heart, said Christ, for they shall see God." And his apostle said, "By faith we come to see him that is invisible." It is plain from the holy Scripture, that it proceeds from the Holy Spirit in man; for it is the evidence of things not seen, and the substance of things hoped for. No man can possibly please God without it. O that mankind would carefully examine themselves, whether or no they be in this faith! If they be in it, they cannot be strangers to Christ, inwardly revealed; for he dwells in the hearts of true believers by faith; his kingdom being within, where all his laws and ordinances are discovered, clearly understood and willingly obeyed. When this faith is received and held in a pure conscience, there is no complaint of hard things being required, or his commandments being grievous; but a soul endued with this powerful principle, can say with sincerity, the Lord's ways are ways of pleasantness, and his paths are paths of peace. It was a good time, and I hope profitable to many.

The next meeting I had was at Preston, near Kendal; there I was earnestly concerned to stir up Friends to more faithfulness and a closer union one with another. It was a laborious time, but the blessed Truth prevailed and carried through, to my own ease in a good degree. The meeting at Brigflats, near Sedburg, was large, and for some time heavy and afflicting; but it pleased the great Master of our assemblies to arise, without whose gracious help his poor instruments can do nothing to any good purpose. It was a solemn awakening time, I hope to be remembered by many. I had a meeting next day at Ravenstondale, which was a laborious trying time: my way was shut up as to ministry, and Friends seemed at ease in a profession. When this is the case, the life of religion is exceedingly depressed; so that those who feel its state, must suffer therewith, until it please the Lord to raise his pure Seed, in judgment against evil in people's minds: then man falls under for the present, and confesses to that name or power given under heaven for his salvation. But alas! he soon denies it again, by giving way to a contrary power; an enemy to God and his own soul. In such ups and downs, changes and conflicts, by the working of contrary powers in their minds, many weary out their days in vain, because they will not

resolve to choose the good and to eschew the evil, that they might be established upon the Rock of ages forever.

The next day I had another meeting at Preston; it was a time of close labor, yet through gracious help, I hope it was serviceable. I went from there to Yeoland; this was a suffering time, much of the testimony given me to bear, went forth sharply against such who were strong and confident in profession, without real experience of the living virtue and holy efficacy of God's eternal Truth, to quicken and season their spirits. We find it very hard to gain any entrance on such. The testimony is often felt to rebound, which in low times is a great discouragement to the poor instrument. Here the faith and patience of the Gospel must be exercised. I understood after meeting, that the state of some present had been remarkably spoken to that day, which tended to humble my mind in thankfulness before the Lord, for his gracious help and guidance.

After these exercising painful times, doubts are apt to enter and fears to possess the mind, lest we have been mistaken in what we apprehended the Lord required of us to deliver. I say us, as I do not doubt that it has been the experience of many others as well as mine. This ought to be carefully guarded against, lest the poor instrument sink below its service, by giving away its strength and sure defense. The soul's armor and weapons being thus imprudently given away or cast off, our spirits are weaker than those of others, and consequently fall under them. Here that dominion, in which there is ability to teach, may be lost.

There is great danger also, on the other hand, of being too confident and secure. I have observed some, after they have darkened counsel by a multitude of words without right knowledge, and exceedingly burdened the living, appear quite cheerful and full of satisfaction, seeming as if thoroughly pleased themselves. This is a lamentable blindness, and discovers them to be at a great distance from the dictates and holy impressions of Truth. This is what all ought earnestly to pray they may be preserved from, walking carefully in the middle path, retaining a jealousy over themselves, with a single eye to God's honor and the promotion of his Truth. Then will their feet be shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, and will appear beautiful upon the mountains.

I went from Yeoland to Lancaster, and attended their meetings on first-day, where I had good open service, Truth being comfortably in dominion, and Friends thereby nearly united one to another. From Lancaster I went to meetings at Fylde, Frekleston, Preston, Langtree and Ashton. They were generally small, and the life of religion at a very low ebb. I was favored with strength to discharge the service required, in a close painful labor for their help and recovery. But alas! great is the declension in those parts, and I fear it is but little laid to heart. The next was Hardshaw general meeting, which was very large, and although heavy and painful in the fore part, yet, through divine goodness, it proved a solemn, serviceable meeting, and by

strength and wisdom received from above, several weighty Gospel truths were delivered, to the comfort and edification of many. That evening I had a large meeting at Warrington; but as heretofore in the same place, I felt their life and dependence was too much upon and after declarations. I found it my duty to disappoint that spirit, by sitting in silence. I went from there to my valuable friends John and Joshua Toft's, near Leek in Staffordshire, having Samuel Fothergill for company and guide. I had a serviceable meeting at Leek; my labor was close in plain dealing with some, who appeared to me exalted in their own wisdom and conceit of themselves, so that the simplicity of the Truth was overlooked by them.

On fifth-day, the 1st of the eleventh month, accompanied by Joshua Toft, I went to Stafford, and had a small poor meeting there. Next day in the evening we had a meeting at Tamworth, which was large, being chiefly made up with the considerable inhabitants of the town. The public service thereof fell upon my companion, with which I was well pleased, but found my mind not clear of Friends belonging to that meeting, and therefore desired to have a meeting with them next day, at a Friend's house, as I was desirous to have Friends only. I had close searching service amongst them, to my comfort and great relief in the end.

On first-day, the 4th, I was at Birmingham meetings; the forenoon was a good open time, wherein the testimony of Truth was exalted; but the afternoon proved a heavy painful meeting; and my way was quite shut up as to ministry.

Apprehending myself discharged from further service in this journey, on second-day morning I set my face homewards, and got to Northampton that night, next day to Hitchin, and home on fourth-day, the 7th of the eleventh month, finding my dear wife and family well; being thankful, as we had great cause, to the Fountain of all our mercies, for his providential care over us, when outwardly separated for his service sake.

I was from home on this journey, about ten weeks and three days, in which time I traveled, by account, about seven hundred and sixty miles, and was at about fifty-five meetings.'

CHAPTER 7

Travels with John Churchman—Visits London in company with Peter Andrews—Severe illness—Visits the meetings in Kent, Sussex and Hampshire—Remarks on the state of Christendom and of the Society of Friends—Journey into Lincolnshire, York, Lancaster, etc.

In the year 1754, I traveled with my esteemed friend John Churchman, through Hampshire, the

Isle of Wight, and part of Surry; the particulars whereof I cannot at present find; but I remember it was the last of his travels in this nation, and that we were nearly united in the service; the power and wisdom of Truth being livingly and comfortably with us, enabling us to labor with diligence for the promotion of Truth and our own peace.

In the fore part of the year 1756, being in company with my esteemed friend Peter Andrews from America, visiting meetings in the city of London, I was seized with a violent disorder, and it was with considerable difficulty I got home, and soon took my chamber, where I continued many weeks under great affliction of body, and also of mind at times, which I have several times experienced as a further trial of my faith and patience. The Lord has been pleased to withdraw his comforting enlivening presence, I have thought rather more so in those times of bodily afflictions, than at others, for wise ends, best known to himself. Oh! who can understand or conceive the anxiety of the mind when this is the case, except those who have felt the same? But through divine favor, it was not so with me always, especially in the last of my great illnesses, which was the latter end of 1758, when the joys of heaven so opened upon my soul, as I had never known before, which made me willing to hope that I was near entering into the full fruition thereof. How strong were my desires then to be dissolved, and to be with Christ forever! I was ready to say, now let your servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen your salvation! But I was not then accepted herein, neither was my mind afterwards free from some fears and doubts, that I had offended a gracious God, by an over-anxious desire to be removed from a militant to a triumphant state. The example of our Lord, though he was the only begotten Son, in addressing the Father, is highly worthy to be ever remembered by us, in all our desires and prayers, namely, “Nevertheless, not my will, but yours be done!”

The above hints may fall into the hands of some poor afflicted persons, to whom they may afford comfort, by observing that they are not singular in their trials, and from there, through the divine blessings, they may receive encouragement; which is my reason for penning them, as well as many other remarks in the course of this journal; even of my most inward and hidden trials. I have had great cause to bless and praise the Lord, many times since, when I have observed the great advantage of those pinching seasons of affliction, how much they tend to refine, and to establish the soul upon the Rock of ages, yielding the peaceable fruits of righteousness to those who are properly exercised thereby.

I had very little health from the time that I was taken before-mentioned, for about two years; yet was enabled, in 1757, to visit Friends' meetings in Kent, Sussex and some few meetings in Hampshire, etc.

I set out from home the 12th of the seventh month, and crossed the river Thames at Gravesend, where by appointment I met my friend Joseph Taylor, and with him, Joseph Wood and Stephen

Jackson, all from London. We went that afternoon to Rochester, where about six o'clock in the evening we had a meeting, there being a meeting-house; though I think but one person, a young woman, who made profession with us. Many others came, and there was an openness to declare the doctrines of Truth largely amongst them, which I hope was not altogether in vain.

From there we all went to Canterbury, except Stephen Jackson, who returned home. We had a meeting there, made up chiefly of professors with us. The testimony of Truth went forth in a close searching manner, and through mercy, it was exalted over all of a contrary nature. The Lord had the praise, and his sincere followers, satisfaction and comfort.

We had a meeting next at a place called Burchington, where there was a meetinghouse, but none of our Society living in that place. The people filled the house, and many were out of doors; they appeared in general ignorant, yet the Lord, with whom there is no respect of persons, opened the doctrines of the Gospel largely, and in a reaching affecting manner, by which many seemed to be tendered.

Next day we had a meeting at Drapers, near Margate, which was small, and things low as to the life of religion. In a very small meeting in the evening at Deal, I had some close service; after which, one person gave me sufficient cause to see that there was need of it.

The next meeting was at Dover, being on seventh-day in the evening, as I was desirous of being at Folkstone on the day following. Truth opened doctrine and counsel for their help and edification, there being some lately convinced of our principles, who appeared tender and hopeful. I had good satisfaction amongst the few Friends in that place. At Folkstone the meetings were large, but the life of religion mournfully low and borne down, not only with those things commonly called undue liberties in many, but also with the form of religion, without the power of it in others. I had, as it were, a threshing instrument put into my hands, and was enabled to discharge the service required, to my great ease and relief; for my spirit was exceedingly loaded and bowed down at that place. Oh! what a pity it is, that old professors, instead of being as pillars in the house of God, and as Aarons and Hurs, bearing part of the Lord's great work, so happily and gloriously begun in the earth, should be a means of obstructing the same, and by the carnality of their spirits, burden and greatly depress the Word of life in the messengers of Christ, sent in order to carry it on amongst mankind; thereby rendering themselves altogether unworthy to be named by his name, to taste of his dainties, or to live under this glorious manifestation of evangelical light and truth, to mankind!

Is not the great design of the Almighty obvious, in gathering us as a people into his fold, to sit under his teachings, and consequently under his glorious manifestation, showering upon us great plenty of rain from above, and heavenly dew as upon Hermon's hills, that we might be as

the garden of the Lord, full of fruitful plants and fragrant flowers, sending forth a sweet smell, yes, to be as a fountain of gardens, and wells of living water, and streams from the goodly beautiful mountains of Lebanon. It is written, "Out of the belly of him that believes, shall flow rivers of living water." By this it plainly appears, that the Lord's chosen people are like conduits, channels, or waterspouts, to convey the water of life into the wilderness, that it may become a fruitful field, and that the desert land may come to rejoice, and blossom as a rose; also into the sea, that is, amongst the nations, languages, tongues and people, to heal the fishes that are in this sea, the backsliders and distempered of mankind.

But oh, how slowly does this work go on! and what a little progress it has yet made, to what was expected by those valiants, who first engaged against Babylon in the morning of our day, and made that kingdom shake! Many under the same profession in this day, are turned against the Truth, and at the same time that they pretend to maintain its cause, are supporting and strengthening the kingdom of Babylon all in their power, which is exceedingly strange, and perhaps would not be believed by hundreds that really are doing it. The reason is, they first of all have taken some draughts of the wine, out of Babylon's golden cup, whereby they are so intoxicated, as not to know what they are doing; so that, when they think they are serving God, they are serving satan. Were not the Jews drunk with this cup, when they dreamed that God was their father, and at the same time were in reality of their father the devil, doing his works, when they thought they were doing God's works? This, woful mistake has been, and is almost general amongst mankind. When they suppress the measure of grace in themselves, and drink a few draughts as above said, they are then fit to follow anti-christ whithersoever he will lead them. But he will take care, not to have much cross to the will of the flesh in his religion, lest they should be tempted to leave him; that being the very reason of the violence they have offered to the divine Witness, which formerly rose up against them in their minds, that is, because they saw if they followed that, the cross must be taken up, and self must be denied. At this they have stumbled; and although little sense is at present retained thereof, by reason of their intoxication, yet when they are summoned before the judgment-seat of Christ, and the books come to be opened, all will then see things as they really are, which do not at all change their natures, though, by the defect in the capacity before, described, they be not seen or understood.

It is worthy to be remembered, and deeply pondered by great numbers in our Society, that it was the rebellion and unfaithfulness of the children of Israel, that was the cause of their being turned back again into a barren, doleful, howling wilderness, when near the borders of the land of promise. They doubtless might have then entered, subdued the idolatrous inhabitants, and taken full possession thereof, had they believed in and obeyed the mighty Jehovah, who with an outstretched arm had brought them out of the land of Egypt, dividing the Red Sea in mercy to them, and for the destruction of their enemies. But what a long wilderness travel they had after-

wards, for about the space of thirty-eight years, until all that people had fallen, except Caleb and Joshua, men of upright hearts whom the Lord honored with being the leaders of an entirely new people to possess the land. Cannot the empty formal professors amongst us, who, under great pretensions, have allowed a heart of unbelief, a rebellious heart, that has departed from the living God, and embraced this present world, read their own condemnation in this account? Shall they ever enter into the heavenly Canaan, or be accounted worthy to carry on his glorious work in the earth? No, verily; but they must fall into great condemnation, except they repent and redeem their misspent time, and another people be raised to maintain this glorious cause, to whom the Calebs and Joshuas in our Society will be as leaders and directors; like Priscillas and Aquilas, to expound unto them, who inquire the way to Zion, the way of the Lord more perfectly; for I am fully persuaded, our Society will not cease to be a people, nor the glory ever depart therefrom wholly, as it did from the Jewish, and in a great degree the lapsed Christian church.

I have no doubt but that a people will be preserved from generation to generation, to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, and to maintain the same with the doctrine and principles resulting therefrom, so eminently revived in our predecessors, and most surely believed by us. So that when it shall please the Lord to awaken the nations, there will be no occasion to expect new discoveries or other manifestations, but the Lord will show where he feeds his flock, and where they lie down at noon.

I do not expect the present lethargy and almost universal indifference of all denominations of Christians about religion is to continue very long, for the Lord's soul abhors it. I am fully persuaded he will arise in dreadful majesty, to shake terribly the earth; the power, wisdom, policy and splendor thereof, and not only the earth, but the heavens also, that he may remove those things which can be shaken, that those things that cannot be shaken may remain. Then shall people see how empty and fruitless their religious pretensions have been. Then will their eyes and cries be to the Lord, to show them the pasture of the flock of his companions. Then will mankind receive a kingdom which cannot be shaken. But, oh! the bitter cups that must be drank, and the vials of God's wrath that must be poured upon nations and kingdoms, before mankind in general, will be humbled enough to submit to the yoke of Christ, and to learn of him who is meek and lowly in heart. But he is Lord of lords and King of kings, and can turn and overturn, until the inhabitants of the earth are willing that he should reign whose right it is; "for when the judgments of the Lord are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness."

Great and marvelous have been the Lord's condescension and goodness, manifested for our help and preservation many ways; upon one whereof I cannot well omit a short remark, namely,

the reviving of ancient zeal for the promotion of discipline and good order, which I find is almost general throughout the Society. That spirit of sound judgment, and the burning of that holy fire, which the Lord does kindle in the hearts of the faithful, has never been wholly extinguished since we have been a people; though in some places, through the neglect of many, it has burned faintly and languidly. This zeal has of late been much augmented, and the number of those who will not take bribes, that is, through favor and affection pervert judgment, is increased. I pray God, for his great name's sake and his people's preservation, that this good work may prosper! Public ministry, though a great blessing, help and comfort to God's people, may be shunned, evaded, and turned off by individuals: but the church cannot easily lose ground under a godly, impartial administration of sound judgment, and dealing in the way of good order and discipline, as this brings judgment home; you are the man. Here individuals must condemn the evil, or be disunited from the body, that it may not be infected or endangered by their defection. I went from Folkstone to Maizam, where I had a meeting and some close searching labor, in order to awaken drowsy lukewarm professors. I had meetings also at Ashford, Tenterden and Cranbrooke, where I found things exceedingly low as to Truth and Friends, and but very little of the substance, or even form, to be met with. My spirit was much affected with sorrow and mourning, in viewing the deplorable state of the Society in this county; yet I endeavored with patience to wade along in my service, and to discharge the duty required of me.

I then proceeded to visit Sussex. The first meeting I had in that county, was Gardnerstreet. I could find but very few, if any, truly alive in religion there. I had hard close work with the unfaithful in some important branches of our Christian testimony, to which I was immediately led; for I knew nothing of their state by outward information. I had meetings also at Lewes, Brighthelmstone and Arundel; at all which places, I found the life of religion much depressed. My service was close and searching; but alas! carnal professors are very hard to be made sensible of their deplorable condition. From Arundel I went to Chichester, where I had a meeting and good open service, not only to stir up the careless to more fervent labor, but also to encourage and strengthen some tender hearted travelers Zion wards. It was through the holy efficacy of Truth, a blessed time. I went from there to Alton, in Hampshire, and attended their first-day meeting. There is a large body of Friends, amongst whom the great Master of our assemblies, opened doctrine and counsel suited to their several states, and the blessed Truth was in great dominion that day.

The next meeting was at Godalming, where I had very close heavy service, being made sensible of much indifference and lukewarmness in some professors. It was often my lot to labor for the stirring up and reviving of such: but alas! it is hard work, yet sufficiently rewarded by the comfortable returns of true peace, in a faithful discharge of duty. The meeting at Staines was

pretty open and satisfactory; being livingly engaged to administer suitably to the several states of those present. I went from there to Uxbridge, where I had open thorough service, to good satisfaction; after which I went to High Wickham, and had a heavy laborious meeting. The same day I had an evening meeting at Amersham, in which I had some service, though things were very low. Next day I had a meeting at Jordans, where the blessed Truth had great dominion, and the testimony thereof flowed forth freely, in doctrine and counsel, for the help and comfort of those present. After this I went to London, where I staid the first-day meetings. I attended Grace-church street in the morning, where I had good service, and the testimony of Truth had great dominion. I went to Devonshire-house in the afternoon, where I had also a good open time to declare the Truth; finding much ease and peace of mind. The service of this small journey being over, I returned home the next day, having been out about four weeks, at twenty-eight meetings, and traveled about three hundred and fifty miles.

The next journey I have any account of, was chiefly in order to visit the Quarterly Meetings of Lincoln, York, Lancaster and Kendal. I set out the 16th of the sixth month, 1758, and by appointment, met Joseph Taylor at Cambridge, who was to be my companion as far as York. It being first-day, we went to their meeting in the morning, which was very small, and things exceedingly low as to the life of religion. We went in the afternoon about ten miles to a general meeting at a place called Over, and I was largely opened therein, in close awakening service, tending to arouse careless professors, of whom there seemed to be many at that meeting. We proceeded as far as Erith, and next day got to Spalding, in Lincolnshire, where we met our worthy friend Mordecai Yarnall, from America, who was then on a religious visit in this nation, and Samuel Neale from Ireland. The 20th in the morning, we set out for Lincoln Quarterly Meeting, which began the next day about noon, and ended the day following. Truth is at a low ebb in this county, and the discipline in the main but poorly managed, and the conduct of several professors administers cause of offense; yet we were, through the extendings of merciful goodness, favored with considerable openness and pretty thorough service for their help, and to our own ease in a good degree. My companion and I proceeded on our journey towards York, taking Leeds' first-day meetings in our way, which were large, very heavy and laborious. My proper business was to wade under a great weight, occasioned by the indolent spirits of those who were unwilling to labor and bear their own burdens, in an example of silence. Next morning was held their Monthly Meeting of ministers and elders, where I had close service; and the same day that for discipline, which was exceedingly large, our Society being very numerous thereabout. The testimony of Truth was greatly exalted therein, in treating concerning Christ, the everlasting rock upon which the church is built, whereupon only it can stand firm, against all the attempts of a potent adversary and his emissaries. Next day we went to York, where the same evening was held the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders. I had some open service therein, particularly to ministers. We were divinely favored in the succeeding meetings, both

for worship and discipline, to our edification and comfort.

From York I went towards Kendal, and was, in my way, at a Yearly Meeting held on a first-day, in a large barn near Bingley; where, it was thought, were very nearly a thousand people of other religious persuasions, besides many of our own Society. I was largely opened therein to preach the everlasting Gospel, in the authority and demonstration thereof. The people generally behaved in a sober becoming manner, appearing well satisfied, which is too often the most we can say in our day concerning such memorable opportunities; whereas, our predecessors might have added, perhaps, that several hundreds were convinced. However, we must content ourselves with the state or condition of the fields of the world, in our day: and although we cannot lift up our eyes as they could, to behold the fields white unto harvest, yet let there be honest endeavors to contribute all in our power, for the bringing them forward in this respect, and leave the rest to the Lord, in whose hands alone are times and seasons. I had a meeting at Skipton that evening to good satisfaction; then to Settle, and was at their Monthly Meeting, where I had good service, and so proceeded to Kendal, accompanied by several Friends. The same day was held the meeting of ministers and elders, wherein our ancient worthy friend James Wilson had excellent service, to our great comfort and edification. Their Quarterly Meeting of business was held next day, wherein I had good service, in the opening of Gospel life and power. A blessed meeting it was. The Lord alone had the praise, who is forever worthy thereof! I attended Kendal meetings the first-day following, which were very large and precious; the everlasting Truth and its testimony being exalted over all of a contrary nature, to the great comfort of the upright in heart.

I went, accompanied by our friend James Wilson and many others, to their general meeting at Preston-patrick, which was very large. My service therein, was searching and laborious; not only in a sense of great lukewarmness in some, but also the heart-burnings, disunion, and secret smitings one against another, of others. It seemed to me, that spirit had subtly prevailed on some accounted of the foremost rank, to their own hurt and the wounding of the innocent life. My spirit had been painfully affected with the same sense of the state of that meeting, in degree, in my former visits to it; but never had so much power and comfortable dominion over it, as at this time, wherein Truth mightily prevailed, to the subduing, at least for the present, all that was of a contrary nature. Near the conclusion of the said meeting, our worthy ancient friend, before mentioned, publicly testified, that the eternal Truth of God was over all, exhorting Friends highly to prize such blessed opportunities, and carefully to improve thereby.

In relating what has been done, in marvelous kindness and condescension, through me a poor weak instrument, towards the help and restoration of my fellow-mortals, I do sincerely desire, if any good is done, the Lord only may have the praise, honor and glory; for he alone is worthy,

and nothing belongs to the creature, but humility, reverence, obedience, and laying the mouth as in the dust. I would be so understood throughout the whole narrative, though not always expressed in words.

I went from Kendal to Lancaster. The quarterly select meeting for ministers and elders was first held; wherein our ancient friend James Wilson, bore a noble, evangelical testimony, to the instruction, edification, and great comfort of Friends. Next day was held their Quarterly Meeting for discipline, in which, through the efficacy of divine power, I had some open weighty service. I cannot well forbear remarking the great satisfaction and pleasure I had at this meeting, in beholding and having the acceptable company of three honorable, worthy, ancient Friends, namely, James Wilson, Lydia Lancaster and Grace Chambers; who, I think, all bore living and powerful testimonies therein, in a very affecting manner, to the holy efficacy of that everlasting Truth, which had been with them all their life long. Oh! it was a time of much humbling encouragement, to see their greenness and fruitfulness in old age. I looked upon them as patterns of primitive times and Friends. There is something wonderfully great and excellent, seen only by those eyes which the Lord has opened, in the native simplicity of the Truth, and that estate into which it gradually brings a man, who, in a total denial of self, has fully given up to be formed by it. This I take to have been very much the case with Friends in the beginning, which rendered them so very obnoxious to the spirit of the world; than which, there is nothing more opposite to a redeemed state: so that the more any are drawn out of the corrupt ways and spirit of the world, the more they are hated by it. This is obvious, when we consider the treatment which Christ our Lord, in whom the Godhead dwelt bodily, met with. If many in profession with us, are nearer in unity and peace with the world now, than our Friends were formerly, let it not be understood as a token of their advancement in the nature and spirit of true religion; but the contrary, that is, that they are fallen nearer thereunto, and become more like it in spirit, though somewhat different as to the exterior part of religion, which the world cares not much for, when it finds that in the main, we are making advances towards them.

Our Friends formerly delivered themselves in ministry and writing, in a plain, simple style and language, becoming the cause they were sincerely engaged to promote; chiefly aiming to speak and write, so as to convey the power and efficacy of the pure Truth, to that of God in the consciences of men. It is no small glory to the righteous cause we are engaged to promote, that it has made such a mighty progress in the world, upon a better foundation than that of human helps and learned accomplishments. The very first and most eminent instruments, raised to propagate the same, were illiterate men, agreeably to what Paul delivers, 1 Cor. 1:26-29.

May these things be weightily considered by all those who seem to aim at seeking credit to the Society, by means of those outward embellishments, from which our worthy ancients were

wholly turned, to seek and wait for that living power and holy authority, which alone is able to carry on the work of man's redemption to the end of time. The departure from that opened the door effectually for the apostasy to overspread; then human wisdom and learning became, in the estimation of degenerate Christians, essentially necessary to make ministers of the Gospel. But the early ministers and writers in the Christian church, became eminent another way, as we have great reason to believe most of them were illiterate men; and such of them who had attained human learning, when the power of the Gospel was inwardly revealed, laid all such accomplishments down at the feet of Him, to whom every knee must bow, and every tongue must confess; so that we find them counting all that as dross and dung, to which men, in their corrupt wills and wisdom, give the highest place for usefulness, as above-hinted. And I think some amongst us fall very little short of the same disposition of mind, though they do not care to own it in words; for I have many times observed, that some have but little relish or taste for the substantial truths of the Gospel, in a plain, simple dress; nor to read books, holding forth the same, unless they find some delicacy in the style and composition.

An honest substantial minister may wade into the several states of people, in order to bring forth suitably thereunto, in the native simplicity of the Truth, and his labor herein be seen, gladly owned and received, by the circumcised in heart and ears, where his lot is cast; yet the sort of people amongst us above-mentioned, of whom I fear there are many, do not know, nor much regard him, scarcely thinking it worth their while to attend the meetings such a one is engaged to visit. But if they hear of one coming who is noted for learning and eloquence, though perhaps far short of the other in depth of experience, what following after him from meeting to meeting! Enough, if the instrument is not pretty well grounded, to puff it up with a vain conceit of itself, and to exalt it above measure. With sorrow it may be said, that much hurt has been done amongst us, by such great imprudence. I have often seen reason to conclude, that popularity and common applause are no safe rule to judge of the real worth of a minister. Therefore, when I have heard much crying up of any instrument, I have been apt to doubt its safe standing, and holding out to the end; which it cannot possibly do, if the same desire prevails to speak, as there is in such people to hear. I am persuaded, if such keep upon a right bottom, they will, at times, find it their duty to starve and disappoint such cravings after words.

I had an open satisfactory meeting at Lancaster the day after the Quarterly Meeting, in which the holy virtue of Truth greatly united Friends in the bond of love and peace. The 14th of the seventh month, I set out in company with my kind friends Jonathan Raine and wife, William Dilworth, and Tabitha Ecroyd, and lodged that night at Watton, near Preston. Next morning I took my leave of the above said Friends in much near affection, except William Dilworth, who accompanied me to Warrington that day. The next, being the first of the week, I attended Penketh meeting in the morning, and Warrington in the afternoon. At both which, my labor in the

ministry was heavy and painful, on account of* the formal, lifeless state of too many, who, by their age and long profession, might have been as pillars in the church; as well as the chaffiness and lack of solid experience by their not yielding to the visitation of Truth, in many of a younger rank. Thus it is, when heavenly blessings have been showered down upon people, not duly improving thereby, they become more insensible than others who have not been so highly favored. I was enabled to discharge the service required, in a searching, awakening manner, to my own relief in a good degree.

I went the next day to my worthy friend Joshua Toft's, near Leek, who had then lost his sight, but seemed fresh and lively in his spirit. We had great satisfaction in company and conversation with each other. I staid one day with him and his brother, and then proceeded towards Worcester, taking meetings at Dudley and Stourbridge. I had some open satisfactory service at the first, and a very laborious painful time in silence, at the other, where Truth seemed to me much depressed by wrong things. On seventh-day I went from there to Worcester, and attended their first-day meetings, and was mournfully affected therein with a sense of lukewarmness in many professors, finding it very hard for the life and power of Truth to arise into dominion, so as to make them sensible of their states. My labor was for the most part in silence, though I had some close public service. I went after the last meeting as far as Evesham, on my way to London, and from there, the next day home to my dear wife, and found her well; which, together with other favors, I was, through infinite kindness, made a partaker of in this journey, bowed my mind in humble thankfulness to the bountiful author of all blessings, who is alone worthy of dominion and worship for evermore. I was from home about five weeks and five days, and traveled, by account, six hundred and sixty-four miles, and was at thirty-seven meetings.

CHAPTER 8

Second visit to Ireland—Remarks on holding meetings for discipline on first-days—Returns to England and attends the Yearly Meeting in London—Proposal by Joseph White of Pennsylvania for appointing a committee to visit the meetings for discipline throughout the nation—Journey into the west of England.

I have preserved no account in writing, of my traveling in the service of Truth, after I returned from the last-mentioned journey, until the fore part of the year 1760, when I entered upon a visit to the meetings of Friends in the nation of Ireland a second time; having had it weightily upon my mind, at times, for some years. But when it drew near, I clearly saw the time fixed to set out, which I did the 1st of the third month, in the aforesaid year, and went to London. The

2nd being on first-day, I went to Grace-church street meeting in the morning. My business therein was to set an example of silence. In the afternoon I had good open service at Devonshire-house meeting. On second-day morning the 3rd, I went in the Westchester stage coach, and arrived at that city on fifth-day night, the 6th. I went next day to Parkgate, to inquire for a passage, where I found several vessels ready to sail; yet the wind being contrary, it was uncertain when; some having already waited nearly a month for a fair wind. I returned to Chester that night, and next day was poorly of a cold, having, since my great illness, been very tender in my lungs, and apt to be afflicted with an asthmatic disorder; so that traveling, especially in cold foggy weather, was very unpleasant for me to bear, having endured considerable hardship in my journey from London, by such weather and the motion of the coach. But all was made up, in the sweet enjoyment of that pure love, which makes hard things easy and bitter things sweet. The 9th, being first-day, I was at Chester meeting, where the number of Friends was small, and the life of religion very low; yet it pleased divine Goodness to extend merciful help, giving me openness in the springing up of life, to administer suitably for their advantage, I hope, if rightly improved.

The 10th in the morning, having hired a guide and two horses, I set out for Holyhead, in order to take a passage for Dublin in one of the packets, and got there about six o'clock next evening. Here I found one of the packets was to sail early next morning. I went on board the 12th, about six o'clock in the morning, and landed at Dublin about six in the evening, the same day, having had an easy passage and civil usage on board, and was kindly received by my open-hearted friends Samuel Judd and family. I was pretty much fatigued with traveling, being also afflicted with a cold upon my lungs, which was aggravated by the thick sulfurous air of Dublin. Yet the pure virtue and holy anointing of the precious Truth, carried through and over all weakness, both of body and mind. My soul being enabled to extol and magnify the God of my salvation, for his gracious support every way; for indeed, humanly looking and judging of things, it might not have appeared prudent, considering my weak and infirm state of body, especially alone, to have undertaken such a journey; but the power of Gospel love gaining the ascendancy over all reasonings and consultations with flesh and blood, made me willing to give up life and all, in answering the Lord's requirings, and to pursue what he was pleased to call me to, as far as ability of body would admit. This is a great mystery to the carnal man, but it has as real an existence in a redeemed mind, as that a principle of self-love is the spring of action to an unredeemed mind.

On sixth-day, the 13th, I went to the weekday meeting at Sycamore-alley, where humbling goodness was refreshingly near, and opened the doctrines of Truth largely and livingly, to the comfort of many hearts. On first-day, the 16th, I went to Meath-street in the morning, where I had thorough service, to my own great comfort and ease; though my spirit was much grieved,

to view the havoc made amongst Friends in that great city, by undue liberties; but most of all under a mournful sense, that the dragon's tail had drawn some of the stars down again into earthly pollutions, and caused a bad savor. This was offensive to my soul, even as a nuisance in that meeting. May others' harm and miscarriages cause all the Lord's anointed to be very watchful. I went to Sycamore-alley in the afternoon, where the meeting was very large. Silent waiting upon God was my service therein, in which I had peace and comfort; and towards the conclusion, there was an awful solemnity, in a remarkable manner, over the meeting, wherein the excellency of silent worship appeared.

On second-day, the 17th, I went to Baltibois and had a meeting there next day. I had close arousing service therein; the testimony of Truth went forth very sharply against haughty libertine spirits. There I met my good friend Abraham Shackleton, who traveled with me most of the time I was in that nation. Of him, I think, it may be said, as was of Nathaniel, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile!" He was a great comfort and help to me, and though he did not appear publicly as a minister, yet he would drop tender advice at times, in families, in a very affecting manner. His whole conversation, looks and deportment, were so leavened and tempered with good, that I looked upon him as a preacher of righteousness wherever he came. I went with him after the above-said meeting, to his house at Ballytore, where next day I had a precious open meeting, and good thorough service therein; the blessed unchangeable Truth being in dominion over all.

The 20th I had a good meeting at Athy, and the next day another at Rathangan, in which there was a wonderful manifestation of the divine power, and much clearness in opening the doctrines of Truth; so that I believe there were few, if any, but were sensibly affected therewith. I hope such great extendings of favor will not be easily forgotten. From there I went to Edenderry, and was at their meeting on first-day, the 23rd, which was a very large meeting, and the power and wisdom of Truth was eminently manifested, in furnishing with ability, to divide the word aright to the several states in that great meeting. It was in much dread and weight, not sparing any rank or station in the Society. All there, I believe, through divine favor, had some share of that day's work; I hope not easily to be forgotten. May the Lord alone have the praise, for he is the author of all the good that is, or can be done. The 25th I had a large meeting at Mount-melick, in which I had thorough service. The labor was somewhat painful, in a sense of indifference, and the insipid formal state of many, as well as the pride and undue liberties of others; both which have sorrowfully prevailed in that nation; yet I found great ease and peace of mind, in the discharge of that weighty concern which was upon me for their help and recovery, and which I hope had a good effect on many.

Next day I had a large meeting at Mountrath. I was enabled to discharge the service required, in

a searching manner, that careless professors might be stirred up to their respective duties; and ancient zeal, ardor and beauty, restored to the churches. From there I went to James Hutchinson's, where I had an open serviceable meeting; I hope to the comfort and help of many. The 28th I had a meeting at Ballinakill, where I had a good degree of openness, for the help and encouragement of Friends in the way of well-doing; but things were very low there, as to the life of religion. I went after meeting to Carlow, in order to attend the province six weeks meeting. Many Friends, from the several parts of the province, came to it. It was a large meeting, and considering the low declined state of things, we were favored with wonderful extendings of heavenly power, wisdom and living virtue, in order to heal and restore backsliding Israel. Great and marvelous is, and has been, the condescension of the Almighty to his people, through all ages! The doctrine of the Gospel flowed forth freely to the several states of those present, and many were much humbled, in an awful sense of the divine presence, which is the life and strength of God's people. I had a large meeting at the same place on first-day, the 30th, it was a blessed opportunity of favor and saving help extended to those present; surely, if these high benefits are not duly improved, great will be the condemnation of those upon whom they are bestowed.

I went from there home, with my kind friends Robert Leckey and wife, and had the next day a precious open meeting and good service therein, at the house of our worthy ancient friend Samuel Watson, of Killconner. I went from there to Ross, where, at the house of Samuel Ely, I had a low afflicting meeting, but little to be felt of the life of religion. I was quite shut up as to ministry. from there I went to Waterford, where, on the 3rd of the fourth month, I had a large meeting; it proved a time of close labor; yet I waded through to my own ease, in a good degree. On the 4th, I had an open precious meeting at Clonmel. Oh, how the heavenly virtue streamed forth in doctrine and counsel, for the help, encouragement, and stirring up of Friends and others, to their religious duty! The great name of our God was adored and magnified.

The 5th I went to Cork and attended their meetings on first-day. They were large, and although the declension from the life and simplicity of Truth is very great and obvious amongst Friends in that city, and many under our name are much defiled with the love of earthly gratifications, preferring their outward interest to that of religion; yet great was the extending of divine love and favor for their help and recovery. The doctrines of the Gospel were thereby largely and livingly opened, I hope to the comfort and help of many, causing the hearts of a sincere, upright minded remnant amongst them greatly to rejoice with thankfulness. On third-day, the 8th, I attended a very large meeting there, both of Friends and people of other religious persuasions; it being appointed for the marriage of our friend Samuel Neale, to a daughter of Joshua Beale, and grand-daughter of our worthy Friend Joseph Pike, deceased. The fore part of this meeting was very cloudy⁴⁰⁰ and painful, but the sincere travail of the upright in heart prevailed with

the Lord to arise; then his enemies were scattered, and the glorious powerful Truth shone forth in its beauty, whereby the poor had the Gospel to preach, in the blessed demonstration thereof. It was a time not to be easily forgotten; made so by his refreshing presence, who turned our water of affliction into the reviving wine of his kingdom; to whom, for the multitude of his mercies to his church and people, be humble thanksgiving, sincere obedience, and praises for evermore, Amen!

I went from Cork directly to Limerick, where on the 11th I had a thorough open meeting, and the testimony of Truth was greatly exalted, I hope to the comfort and help of many. I often much admired the divine condescension, in the open visitations of his unmerited love and long suffering kindness, to a greatly revolted and backsliding people. But what we finite creatures cannot comprehend, of his unfathomable regard to the workmanship of his hands, we ought to adore and worship him for, with reverence and awful fear. So be it, says my soul, both in time and eternity. I went from there to Killconner-moor, where on first-day, the 13th, I attended their meeting, which was but small, and my service therein was very laborious. The testimony given to bear went forth very sharply against wrong liberties. I was much afflicted, in a sense of the almost desolate state of that meeting, which that worthy man John Ashton, being first himself convinced in that remote place, was the instrument in the Lord's hand, by his savory circum-spect life and labor to gather. I had a meeting in the afternoon at Birr, where there are but few of our Society, but many of the people called Methodists and soldiers came in. The Gospel of life and salvation was largely preached unto them, and the necessity of the new birth pressingly enforced. The nature whereof, from a degree of experience being set forth, the meeting appeared to be generally affected, and I hope it was a serviceable time. Some of the Methodists expressed their great satisfaction after meeting, beyond what I choose to mention.

On the 15th I had a very painful exercising meeting at the Moat. Great indeed, was the distress of my mind, viewing the general hardness and insensibility, as well as the vain frothy light spirits of some. I had very little openness and scarcely any thing to deliver, but under a sense of the Lord's anger being kindled against them, by whom, if they do not repent, they will be rejected. Though I hope there were some few had a degree of tenderness and good desires; but alas! it is a hard lot for such who have a sense of feeling, to be incorporated with a people generally so insensible of the life of religion; but the Lord is all-sufficient for those who put their trust in him. On the 18th in the morning, I had a meeting held at Freeman's, near Old-castle, for our Friends only, in which I had matter and utterance given suitable to the states of the few present, who were pretty much affected with the testimony of Truth. In the afternoon I had a large meeting in Friends' meeting-house at Old-castle. I understood after meeting, they were mostly Papists. I had a large opportunity to publish the truths of the Gospel with considerable clearness; showing the necessity of obtaining victory over sin, through the power and efficacy of living

faith in Christ; by whom only, full remission of sin is to be obtained upon sincere repentance; showing in some measure, the great danger of supposing the Almighty has delegated the power of forgiving sins to any man, or set of men whatever; that all who were desirous to be freed therefrom, must know the work of God's spirit in their hearts, to work that change, or to bring forth that new birth our Lord taught Nicodemus the necessity of. The auditory were generally quiet and attentive, appearing to depart well satisfied. One of the Papists after meeting, expressed much satisfaction with the doctrine delivered. But I understood one or two priests were much offended therewith, yet they said nothing to me; so all passed off quietly, as was my mind, having sweet comfort in the labor of that day.

from there I went to Coothill, and the 20th was at their first-day meeting, wherein I was largely concerned in a close arousing testimony. It was very sharp against the inordinate love of the world, which, and other undue liberty, seemed to me to have almost laid that meeting waste. Their Monthly Meeting of business was held that day, which to me was another token of their little regard to the great cause of religion and virtue, that they could not find it in their hearts to bestow another day for transacting the weighty affairs of the church, which I have always observed to be the case, where Friends are really alive in religion, and not narrowed up by the love of the world. It has often appeared wonderful to me, how the professors of Truth dare offer such an indignity to the Infinite Being, and his awful work, as to put it off until it suits them best, and when they are likely to suffer the least disadvantage in that respect to their outward affairs. What is pointed out by the offerings under the law, being of the first year and without blemish? And what is meant by offering the first fruits to the Lord? Oh, how ungratefully do some act, as if any thing, or any time, was good enough to offer unto Him! I have observed in some places, though I can with comfort say, it was but in very few, that they hold their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in the afternoon; and having thus limited themselves for time, they seem as if they could spare but little of it in silent waiting, to seek the Lord's blessed assistance, and to look in faith for the pouring forth of the holy Spirit promised in this Gospel day. But I have observed them to enter on the business as they have come out of the world; moving, in these weighty affairs, in man's natural abilities, whereby darkness reigns, and the glorious light and life of Truth is obscured, and they come to be so benighted, as to see no necessity to wait for it. Thus all living zeal and every qualification for carrying on the Lord's work is lost, and vain man thinks he can do without it. I am well assured, by living experience, as well as the practice Truth has led Friends into in all places, a few excepted, that it is the indispensable duty of our Society everywhere, to dedicate a week-day, that is, a day when they are not debarred by the laws of the land to follow their outward business, for transacting the weighty affairs of discipline and good order; and to meet in the forepart thereof, men and women together, then and there to wait upon the Lord, for the virtue of his holy Spirit; and when they have thus waited a proper time, then the men and women in their separate apart-

ments, with awful fear and a weighty care upon all their minds as in the presence of the Lord, to proceed in their respective parts of this great work; which is the Lord's, and cannot possibly be profitably done but by his immediate assistance. This I leave upon record, as my well grounded testimony for God and his church.

I attended what they called their Monthly Meeting, and on looking a little into the state of things, I found them much out of order, and did not wonder at it, as I found they had dropped their week-day meeting. At my request the women were desired to be present, when much labor was bestowed for their help, particularly to revive their week-day meeting; they agreed to endeavor for it, and made a minute for that purpose in their Monthly Meeting book. But alas! the life of religion seemed to be almost lost; their state being confused and disorderly, by mixed marriages and the neglect of discipline. They appeared part one thing and part another; and, if this was so offensive to God and so distressing to his people under the old covenant, how can it be less so now? But when people's views are carnal and selfish, they regard none of these things, although the hazard is so infinitely great. I had a small poor meeting at Castle-shane next day, where, to my great sorrow and pain, I could not perceive any alive in religion. Some labor in testimony was bestowed, but to outward appearance it took very little effect. I went to Thomas Greer's at Dungannon, and on the 23rd had a large meeting at Charlemount, where I was concerned to declare Truth, as utterance was given, in a very close searching manner; not without sharp rebukes to such, who, by defiling liberties, had brought an ill savor and caused the way of Truth to be evil spoken of. My mind was comfortably relieved after the service of this meeting was over, being discharged of a heavy load. The next day I had a very painful and exercising meeting at Ballyhagan. The appearance of the professors was in general plain; but alas! with respect to the life of religion, they seemed in my view, for the most part, like pictures or images. Surely the blindness and stupidity must be exceedingly great, if it be possible for people in that state, to imagine or dream they are the people of God. I was, through divine favor, enabled to clear myself of them, by a sharp, searching and close testimony, in the discharge whereof I had peace. The meeting was very large.

The 25th I went to the province meeting of ministers and elders, held in Lurgan. My spirit was deeply affected therein, with a sorrowful sense that some of the leaders of the people had caused them to err, and by their love for, and eager pursuit after, worldly enjoyments, had largely contributed to obscure the way of the Lord, so that the serious inquirers after the paths which led to peace, could not, by observing their steps, find them out. Oh, what a deplorable state this is! I was favored with living authority and clearness, to discharge my mind towards such with great plainness, which seemed to fasten closely on some: may they profit thereby, and the end will be answered. The province meeting was held next day, in which I had weighty service. But alas! they are far gone, a few excepted, from the life and power of religion; yet I

found much good-will extended for their recovery and help, and the heavenly power wonderfully opened my mouth and enlarged my heart, to deliver suitable doctrine to their conditions, in which I had peace, and many were affected and reached therewith. Oh, how unwilling is the Lord to give up the offspring of his people! I attended Lurgan meeting on first-day, the 26th, which, through the divine manifestations of heavenly power, was indeed a very awakening time to the unfaithful, as well as of sweet refreshment to the few mourners in and for Zion. I went after meeting to Lisburn, and had a very open satisfactory opportunity there next day. The testimony of Truth went forth in an affecting manner, tendering many hearts, and it was a time of humbling encouragement to the honest hearted. The next day I had a very poor afflicting meeting at Hillsborough, things being very low there.

The 30th I had a very large meeting at Ballinderry, in which I had thorough service. The testimony of Truth went forth with much clearness and demonstration, being, through divine favor, an eminent time, and many states were spoken closely to, I hope to their advantage. On fifth-day, the 1st of the fifth month, I had a meeting at Moyallen, which was a painful cloudy time. The testimony delivered was very searching, in order to stir up careless professors, some of whom seemed, in a great measure, to have deserted the cause of religion, and to have embraced this present world. The 2nd I set out for Dublin, in order first to attend the province meeting for Leinster, and then the Half-year's Meeting, both to be held there in one week. I lodged that night at an inn in Dunlery, and next day got to Dublin. On first-day, the 4th of the fifth month, I went to Meath-street in the morning, where Truth greatly favored in opening doctrine and counsel, to the edification and comfort of many, as well as in caution and warning to the disobedient and lukewarm professors. In the afternoon at Sycamore-alley, we had a laborious painful time of silence, to which, perhaps, the expectation and desire of the people after words might not a little contribute. On second-day, the 5th, was held their province meeting of ministers and elders. It was a painful heavy time, but through divine favor, some relief was administered towards the conclusion. Next day was held the Quarterly Meeting for Leinster province, in which I had open thorough service, both in ministry and also in relation to good order and the discipline of the church.

On fourth-day the 8th of the fifth month, at the third hour in the afternoon, began the national meeting of ministers and elders, wherein the Lord was pleased to open profitable instruction, to the comfort and edification of many. Next day we had a meeting for worship in the morning, wherein divine favor was plentifully extended, and the doctrine of Truth largely opened. The meeting of business for the whole nation was held in the afternoon, in which a degree of divine wisdom and strength was administered for our help.

On sixth-day morning was held a large meeting for worship at Sycamore-alley, which was

overshadowed with heavenly goodness, and the testimony of Truth went forth freely, being much exalted. In the afternoon the affairs of the church continued; and on seventh-day, both the fore and afternoon were employed in them. Divine goodness was comfortably near, for the help and recovery of a declined people, stirring up the hearts of some, as he did the heart of Nehemiah formerly, to seek the prosperity and welfare of the city of God. I found a considerable alteration for the better, by some revival and growth in the life of religion, amongst Friends in this nation. That painful flatness and insensibility, under a sense of which I formerly mourned sorely, did not appear so generally to overspread the churches now, as then; though in some places it was rather worse than better; yet I think, upon the whole, things were mended in a religious sense. The Lord in merciful kindness to them, not only sent several substantial instruments from distant parts to visit them; but also, as before noted, moved upon the hearts of some amongst themselves, to labor for restoring ancient comeliness, by visiting their Monthly and Quarterly or province meetings, for the promotion of good order and discipline; the reviving whereof, in the wisdom which is from above, proves an effectual means to increase and exalt the virtue and power of true religion. A concern of this nature came weightily upon the national meeting at this time, in the feeling whereof, under the holy influence of heavenly light, Friends nominated a certain number to visit the Monthly Meetings in Leinster province.

I cannot well omit making a remark upon appointments, as I apprehend some have, by the subtlety of satan, been prevailed upon to reject them: I believe all such do not design an injury to the Society; but he who deceives them, intends thereby to obstruct the great and necessary engagement of maintaining good order and discipline. I ardently desire, that all who undertake to move and act in the church of God, may be well informed what is the spring of action to them, and moves them therein. If it be the spirit of God, they dare do nothing against the Truth, but all in their power in order to promote it, that being their greatest delight. But if it be self, it will seek its own honor and be very fond of victory, and be disgusted when it cannot rule and carry matters in its own way.

On first-day, the 11th, many country Friends being yet in the city, we had, it was thought, the largest meeting known at such a time for many years, and by the blessed dominion of the everlasting Truth, it was a time of great favor. The sincere hearted were sweetly comforted, the disobedient warned, and in the free powerful opening of Gospel life, much doctrine and counsel were administered, tending to beget faith in the eternal power of God. The afternoon meeting was, for the most part, held in awful solemn silence. On second-day was held a meeting of ministers and elders, wherein divine goodness was pleased to open the free Fountain of life and healing virtue; in whom we had to rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. His name was greatly exalted, magnified and adored amongst us.

After this meeting, apprehending myself quite clear of any further service at this time, having through infinite kindness, been much favored and enlarged therein, through most parts of the nation, but more especially at the late great meetings in Dublin, I was very earnest in my mind to embark for England, and so to leave things while fresh and well; always having an aversion to loitering amongst Friends until they flatten. But though there were several ships ready to sail for Parkgate, I could not get away till after their week-day meeting on third-day, in Meathstreet; to which meeting, I must say, I went with considerable reluctance, for the reason above mentioned. But we are very short sighted creatures; for notwithstanding my unwillingness to be at it, this meeting proved a memorable time: many country Friends being still in the city, it was a solemn taking leave one of another, in the precious flowing of the holy unity of the one Spirit.

Next day about noon, in company with seven Friends intending for the Yearly Meeting in London, I embarked on board the Kildare, captain McCulloch, and landed at Parkgate about ten o'clock next morning, where we hired horses and proceeded towards London. When we had traveled as far as Coventry, apprehending I might reach home, so as to have three whole days with my family before the Yearly Meeting; and it being but about twenty miles more riding, I concluded to do so; my kind friend Robert Leckey agreeing to bear me company. This being on seventh-day, the 17th, we got to Northampton that night, and staid their meeting next day, which was small, and the life of religion appeared to me very low there. The meeting was held in silence. I got home on third-day, the 20th of the fifth month, 1760, finding my dear wife and family in good health, to our mutual joy and thankfulness to the Lord, who leads out, carries through, and brings home again in peace, those who trust in him. Blessed and praised be his worthy name forever! I was indeed largely favored in the before mentioned journey, of which, for my encouragement to give up in humble confidence in the Lord's power, I had a clear sight before I entered upon it, which I esteemed a high favor. I was from home about twelve weeks and three days, traveled in that time upwards of one thousand three hundred miles, and was at about fifty-eight meetings.

Our friend Robert Leckey, myself and wife, went to the Yearly Meeting in London, which began on seventh-day the 24th of the fifth month, for ministers and elders. These meetings I hope will be of great service throughout the Society in these nations; as inquiries are there made, by calling for answers from the several parts, to certain queries agreed on, relating to the conduct of Friends in the stations above-mentioned; and advice administered as occasion may require. Common reason will inform us, that when the main pillars give way, the building must inevitably fall. It is therefore prudent to take due care concerning them. An eminent servant of the Lord wisely observed to this effect: That there never was an apostasy from the life and purity of religion, until the ministers and elders gave way. How important then are their stations, and what great need have they themselves, and likewise the church, carefully to observe

whether or no they stand upright, seeing so much depends thereon. On second-day following was opened the Yearly Meeting of business, which continued, by adjournments, most or all the week; being a solemn weighty meeting, of very great importance to the Society: careful inquiries are there made, into the state thereof, in order to communicate such help, as in the wisdom of Truth may appear proper and necessary.

I am free to give a short account here, of the beginning of a very important affair which came before this Yearly Meeting, as I shall have occasion hereafter to make some mention of its progress and success, namely, A nomination of Friends, to visit all the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends in this nation, for their help, in promoting good order and discipline in the several parts. Upon reading the answers to the usual queries from the several Quarterly Meetings, great slackness and unfaithfulness appeared in several places, in some weighty branches of our Christian testimony, notwithstanding the great and earnest endeavors made by the Yearly Meeting from year to year, by way of advice, caution and counsel. The sense of this deeply affected some minds, who, in humble prostration before the Lord, were ready to say, What will you do for your great name's sake, to heal the backslidings of your people? A Friend under this exercise, and in an awful sense of the divine presence which was near, stood up, and taking notice of the apparent defection, remarked, that as all the means hitherto used by the truly Christian labor of preceding Yearly Meetings, had not proved sufficient to stop the declension, which seemed rather to increase; it now behooved that meeting, deeply and weightily to consider what remained yet to be done for the help and recovery of the Society, to its ancient purity and comely order, or to that import.

This seemed to open the way for our worthy friend Joseph White of Pennsylvania, who was then upon a religious visit in this nation, to lay before the meeting what he said had been much upon his mind most of the time since he landed, and which seemed to increase in clearness and weight as the Yearly Meeting drew near; and that he now found it was the proper time to deliver the same, that is, That the Yearly Meeting should appoint a suitable number of solid, weighty, judicious Friends, to visit all the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in England, to use their Christian endeavors, in the love of God, for the promotion and revival of wholesome discipline, and the comely order of the Gospel in the churches. Great was the solemnity which covered the meeting, during its deliberation on this very important affair. The weight of the heavenly power was so exceedingly awful, that it was very hard for any contrary spirits to appear; yet objections against appointments for such services were advanced by some. It was therefore proposed, that Friends who found a concern on their minds to engage in the undertaking, would give in their names. The Lord's heavenly power being at work, like leaven, in the meeting, a wonderful time of divine favor it was, wherein about fifty-eight offered themselves accordingly.

Before I insert any account of the progress made in the above-mentioned service, I have to take notice of a journey into the West of England, in company with my friend Richard Brewster, which I entered upon the 9th of the ninth month this year. We went to Plaistow Monthly Meeting, where, unexpectedly, I had some pretty close service. Next day, being joined at London by my esteemed friend Thomas Corbyn, we proceeded on our way, in order to attend the Circular Yearly Meeting for the western counties, to be held at Wotton-under-edge, in Gloucestershire, which began on first-day, the 14th of the ninth month, and ended on the third-day following. Many of our Society from various parts, attended, and a vast concourse of other people, who generally behaved in a becoming manner, carrying themselves very respectfully to Friends, and I hope the meeting was in the main, serviceable; yet the heavenly power was not exalted to so high a degree, as those, whose life and all is in it, could have desired. It is that alone which is able to open peoples' way rightly to our Zion; not the finest and most consistent set of principles, curiously set forth and displayed, without it. All ministers should therefore upon all occasions, eye that divine power as the thing we stand in need of, otherwise the work will be marred.

We went from Wotton to Ann Young's at Earthcott, and had a close searching meeting at Thornbury on fourth-day. Things were very low there as to the life of religion. We had a meeting next day at Earthcott, wherein the testimony of Truth went forth very sharply against dry, formal, and disorderly professors. Our friend Isaac Sharpless, was at this meeting. We attended the meeting at Bristol on sixth-day, where Truth and its testimony were exalted over wrong things; and unfaithful, disorderly walkers, were warned in the dominion and authority thereof, and the humble, sincere traveler Zion-ward, comforted: it being through the divine blessing, a good profitable time. In the afternoon was held their meeting of ministers and elders, wherein we had some very close work with a troublesome impostor, who had given Friends there much uneasiness, by his unsavory and unsanctified public appearances. The judgment of Truth was set over him, though he was very unwilling to submit thereto. On first-day, the 21st, we attended three meetings there; and notwithstanding the mournful declension so visible amongst Friends in that city, yet the Lord graciously appeared for their help and recovery; opening the doctrine of truth in a clear and plentiful manner to their several states, with which many appeared pretty much affected. And although there is yet much cause to lament their degeneracy, yet I hope and believe there has been a considerable reviving in the best sense, amongst some of them, especially the youth, since I was there before.

On second-day morning we had a thorough arousing meeting at Portshead in Somersetshire, and in the afternoon a large meeting at Clareham; the latter was exceedingly cloudy and afflictive for a considerable time; but at length it pleased the Lord to arise and to give the word, with understanding to divide the same in a plain, powerful manner, and a very awakening time it

was. It went forth very sharply against indifference and empty formality, which greatly depressed the true Seed in that meeting: I hope it was a profitable time. On third-day we had a very open, serviceable meeting at Sidcot; the testimony of Truth flowed forth freely to the several states of those present. After meeting we went to Bridgewater. On fourth-day was held the Quarterly Meeting for Somerset. In the forenoon we had a large meeting for worship, both of Friends and others; some previous endeavors, I understood had been used, to invite the neighbors, which I think was not well judged, neither should I have encouraged it at such a time, had I been consulted. The leadings and pointings of Truth should be always minded, in calling or inviting people of other persuasions to our meetings; for I have sometimes thought them a bar in the way of dealing suitably with professors of the truth, and therefore it is my judgment, they should not be called to our meetings, unless those who travel in the service of Truth signify their desire to have it so, to those who have the care of appointing meetings. The power of the Gospel, opening and exalting the doctrine thereof, was livingly and comfortably extended in that meeting; yet I apprehended, other people were then rather in the way of our handling the state of some professors there, in a manner Truth would have led to, had Friends been by themselves. The meeting of business followed, and was adjourned till the afternoon, wherein Truth appeared to the help of those who know their sufficiency to be of God. We who were strangers, had good service therein.

Next morning we parted with my friend Thomas Corbyn, who returned home, and my companion and I proceeded on our journey. We had a meeting at Taunton on fifth-day morning, and at Milverton in the evening. At both which I had close service, tending to stir Friends up to more lively zeal and religious concern of mind. On sixth-day we had a painful laborious meeting at Wellington. The testimony of Truth went forth very close and sharp against those who, under the profession thereof, bow down to the world and its perishing enjoyments. It appeared to me, the life of religion was much depressed in that meeting. On seventh-day we had a meeting at Collumpton, which was cloudy and trying most of the time; yet towards the conclusion, Truth obtained the victory, and considerable dominion over things of a contrary nature to itself. We went after meeting to Exeter, and on first-day, the 28th, were at two meetings there; and although their number appeared considerable, yet that holy living sense and weight of divine virtue, which is the crown and diadem of all our religious assemblies, was very low, and little felt, through the slackness and lukewarmness of professors, consequently, not much could be done towards exalting Truth's testimony amongst them. On second-day we went to Bovey, and had a poor, laborious meeting, there being very few, if any, that I could find, truly alive in religion. When that is felt to be the state of any meeting, oh! what pain and anxiety cover the hearts of poor travelers in the service of the Gospel! The next day we went to King's-bridge, and on fourth and fifth-days attended the Quarterly Meeting for Devonshire held there; wherein the great Master of our assemblies graciously condescended to their very low, weak and unskil-

ful state, opening doctrine and counsel for their help; furnishing with close admonition to such in high stations, who indulged either themselves or their families in undue liberties, tending to lay waste a people whom the Lord, by an out-stretched arm, gathered out of the fashions and changeable customs of a vain world, to himself, the unchangeable Fountain of good.

On sixth and seventh-days we traveled to Penryn in Cornwall, and had two open, precious meetings at Falmouth on first-day, the 5th of tenth month. On second-day we went to Penzance, where, on third-day, was held the Quarterly Meeting for Cornwall. Truth wonderfully appeared in that meeting, considering their low, weak and unfaithful state. The testimony thereof was exalted, and went forth with clearness and good demonstration to their states, and the meeting appeared to be much affected therewith. There was also something very encouraging to the honest-hearted; and I hope it was a time of awakening and profit to many. In the evening we had what was called a select meeting, for ministers and elders; but it was so far from select, that the service seemed to be wholly obstructed, by the crowding in of many who were not fit to be admitted into such meetings; where ministers and elders may, and often are concerned to use such freedom, in advice, caution and counsel, as would be altogether unsuitable for those who are raw and inexperienced to be privy to, as they might be likely to make improper use of it. I laid before Friends the hurt and disadvantage of such a promiscuous gathering, upon that occasion, and advised them to be careful not to lay waste the service of those meetings for the future; for I found myself much straitened, as I could not, with prudence, deliver what seemed to appear before the view of my mind at that time, for the reason above-mentioned. On fourth-day, the concluding meeting was held at Market-Jew, wherein Truth and the testimony thereof were comfortably exalted. But, alas! sorrowful is the declension of the Society in those parts, both as to number and a holy living zeal; yet merciful goodness was largely and affectingly extended for their help and recovery.

From there we took the following meetings in our return to Plymouth: Auslle, Liskard and Germans, where I found the life of religion mournfully low and depressed; yet the Lord was pleased to open the way to some, I hope, profitable endeavors for their revival, in the exercise whereof I had peace. I attended Plymouth meetings on first-day, the 12th. This was a very painful, laborious time, as but very little of the life and holy efficacy of true religion had place; most under our profession having made large advances towards the world, and but few being endued with Christian courage to make a stand against prevailing undue liberties. The state of a meeting being thus, oh, how does death, darkness and insensibility gain the ascendancy! My spirit was deeply afflicted at that place, yet I was through divine favor, enabled to clear myself of the service required; whereby I had some relief. We traveled from there directly to Exeter, and on third-day attended a meeting appointed for the accomplishment of a marriage. Truth mercifully opened the way to some satisfaction, in the discharge of the service required, to the

advantage of the meeting. from there we went to Chard, and had a very small poor meeting on fifth-day morning, and were deeply affected with their low weak state. I had a pretty thorough serviceable meeting in the afternoon, at Iminster; though I felt much pain of mind there also, in a sense of that which has almost laid our Society waste in some, and exceedingly hurt it in most places, namely, the inordinate love of earthly things, and resting satisfied in a profession of religion only.

We took the following meetings in our way to Bath: Yeovil, Long-Sutton, Grinton, Shipton-Mallet, Froome, Hallowtrow and Belton; where things, as to the life and true sense of religion, appear but low in general; yet merciful kindness was extended, in a lively and powerful manner, both immediately and instrumentally, in order to quicken, restore and turn again backsliding Israel. On first-day, the 26th of the tenth month, we attended two meetings at Bath, which were painful and very afflicting, as the grandeur, friendship, and vain customs of this world, seem to have almost erased from most of their minds, the desire of seeking happiness in another: yet merciful condescension was remarkably extended, in some earnest and awakening endeavors, to bring them to a right sense of things. On second-day morning we set our faces homewards, where, to my great satisfaction I arrived on fourth-day in the evening, and found my dear wife and family well; having been out on this journey seven weeks and two days, in which time we traveled upwards of eight hundred miles, and were at about fifty-one meetings.

CHAPTER 9

Joins with the committee of the Yearly Meeting in a visit to the meetings for discipline in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdon, the Isle of Ely, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, etc.—Remarks on the low state of the discipline in many places, and their labors for a revival—Their manner of proceeding in the service—Importance of a right qualification for managing the affairs of the church—Report to the Yearly Meeting in 1762—His visit to London and adjacent meetings.

Pursuant to the direction and appointment of the Yearly Meeting of 1760, for visiting the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends in this nation; on the 11th day of the first month, 1761, my esteemed friends, John Emms, Matthew Mellor, Thomas Corbyn and Joseph Taylor, joined me at Chelmsford, we having before agreed, by divine permission, to visit the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, the Isle of Ely, Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire. The next day, being the 12th, our Monthly Meeting was held, wherein the above-named Friends had good service, tending to pro-

mote discipline and good order amongst us. The blessed efficacy of the living Word accompanied their honest labors, which rendered the same very acceptable to some, and I hope of general advantage for the promotion of truth.

The 14th we visited Felsted Monthly Meeting, held at Stebbing; the state of which appeared very low and weak, through the defection and lukewarmness of many members, whereby the life of religion was greatly depressed; yet the Lord was graciously pleased to arise, for his great name and people's sake, in whose living power and wisdom much labor was bestowed for their help and recovery; a few sincere-hearted members amongst themselves, joining with us herein. The 16th we visited Thaxsted Monthly Meeting, and it appeared, by inquiry, that many of their members were very slack and defective in several branches of our Christian testimony; and most of the active members had but little experience in the essential qualifications for effectual service in the church, which must all proceed immediately from the great Father of lights and spirits. It would be very absurd to imagine that a less or inferior ability to administer justice and sound judgment, was necessary under this higher and more glorious dispensation, than was received by those who judged and ruled for God in the Israelitish church; it being evident the Lord was pleased to put his spirit upon those who had the weight of the affairs of that church upon them, both in their wilderness state of probation, and after they quietly possessed the promised land. But the supernatural endowment, which is so essential, is not within our reach as men, neither is it given to us, until we are emptied of our own wisdom and divested of all dependence upon human accomplishments.

Our holy Head was pleased to furnish us with wisdom and strength, suitable to the state of that meeting, for their information and help; and the blessed virtue of Truth prevailed, to the tendering of their spirits. The next Monthly Meeting visited was Coggeshall, on second-day the 19th, but as I did not attend it, I cannot say further, than that I understood it was a serviceable time; much weighty advice and counsel being administered, to mutual satisfaction and comfort. The 21st we visited Colchester Monthly Meeting, where, though the life of religion appeared low, and several disorders had crept in, yet divine goodness was extended in a powerful manner for their help, enlightening the spirits of some to search the camp, and to point out how to proceed in restoring that which had been turned out of the way. The 22nd, Manningtree Monthly Meeting was held at Colchester, in which, through the pure efficacy of heavenly love and wisdom, much fervent labor was bestowed, for the awakening and stirring up the members to a faithful discharge of their respective duties. But, alas! through the great unfaithfulness of many, discipline was but little maintained, in a manner agreeable to its dignity and worth; consequently the life of religion was very low.

From Colchester we went to Edmundsbury, in Suffolk, and visited their Monthly Meeting the

24th. It was a time of remarkable favor, Truth bowing the spirits of Friends into a humble, teachable state, and at the same time, affording plenty of suitable counsel, which was kindly received by several members of that meeting, with whom we had near union and great satisfaction; several being willing to engage in the work of reformation, which appeared necessary. The 26th we visited Woodbridge Monthly Meeting, in which the Lord, according to his customary merciful kindness, appeared not only in spreading the awful canopy of his divine power over the meeting, but also in graciously condescending to be a spirit of judgment and counsel, for the help and recovery of a declining people; under the enjoyment of which divine favor, much labor was bestowed, and as far as appeared, was well received. The 28th we visited Beccles Monthly Meeting, where things appeared very low and much out of order; the spirit and wisdom of man appeared much to rule and act amongst them, which is fond of smoothing over and daubing with untempered mortar, crying peace when there is no peace. In this difficult mournful state of things, the divine helper, in whom our only dependence remained, was near, giving judgment to assign the living child to the proper mother, and to judge down wrong things, in whatever stations they appeared.

The 29th we visited Tivetshall Monthly Meeting in Norfolk, in which, though large, being composed of many members, yet very great slackness and unfaithfulness appeared in several important respects. Notwithstanding this, we had, with thankful acknowledgments, to experience the awful presence of the Lord, who is the only strength and sufficiency of his little ones; under the blessed influence whereof, great and deep labors were bestowed, for reviving our Christian discipline, and promoting the good order of the Gospel; the testimony of Truth being maintained against wrong things in that meeting, with authority and clearness; the power thereof subjecting, for the present at least, all of a contrary nature to itself. On the 2nd of the second month, we visited the Monthly Meeting of Wymondham, wherein, on the usual inquiries, things appeared very afflicting, through the great defection of many; the few who were concerned for good order, were weak and much discouraged, so that very little was done to maintain our wholesome discipline, by visiting and laboring with the unfaithful and disorderly walkers: yet the Lord, in great condescension, appeared wonderfully for their and our help, extending much advice and counsel, and giving us wisdom and strength to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints; which faith is to be demonstrated by works consistent therewith. The testimony of Truth was greatly exalted over all such, as through a mean compliance with wrong things, had mournfully deviated therefrom.

The 3rd we visited their meeting of ministers and elders at Norwich, where the slate of the members was inquired into, by means of queries proper to such meetings; and solid and weighty advice was given, where any deficiency appeared. Although I have not before now, distinctly mentioned our visits to select meetings, yet we had such opportunities in most or all

the Monthly Meetings where such meetings were settled. On the 4th of the second month, we visited the Monthly Meeting of Norwich, which was very large, consisting both of the men and women Friends; it being our method, in our labors at the Monthly Meetings, to have the company of both sexes. Through the overshadowing of divine power, it was a solemn awful time, of which Friends in general appeared to be sensible, as a remarkable stillness and patience was abode in, for the space of about six hours and a half, being the time of the meeting's continuance. Though a motion was made sooner for our women Friends to withdraw, lest some weak constitutions might be injured by long sitting, etc., yet their spirits being stayed and bowed down under a sense of heavenly good, they did not accept the liberty given, but continued to the breaking up of the meeting. We found a valuable body of Friends in that city, and discipline in the main, well supported; yet there appeared great danger of the prevalence of earthly mindedness in some, and grandeur and wisdom above the simplicity of the Truth in others; which, if not guarded against, might intrude itself to act and govern in the church; of which Friends were warned, and through the effectual opening of the fountain of wisdom and knowledge, much caution and counsel were administered, to mutual edification and comfort.

On the 6th of the second month we visited the Monthly Meeting of North-Walsham, where we found an honest sincere remnant concerned to maintain the principles of truth, by a conduct consistent therewith; yet a great defection appeared in some important branches of our Christian testimony; the Monthly Meeting not having discharged its incumbent duty, by way of admonition and dealing with such members. Truth opened our way in much plainness and close labor, in order to bring the unfaithful to a right sense of their states, and to revive and promote our Christian discipline, as a means to restore ancient beauty, and a good savor amongst men. The path of the just, in which our worthy predecessors carefully walked, was clearly opened before Friends in that meeting; the judgment of Truth being set over those who had erred and strayed therefrom, in this day of outward ease and liberty.

The 9th we visited Wells Monthly Meeting, in which humbling goodness prevailed, to the great comfort and strength of the upright-hearted; in a living sense of the free extendings whereof, much labor was bestowed to restore good order and discipline in every part, by first endeavoring to remove those impediments which appeared in the way. It was a time of sweet comfort in a faithful discharge of duty. The 11th we visited Lynn Monthly Meeting, wherein our spirits were deeply afflicted under a cloud of darkness, which seemed to overshadow that meeting, occasioned by the prevalence of wrong things in many of the members, and their great neglect of the due execution of wholesome discipline. Much labor was bestowed in order for a regulation, but, alas! great weakness and unskillfulness appeared; neither was there that openness to receive help, which we could have desired in the general. I may also add, we had fresh occasion to say, that nothing but an understanding renewed from above, is capable of laboring suc-

cessfully for maintaining our Christian discipline. Oh! that this important point was duly considered by all active members.

The 13th we visited the Monthly Meeting of Wisbeach, in the isle of Ely; it was a small meeting, as but few members belong thereto. By inquiry, it appeared that slackness and disorder had prevailed on some, and things in general were but low; yet an openness was felt to receive proper advice and counsel, which, through the gracious extendings of heavenly help, were freely and largely communicated. We had cause to believe Truth was at work in the hearts of a few, in order to prepare them for service; having ease and satisfaction in our labor amongst them, and hoping this visit would prove of considerable help to that meeting. The 17th we visited the Monthly Meeting at Ives, wherein we had painful labor, and found things much out of order, which caused darkness to be felt, and an ill savor; some of the active members did not appear to us rightly to know what spirit they were of. We found they were not one with us in our service, which was indeed very close and searching to all stations in the church, as it appeared all had need of help, and to look more narrowly to their standing. Divine goodness was graciously with us, and carried us through, to our ease and satisfaction in a good degree. But alas! we have cause to see, that our discipline does not prosper when managed with unsanctified hands.

The 18th we visited Hadingham Monthly Meeting, and found things very low, as to the life of religion, consequently as to good order and discipline; yet some appeared hopeful, tender, and desirous of a proper regulation in the affairs of the church, with whom we had good satisfaction in our labor for their improvement, which I hope was not in vain. The 20th of the second month, we visited the Monthly Meeting of Royston, in Hertfordshire; the state of which appeared much out of order; discipline was in the main neglected. Very deep and painful was our labor, under a mournful sense of that gross darkness which had prevailed, by reason of unfaithfulness; yet the Lord was graciously with us, and the testimony of Truth was exalted over the heads of disorderly walkers, and all those, who, by a mean temporizing spirit, had violated some principal branches of our Christian testimony. We were unanimously of opinion, that the Monthly Meeting of Royston, in its present state, was too weak to manage the weighty affairs proper to a Monthly Meeting, and therefore proposed its being joined to Baldock and Hitchin; which, upon a solid deliberation, was agreed to, and has been since effected, to the great satisfaction of Friends who have the prosperity of Truth at heart. The 28d we visited Hertford Monthly Meeting, in which heavenly wisdom and merciful help, as at other places were largely extended, to the encouragement of a few sincere laborers amongst them, as well as to the warning and stirring up of careless, unfaithful professors; for there appeared much slackness in many, in not improving those talents God had given them.

The 24th, we visited those under our profession at Coterhill-head, called a Monthly Meeting; but, alas! upon inquiry, we found very little was done of the business proper to a Monthly Meeting; neither was it held in due course, but rather occasionally, for some particular purposes. When the state of the members appeared, we did not marvel thereat, seeing most of them were unfaithful in regard to that important testimony against tithes and other anti-christian demands of that nature: other great disorders also had crept in, nor can any other be reasonably expected; for where persons are so void of a right zeal, as to sacrifice that noble testimony, they have not strength to maintain other branches in a consistent efficacious manner; so that where this defection has prevailed, we have observed the most essential part in religion, amongst us as a people, has fallen with it: meetings for worship and discipline are neglected, and if sometimes held by such, they are to little good purpose, and plainness and self-denial are departed from. This hard, dark, tithe-paying spirit is so blind, as to see but little in any branch of our testimony, wherein there is a cross to the carnal mind.

Upon solid consideration we did not think, that using endeavors to regulate the meeting, in its situation at that time, would answer any good purpose; but the thing pointed out to us in the light of Truth, was its being dissolved, and the members thereof joined to Hertford Monthly Meeting. This had been endeavored for several years, both by their Quarterly Meeting, and also several committees of the Yearly Meeting, which had not till now proved successful, as the consent of most of the members could not be obtained. But this meeting, through divine favor, was wonderfully overshadowed with a solemn weight of heavenly power, which awed and tendered their spirits, and at the same time mercifully enabled us clearly to demonstrate, that they contended only for the name of a Monthly Meeting; seeing the service of such a meeting was not answered, scarcely in any instance. They at length generally yielded, and a minute was made to propose a junction with Hertford, which is since effected, to the great ease and satisfaction of Friends. I cannot well avoid remarking here, the very great hurt and obstruction to the progress of Truth, which I have many times, with sorrow of heart, observed to arise by some active members, from private views, strenuously withstanding the pointings of divine wisdom, for the help and preservation of the body, which doubtless is in the Lord's sight, a crime of a very offensive nature; therefore all should greatly dread being in any degree guilty thereof. Let us, at all times, carefully examine what ground we act upon in the church of God, whether we always preserve the single eye, being clothed with that pure charity which seeks not her own, and filled with that universal spirit, that carefully promotes the good of the whole, without respect of persons.

The 25th we visited Hitchin Monthly Meeting, where we found a valuable solid body of Friends, and discipline well maintained in most of its branches. Heavenly goodness overshadowed that meeting, whereby understanding was given to administer suitable caution and coun-

sel; particularly to point out the great danger of sitting down at ease, in a becoming decent form, even after being eminently favored, both with the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth; notwithstanding which, there must be a persevering in an earnest labor for daily bread, seeing nothing beyond this can be attained by us, while in a militant state. At the Monthly Meeting of Ampthill in Bedfordshire, on the 27th, the Lord's awful presence being near, as, through infinite mercy, was generally the case, opened the way for a close and diligent inquiry into the state of that meeting. Things appeared low and pretty much out of order; the active members here, as in many other places, havinoneglected a deep and painful labor for a better regulation. Endeavors were used, in order to stir up and provoke to love and good works, by diligently extending a care over the whole flock, that so all might be brought into the comely order of the Gospel.

On the 28th we visited Luton Monthly Meeting; it was small, slackness and the lack of right zeal appeared; also some disorders had crept in, yet there seemed openness in the minds of Friends to receive advice and counsel, which, through divine aid, were largely administered; and I hope the labor of that day was beneficial to several of the members, and may prove a lasting advantage to that meeting.

The 2nd of the third month, we were at Alban's Monthly Meeting, held at Charleywood, where, on the usual inquiries, things appeared very low and much out of order; yet divine favor was largely and livingly extended for their help and recovery; in a humble sense whereof, endeavors were used to promote a better regulation; first, by the active members taking heed to themselves, that they might be endued with ancient zeal and fervor of mind; then they would take the oversight of the flock, not by constraint, but willingly. This willingness, through a neglect of seeking that divine power which alone can bring it forth in the mind of man, has been much lost or departed from by many, and appears to be greatly wanting in most places; which, without doubt, is one principal cause that so general a defection has prevailed. Had the foremost rank stood faithful in the authority of Truth, they would have been as a bulwark against undue liberties, and happy instruments to preserve the body healthy and in beautiful order. But oh! how shall I set forth and sufficiently admire, the marvelous condescension of infinite goodness, which so eminently manifested itself in all the meetings we were concerned to visit, in order to bring back again the captivity of his people, to build up the waste places, and to beautify the house of his glory. May such evident tokens of his merciful regard make deep and lasting impressions on all minds, lest the Lord be justly provoked to cast many off, and move such to jealousy by those who are now no people.

One very sorrowful instance of much degeneracy, being an inlet for many other wrong things to creep into our Society, is the great neglect of divine worship, especially on weekdays. Some

week-day meetings were wholly dropped, and in many places where they were kept up, were attended by few; and by what appears, many do not seem to think it their duty to attend them at all, nor even first-day meetings, when small difficulties present. This discovers remarkable ignorance of the great importance of that indispensable duty, as well as of the great need all have, of a daily supply from the Lord's bountiful hand. These opportunities of inward retirement and humble bowing before God, have by experience, been found times of unspeakable refreshment, which flows from the presence of the Lord, who has graciously promised to be with those who meet in his name, even where the numbers are but two or three: hereby strength is administered, which enables us to stand our ground in the Christian warfare. It is no marvel therefore, that the neglect of so important a duty, is a cause of much weakness, depriving people of a necessary defense against the numerous and potent enemies which war against the soul. Here he that goes about like a roaring lion, and also as a creeping subtle serpent, prevails, in order to lay the Society waste; and while many are asleep in carnal security, he finds opportunity to sow tares amongst the wheat. Very deep and fervent were our labors in this visit, to promote diligence in this most important duty, as a means under the divine blessing, for the restoring ancient beauty and comeliness throughout the Society.

This opportunity at Charley-wood, finished our present visit to Monthly Meetings; we having requested the Quarterly Meeting to which they belonged, to adjourn in such order, as to be visited in course by us at one journey, to begin in Luton, for Bedfordshire, which accordingly was held the 8th of the fourth month, 1761. John Emms, Thomas Corbyn, Samuel Scott, Joseph Row and myself attended the same, and laid before the Quarterly Meeting in writing, the state of their Monthly Meetings, as the same appeared to us by their answers to the Quarterly Meeting queries, and other inquiries made in our late visit, with sundry remarks thereon; and through the overshadowing of heavenly power, we were fervently concerned to bring the weight of the declined state of the Society there upon the meeting, wherein an engagement of mind was revived for a reformation: may the same continue and increase.

On the 10th of the fourth month we visited Hertford Quarterly Meeting, where our friend Joseph Taylor, who had been indisposed, joined us. Having previously drawn up the state of their Monthly Meetings, as the same appeared to us in our late visit, with remarks thereon, we laid it before the meeting, which they took into solid consideration, and a solemn time it was. The Lord's power being livingly felt, it made a remnant willing to arise, that the breaches made in that excellent hedge of discipline, set by divine wisdom about us as a people, might be repaired, that the heritage be not laid waste. On the 14th of the fourth month, we visited the Quarterly Meeting at Ives, for Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and the isle of Ely; where, having drawn up the state of their Monthly Meetings, as the same appeared to us in our late visit, with some remarks thereon, we laid the same before them, with earnest labor to awaken

the active members to a lively sense of the sorrowful declension found within their borders. It was a painful exercising time, great insensibility having prevailed over many; yet I believe it was a season of comfort and relief to a living remnant, who travail for the prosperity of Truth amongst them: may their number increase! We had the return of sweet peace in the discharge of our duty, and departed with cheerfulness of mind.

On the 21st of the fourth month, we visited the Quarterly Meeting for the county of Norfolk, held in the city of Norwich; where, as usual, having drawn up the state of their Monthly Meetings with some remarks, the same was solidly laid before the meeting. Divine goodness was manifested; in the wisdom and strength whereof much earnest labor was bestowed, in order that all the active members especially, might be stirred up to an exertion of godly endeavors, for restoring comely order and discipline in several very weak meetings within their county; and not to be at ease in their paneled houses, while the ark of the testimony of God was exposed to reproach, by the defection of many under the same profession. It was a good time, and I hope serviceable to some; yet we could not help lamenting, that the memorable opportunity we lately had at Norwich Monthly Meeting, had not made greater impression than appeared by some not very agreeable instances in this meeting, relating to their fully uniting for the county's help, as there was apparent necessity for the same.

The 24th of the fourth month, we visited the Quarterly Meeting of Suffolk held at Woodbridge, and laid before them in writing, the state of their Monthly Meetings, as the same appeared to us in our visit, with some remarks thereon. Much labor was bestowed in the free extendings of divine love, which was comfortably shed abroad in that meeting, that Friends might be stirred up to use endeavors for a general reformation. Fervent labor and close admonition were extended to such as knew not their own spirits subjected by the spirit of Christ, but dared to presume to move and act in the affairs of the church of God, by the strength of their own understandings as men: these not having true zeal, can wink at wrong things, great disorders and flagrant unfaithfulness, smoothing all over, and blending all together deceitfully, crying peace, and all is well, when it is evidently otherwise. Oh, how does the Lord abhor such unsoundness! surely then his people should see the weight and authority of his power standing over such.

A principal cause of desolation and waste in the house and heritage of God, is the lack of more prepared stones for the building, hewn and polished in the mountain. But great inconvenience arises, when some are made use of as stones for the building, in their natural state, which renders them unfit materials to erect a house for the glory of God to abide in; so that what such build, is nothing but a habitation for anti-christ; for he will content himself in any form of religion, while he can keep the power out of it. His first subtle working in the mystery of iniquity, is to persuade the mind that there is no need of any more power and wisdom than they have as

men; that if they will exert their endeavor, they may be useful members; thus withdrawing gradually from the Fountain of living water, to hew out cisterns to themselves, which will hold no water. Oh, how dry and insipid are all the religious performances of such! and what they do, is only to beget in their own image, carnal lifeless professors like themselves. These are very apt to be doing, being always furnished; but the true laborers must, in every meeting, and upon all occasions that offer for service, receive supernatural aid and the renewed understanding, by the immediate descendings of heavenly wisdom and power, or they dare not meddle. Where there are but two or three in each Monthly Meeting, carefully abiding in a holy dependance upon God to be furnished for his work, great things may be done by his mighty power, in and through them. This is evident, by observing the state of meetings where such dwell, though all is not done which they ardently desire; but praised be the Lord, there are many yet up and down, who know and experimentally feel their sufficiency for every service in the church to be of God.

The 28th of the fourth month, we attended the Quarterly Meeting I belong to, held at Coggeshall, for the county of Essex. Having drawn up the state of the several Monthly Meetings in writing, with remarks thereon, it was laid before this meeting, and solid and weighty endeavors used for a general reformation, by the earnest labor of our friends on the visit, which was very edifying and comfortable to the honest hearted amongst us. We drew up a summary account of the state of the Society in the counties before mentioned, and our satisfaction in that solemn undertaking; with thankful acknowledgment of the Lord's gracious assistance through the whole, which was read in the Yearly Meeting, 1761. Before I close this account, it may not be amiss to say, that such was the effect of our labors in most or all the Monthly Meetings, that committees were appointed of their own members, to visit particular meetings and also individual members, for their help, as occasion might require. The Quarterly Meetings also appointed large committees to visit their Monthly Meetings and others, as they found freedom, for their assistance.

A few days after the Yearly Meeting in London, 1761, Thomas Corbyn, Joseph Row and myself, set out in company with several other Friends, on their return from the Yearly Meeting, in order to visit the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire. Matthew Mellor joined us at Oatby, near Leicester; Joseph Taylor having concluded to meet us in Yorkshire. On the 24th of the fifth month, we visited Balby Monthly Meeting, held at Sheffield, and found to our comfort, a living body of Friends therein; yet much slackness and defection appeared in many members of most ranks. Truth opened and largely furnished with wisdom and strength, to lay before them the dangerous consequences of some prevailing and undue liberties. Those advanced in age and profession, were entreated and labored with in much earnestness, to be more zealous and dili-

gent, in a godly care over themselves and the flock, as those that must shortly give an account to the great Shepherd.

The 25th we visited Pontefract Monthly Meeting, held at Highflats. Here was a very numerous body of Friends, whose outward appearance was very becoming our self-denying profession; and I really believe this plainness, in a considerable number amongst them, was the genuine product of a well regulated mind; yet I fear, in many, it was more the effect of education, which, however, I would not condemn, where people are not prevailed upon by the subtlety of satan to take their rest therein; since the form must follow the power, and not the power follow the form. We had close labor, in order to arouse those who had settled down in a false rest, and also to promote a better regulation in some respects; yet I think it might be said that discipline, in most of its branches, was pretty well maintained in that meeting. It was a time of high favor; and counsel and admonition were plentifully extended. The 27th we visited Brighouse Monthly Meeting, held at Bradford: here Jonathan Raine and William Hird joined us. This meeting was exceedingly large; some slackness and defection appeared, yet in the main, discipline and good order were well supported in several branches. It was indeed a time of signal favor, as the canopy of divine power and love overshadowed this large assembly, wherein much fervent labor was extended, that all might be brought into and preserved in, that humble self-denying way which leads to lasting peace and happiness; and that none might rest satisfied in a form of religion, without the daily quickenings of heavenly life, whereby only the daily sacrifice can be offered, and the abomination that makes desolate, kept out of the holy places. The heart of man is only made and preserved holy by the powerful presence of God; no longer can it be so, than his presence is there.

The 29th we visited Knaresborough Monthly Meeting, held at Rawden. This was also very large, perhaps nearly five hundred of both sexes attended, and nearly as many at each of the before mentioned meetings. Here we found a weighty, solid body of Friends, who were zealously concerned to preserve discipline and good order on its ancient bottom; yet there was also a very heavy, clogging, lifeless body, at rest in a profession, in whom little or no living concern appeared to keep undue liberties out of their families, and to show exemplary diligence in religious duties. Divine goodness, as at other times, was eminently manifested, in which, abundance of sound advice, caution and counsel, was freely administered, wherewith many hearts were deeply affected, being made willing to arise, in order to promote a reformation where things appeared out of order. The 1st of the sixth month we attended Settle Monthly Meeting, which was a laborious exercising time, in a deep and painful sense of the numbness and formality of too many members, and the great decay of primitive zeal; yet through the merciful arising of heavenly power and wisdom, ability was received to administer suitable advice, warning and counsel, in order to awaken the careless, lukewarm professors, as well as to extend comfort and

relief for the encouragement of a sincerely concerned remnant amongst them; that so, what appeared out of the holy order of the Gospel, might be regulated.

The 3rd of the sixth month, we visited Richmond Monthly Meeting, held at Aisgarth; the number of members here was very considerable, yet the life of religion seemed at a low ebb. That sorrowful mistake, of imagining themselves God's people without the real sense of the indwelling of his holy Spirit, and of being the children of Abraham without the faith and good works of Abraham, has, I fear, very much prevailed upon the posterity of faithful worthies who are gone to their rest. In those parts, great slackness and defection in some very important respects appeared in many, who, through the powerful efficacy of the everlasting Word, were closely and very pressingly admonished to more care and diligence. Great endeavors were used, that our Christian discipline might be more duly put in practice; a living remnant amongst themselves, heartily joining with us in our deep labors for promoting that salutary end. The 5th, Thirsk Monthly Meeting was visited; Joseph Taylor joining us here. We were now seven in number, which we did not find too many, the work we were engaged in being very weighty and laborious. In this meeting, a remnant were sincerely concerned to maintain discipline and good order, in the spirit and life thereof; yet great lukewarmness and many deficiencies appeared; an earthly carnal spirit having much the ascendancy in parents, and rawness, insensibility, and a deviation from plainness, in many of the youth; which caused us deep and painful labor; yet, through the descending of heavenly virtue, we were enabled to speak closely to their states, which, I hope, had a good effect on some of them. This opportunity afforded much relief to our spirits, and we went away with peace.

The 8th we were at Gisborough Monthly Meeting, held at Kirbymoorside; where a very large number of members attended, with an outward appearance becoming our holy profession, and we found a truly concerned remnant amongst them. But at this, as well as at other places, we had, with sorrow of heart, to view the great desolation that an enemy had made in the time of outward ease and liberty. He could not prevail upon our worthy predecessors, by depriving them of their liberty, in jails and stinking dungeons; separation, by banishment and otherwise, of those in the nearest ties and connexion of life. No, the loss of all their outward substance, and the lives of many, could not deter them from maintaining their testimony for God in public worship and other things; yet he has mightily prevailed on many of their inconsiderate offspring, who seem to have very little besides the husk left to feed upon. Divine goodness was wonderfully extended, in which much fervent labor was bestowed, and it was an awakening time. The foundation of the builders upon the sand was shaken, and Jesus Christ, the everlasting rock and sure foundation, was exalted, as the only safe rest and defense of his people.

The 11th we visited Malton Monthly Meeting; the state whereof appeared very low, and things

relating to our discipline much out of order. Divine goodness being near, our minds were strengthened and our mouths opened, in earnest endeavors for their help and recovery; a small remnant amongst themselves joining with us herein. I hope it was a profitable time to some. The 13th we visited Scarborough Monthly Meeting, held at Whitby, where, although we found a sincere remnant with whom we had unity in spirit, and they had a satisfactory sense of our close and earnest labors in that meeting; yet many under the same profession were greatly backslidden and revolted from the primitive power and purity of that undefiled religion, which the faithful amongst us have been and are led into. Divine help was eminently manifested, in order to heal their backsliding, and to bring them into a due sense of the weight and great importance of those testimonies to the blessed Truth, given to us as a people to bear, which made good impression on some; but others seemed at so great a distance, that it was hard to make them rightly sensible of their true interest. We departed from there with ease and peace of mind.

The 14th, Bridlington Monthly Meeting was held, which was very small, and the life of religion very low; but little ability and judgment to manage the affairs of the church appeared. It was our opinion, they were too weak to subsist honorably as a Monthly Meeting, and that it would promote the general good, to join them to some other Monthly Meeting. The 17th, Oustwick Monthly Meeting was held at Hull. Upon the usual inquiries, it appeared that much lukewarmness and defection had crept in; and for lack of a godly zeal in most of the active members, discipline had not been strictly and impartially maintained, so that darkness and weakness had prevailed. In this mournful state of things, our labors were painful and exercising; yet, through divine assistance, the testimony of Truth in its several branches, was exalted, and judgment set upon those who had violated the same. The few sincere-hearted laborers amongst them were earnestly advised and encouraged to bear the ark of the testimony of the Lord as upon their shoulders, in the people's sight, which I hope had a good effect. The 19th, we visited the Monthly Meeting of Cave. The appearance of the members was plain, yet we found great deadness and insensibility amongst them, which must be the case where people are contented in an empty form of religion, without the power of it. Much Christian labor was bestowed in order to kindle a living zeal; but, alas! little impression was made on some, yet I hope this visit was of considerable service to others, and may tend to general benefit; but all the increase is of the Lord.

The 21st we visited York Monthly Meeting, wherein appeared much lack of a lively sense of Truth on the minds of active members, and many deficiencies and some disorders, had crept in and remained, by a neglect of proper dealing and the exercise of sound judgment. Here we had cause to see, as well as at many other places, that a literal knowledge of our discipline, without heavenly life influencing the minds of those exercised therein, brings nothing effectually to

pass, to God's glory, and the edification of his church and people. Great and deep was our labor, under a weighty sense of the divine power, and also of the low, languid state of the church in this city, desiring she might be favored to arise and shake herself from the dust of the earth, strengthening the things which remain. This finished our visits to the Monthly Meetings in this county; and though I have not particularly mentioned the opportunities taken by us in select meetings of ministers and elders, yet we had such opportunities in most or all the Monthly Meetings; where the queries were read and answered, advice, caution, counsel and reproof also, were administered, as we found ourselves led and influenced thereunto.

The 24th of the sixth month, the Quarterly Meeting was held in York. We had drawn up the state of their Monthly Meetings, being fourteen in number, as the same appeared to us from their answers to the usual queries, and other inquiries made by us in our late visit to them, with remarks thereon, particularly on the great and mournful slackness in, and neglect of, divine worship; especially on week-days, which discovers an indifference and lukewarmness much to be lamented. Earnest labor was bestowed in that great meeting, to fasten on the minds of Friends the weight and great importance of qualified members coming more earnestly and feelingly under a deep sense of the care of the churches; that so an increase of zeal and diligence may be exercised throughout, in warning the unruly, comforting the feeble-minded, and in supporting the weak. It was a solemn time, the members being sensibly affected with the great need of a better regulation in several respects; and a large committee was appointed to visit and assist the Monthly and Particular Meetings, as they saw cause, in order to help forward the necessary work of reformation. The Monthly Meetings also, except one, in consequence of our visit appointed committees to visit Particular Meetings and individuals, as their way might open, to promote the better putting in practice of our Christian discipline. In this city, our friend John Hunt of London joined us; and here we parted with Jonathan Raine, Matthew Mellor and William Hird.

We went next into Lincolnshire, and on the 29th of the sixth month, visited their Monthly Meeting, held at Gainsborough, where John Oxley of Norwich met us. Things appeared very low and defective, as to the discipline and good order of the church in this place; many of the members being, through indifference and weakness, insensible of its great worth and usefulness. Our spirits were deeply baptized into a sense of their states, and we received ability, with great plainness, to lay before them the dangerous consequence of such an unsavory, unfruitful condition, and the great duty which the members of society owed to God, themselves and to one another, in a religious capacity, which for the present seemed to affect their minds; may the impression be lasting! We had also some things to offer by way of encouragement, to a few sincere, though weak ones amongst them. The 2nd of the seventh month, we visited Wainfleet Monthly Meeting, finding things distressingly low and much out of order; and but few who had

the cause of Truth at heart, so as to mourn because of the great desolation and waste made in the Society there, by earthly-mindedness and other fleshly liberties. Our minds were deeply engaged that Truth might break through, and soften the minds of those dry, carnal professors, who, instead of helping forward the necessary work of discipline, were great clogs and hindrances thereto, being as dead weights on the more lively part of the body. Through the holy efficacy of that pure life, which graciously attended us from place to place, we were enabled to discharge our consciences at that meeting, in much plain dealing, to our own peace and the comfort and relief of the few upright-hearted amongst them.

The 4th we visited Spalding Monthly Meeting, where also much disorder and slackness appeared in some; others, who would seem to be something in religion, were but too much like the unfruitful fig tree, on which, when it came to be nearly examined, nothing was to be found but leaves; having, like Ephraim and Demas, forsaken the dew and tenderness of their youth, and embraced this present world. Such, though they retain something of the outward resemblance, cannot prosper in religion, as they are dry and insipid. In this low, mournful state of things, Truth arose, and furnished with suitable matter and utterance, in plain dealing with formal professors, and proper encouragement to some hopeful youth and others, to come up in a more lively zeal and concern for God's cause, than had been maintained of late at that meeting, which I hope was of good service. The 6th we visited Lincoln Monthly Meeting, held at Broughton. This meeting appeared in a very low condition, as to a lively sense of Truth; the discipline thereof was not rightly managed, being done much in the will, wisdom, and temper of man. Some appeared hopeful and tender, especially of a younger rank, to whom, I hope, our deep and earnest labor amongst them was profitable.

The 8th of the seventh month, the Quarterly Meeting was held at Lincoln; before which we laid in writing, the languid and disorderly state of the Society in that county, with close remarks thereon, pointing out, in some measure, the cause of the great declension found amongst them. This was accompanied with our joint and earnest endeavors, to bring the weight of those things upon the members, that they might feel a proper engagement of mind to arise and repair the breaches made, which had a good effect on some minds, and a committee was appointed in order to promote the work of reformation; which was also done at most, or all their Monthly Meetings. From Lincoln, John Hunt and Joseph Row returned home to London, and John Oxley to Norwich; Thomas Corbyn, Joseph Taylor and myself, went into Nottinghamshire.

The 13th of the seventh month we visited Retford Monthly Meeting, as it was called, wherein we found a few tender and hopeful, and had some openness to administer counsel and advice, tending to their help and improvement, which appeared to be well received, and some minds were affected therewith; yet very little was discovered by us of discipline being put in practice,

but almost every thing relating thereto was neglected. It was our judgment they ought to be joined to some other Monthly Meeting, yet their situation rendered that somewhat difficult; however, we concluded to lay the case before their ensuing Quarterly Meeting. The 14th we visited Mansfield Monthly Meeting, which also appeared very low and weak; but very little of the business of a Monthly Meeting being properly done, as the number was very small that generally attended, and in most of them the essential qualification for service in the church of Christ was much wanting. It was therefore our judgment, that it would be for the general good, that Mansfield Monthly Meeting should be joined to that of Chesterfield, except Oxon Particular Meeting; which from its situation might better be joined to Nottingham. The 15th we visited Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, wherein divine goodness was livingly manifested, in order to administer proper assistance, by way of advice, counsel, and encouragement, to this small, weak meeting, wherein discipline, in several of its branches, was much neglected; yet there appeared an openness in the members to be instructed and helped forward in that weighty work, which, through the strength and efficacy of divine love, was largely extended to them, in which we had satisfaction of mind.

The 16th we went to Breach, called a Monthly Meeting, but we found it in that respect, almost desolate. The testimony of Truth, so precious to their ancestors in that place, was by them allowed to fall, in most of its branches; but few of those who were active members, appearing clear in its support. Darkness had greatly prevailed over their minds, yet our deep labor, under the influence of heavenly good, had a tendering effect upon some of them. One thing aimed at by us was, that the members of that meeting might be joined to the Monthly Meeting of Nottingham, they being unfit to remain in their present condition, which was consented to by them, a minute made, and some of their members appointed to propose the same to Nottingham meeting. The 17th we visited Nottingham Monthly Meeting; the number here was pretty large, but the pure virtue of heavenly goodness, without the sensible experience whereof there can be no prosperity in the Truth, seemed to be much depressed and obstructed by earthly-mindedness, covered over with a form of religion in some heads of families, by whom undue liberties were winked at in their offspring: such not having zeal enough to suppress wrong things in their own families, are not likely to promote good order and discipline in the church. We found some who united with us in a deep and earnest labor for a better regulation, and much sound admonition, caution and counsel, were administered, which seemed, at least for the present, to have an awakening effect on some.

On the 20th of the seventh month, the Quarterly Meeting was held at Nottingham, and as we understood, a junction of that and the Quarterly Meeting of Derbyshire, was agreed on between them, and shortly to be completed, we drew up the state of the Monthly Meetings in both the said counties, as the same appeared to us in our late visit, with remarks on the mournful declen-

sion found amongst them, pointing out to them in some measure, what we apprehended to be the cause thereof, that those concerned might both examine themselves and be more watchful, in order to prevent such consequences for the future. This was read in this meeting, and endeavors used verbally also, that the meeting might come under a solid sense of the state of their Monthly Meetings, that proper assistance might be extended for a general reformation. But, alas! there were but few amongst them enough devoted, heartily to engage in so good and necessary a work; however, we were enabled to clear ourselves, by leaving the weight of things upon them, and to depart with ease and sweet peace of mind. All praises and humble thanksgivings to our holy Head, for his gracious and comfortable support, in our deep exercises and labor from place to place. For, alas! we should soon have fainted under the weight of that painful service, had he been pleased to withdraw, even but for a little time; but we found him a never-failing Fountain of all we stood in need of, and when our service for this time was over, we could not say we lacked any thing.

The 21st of the seventh month we visited Castle-Donnington Monthly Meeting in Leicestershire, wherein divine favor was largely extended, in which we received strength to labor earnestly, for the reviving of a living concern in the members, that discipline and good order might be better maintained, which, through the indifference of some, and the backward, cowardly disposition of others, was but poorly supported in sundry respects. This opportunity seemed to have a good effect, by a considerable reach upon many of their minds, and I hope may prove of great advantage to that meeting, as the members thereof seemed rather weak than willful. The 24th we visited Hinkley Monthly Meeting, which, as to the support of discipline and Gospel order, appeared almost desolate. Our earnest labor for their help and recovery had little visible impression on some of their members, the insensibility was so great; though others were awakened to a degree of feeling and tenderness, who, I hope, received some benefit thereby. The best expedient that appeared to us, was their being joined to Leicester Monthly Meeting, which was accordingly recommended. The 25th we visited Dalby Monthly Meeting; and as it appeared in the same state as that last mentioned, I shall refer to that account, and only say, we advised it should be joined to the Monthly Meeting of Castle-Donnington, except a small branch thereof, which lay contiguous to Leicester.

The 27th we were at Oakham Monthly Meeting, where much slackness and indifference appeared, too many of the active members being at ease in a profession, while wrong things prevailed, and death instead of life, overshadowed their meetings. The Lord engaged us in a deep and fervent labor, to stir them up, that they might arise and shake themselves from the dust and clogging things of the earth, to receive the eye-salve of God's kingdom, whereby they might come to see their own state as individual members, and also the general state of the church. Oh, how ashamed would some then be, of their poverty and nakedness! We found a

few amongst them in a humble, teachable frame of mind, with whom we had good satisfaction, hoping this opportunity might tend to their help and improvement in the best things. The 28th we visited Leicester Monthly Meeting, in which we found some honest laborers for Zion's prosperity, and Truth opened our way, as at other places, to look carefully into the state of things, and to apply suitable counsel and advice, as the same immediately opened, for restoring good order and wholesome discipline, which appeared much neglected; and I hope the opportunity was of good service to that meeting.

On the 29th of the seventh month, the Quarterly Meeting for the county was held at Leicester, before which, we laid in writing the state of their Monthly Meetings, as it appeared to us, with such remarks as seemed proper and necessary; and were deeply concerned, to bring a weighty sense of their great declension upon the spirits of the active members, and the great necessity of a speedy exertion of their Christian endeavors for a regulation, lest a general desolation should ensue. But, alas! the stupefaction was so great in this as well as other places, that it was hard laborious work; yet not without hope of a revival, as some concerned members were, by the overshadowing of divine power, made willing to give up their names, to contribute their endeavors for carrying on the necessary work of reformation, so happily begun in the Yearly Meeting.

Here ended our visit to Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for the present; and I have, with deep reverence, humbly to acknowledge, that a remarkable evidence of divine approbation attended us throughout; making us of one heart by the baptism of his unerring Spirit, so that scarcely a difference of sentiment from one another appeared during the whole journey. Another thing which appeared to me a token of divine favor attending, was the open reception we met with, notwithstanding the plainness used by us, in very close searching inquiries and remarks upon many disorders. I hope my usual freedom, in laying open the states of the Monthly Meetings, will give no just cause of offense to any who wish well to Zion, since nothing is more likely to strike the minds of succeeding generations with fear and care, than to have the lukewarmness and defection of many, who have been so wonderfully favored, set in a true light before them, together with such a remarkable account of the Lord's compassion and condescending kindness, in seeking their restoration, and offering his mercy to heal all their backslidings. How can any, without being somewhat affected with fear, read the sorrowful degeneracy of some Christian churches, even in the apostles days; like the first fruits in the Gospel vineyard; particularly that of the seven churches in Asia Minor, discovered to the beloved John, in his state of banishment for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ, and by him with great plainness committed to writing, as a call and warning from God to them, and to remain, for the same end, to all succeeding generations? I have no other end in what I have written concerning the state of our Society; for whose help and preservation I have been freely given up in body, soul and

spirit, as well as in what outward substance the Lord has bountifully favored me with, to contribute my small endeavors, that her light may go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burns.

A summary account of this visit and service was drawn up by us, and read in the Yearly Meeting of 1762, as had been done the year before, when engaged in a service of the like nature. A similar visit was also performed by other Friends, who had, since the Yearly Meeting, 1761, engaged therein in different parts, and all the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, in that part of Great Britain properly called England, had then been visited; which, as far as appeared, had been performed to general satisfaction. The Yearly Meeting then recommended to the Friends appointed in 1760, the care of extending the same brotherly assistance to the meetings of our friends in Wales, Scotland and Ireland, as their way might open in Gospel freedom. Neither did the Yearly Meeting omit sending a warm, lively epistle to those already visited, to corroborate, revive and strengthen the great labor bestowed, that the same might be made effectual. I shall now close this narrative with just adding, that I have found by solid experience, it was a blessed work, and greatly blessed in carrying on. May it be so in the fruits arising therefrom, is the sincere desire of my soul.

The 21st of the eighth month, 1762, I set out, in order to visit London and some other parts, and on first-day the 22nd, I went to Ratcliff meeting in the morning, where I had close, thorough service; Truth and its testimony having considerable dominion. It was an awakening time to careless professors, and of refreshing consolation to Zion's travelers, of whom I believe there was a considerable number there; I had with satisfaction to believe that meeting was on the improving hand. I went in the afternoon to Horslydown; this was a time of deep travail and painful labor, as the life of religion seemed to be greatly depressed, by much indifference of mind in many, and the prevalence of fleshly liberties in others; yet through infinite condescension, at length the power and virtue of Truth arose, whereby the testimony thereof was exalted over wrong things. On the second-day following I attended the morning meeting, and went on fourth-day to their Monthly Meeting at the Peel, in which, through the extending of heavenly good, I had open, edifying service; Friends being favored with a degree of that holy leaven, which, as it is abode in, preserves the several members of one heart and one mind. Oh, then the work goes sweetly on, the body edifying itself in love, as well as with one voice giving forth sound judgment against wrong things.

On first-day, the 29th, I went in the morning to Westminster, which was a very open good meeting, the testimony of Truth went forth freely and largely, wisdom being given to divide the word aright, so that the disobedient were warned, and the mourners in Zion comforted. I went in the afternoon to the Peel meeting, which was large and very laborious, in suffering silence

throughout; which, in sympathy with the depressed Seed of God's kingdom, and for an example to the professors thereof, appeared to be my proper business at that time. I attended the morning meeting on second-day, and went on third-day to Plaistow week-day meeting, in which I had some close service; but the life of religion appeared to me low there, the professors of Truth neglecting a constant labor for daily bread. I spent that afternoon and the next day, chiefly on a visit to our worthy friend John Hayward, who appeared green in old age. On fifth-day, the 2nd of the ninth month, I went to Tottenham; there being two considerable Friends' schools, one for boys, and the other for girls. By the free opening of the living fountain, it was a very precious, comfortable meeting, doctrine and counsel being plentifully handed forth, suitably adapted to the children's weak capacities, as well as to those of riper age: through the divine blessing, it was a time of favor and refreshment to the upright in heart. That afternoon I had a very comfortable reviving time with our friend Josiah Forster and family, he being in a very poor state of health, in appearance not likely to continue long in this world; with much tenderness, he expressed great satisfaction in that opportunity.

On sixth-day, the 3rd, I went to Gracechurch street meeting, which was low and laborious; it appeared my proper business to sit in silence. On first-day, the 5th, I went to Grace-church street in the morning, where the meeting was exceedingly large, and for a time, very trying and painful; yet in the latter part, it pleased the Lord to arise and his enemies were scattered; then was Truth exalted, and its testimony went forth freely, having great dominion. In the afternoon, I went to the Peel meeting, where I had large, open service, and Truth was over all; it being a time of much comfort and relief to the sincere-hearted. Next day I was at the Monthly Morning meeting of ministers and elders, so called, because the members more generally attend, especially the women. It was a blessed time, wherein I had open good service, showing the great difference between the ministers of the letter and those of the Spirit: that the letter without the Spirit, kills that which is begotten of God in the hearts of people; and that it is the holy power, efficacy and demonstration of the eternal Spirit, which render the Holy Scripture, outward ministry, and all other means ordained of God, for the comfort, help and preservation of his people, effectual. I had to observe, that the ministers of the letter were most of all concerned for the external appearance of their ministry, that is, that the words and doctrine may be curiously adapted, not to disgust, but rather to please those who have itching ears; on the contrary, the ministers of the Spirit are least of all concerned about the outward appearance of their ministry; having no doubt, if they are careful in the spring, ground, and moving cause, which they know should be the constraining power of the holy Spirit, the other will be agreeable thereunto; seeing that power is able to render the most low and simple expression, in man's account, exceedingly efficacious.

On third-day, the 7th, I set out, accompanied by several Friends, in order to have a meeting that

afternoon at Charley-wood; it was a time of awakening labor, I hope not easily to be forgotten. On fourth-day, the 8th, I had a precious, open, serviceable meeting at Jordan's in the morning; it was a time of general awakening, at least to a present sense of duty: the afternoon meeting at Uxbridge was painful and laborious, and what made it more afflicting was, that the Gospel endeavors used for the help and recovery of lukewarm professors, seemed to take very little effect upon their minds. On fourth-day, the 8th, I went to Staines meeting, which, in the fore-part, was a time of very heavy, painful, silent labor; in which, as at many other times on the like occasion, I fully expected the cloud and distress would remain, till we separated one from another; yet near the conclusion, through infinite condescension, Truth arose and obtained a complete victory over wrong things; their states being spoken to with great plainness; but, alas! the life of religion seemed low amongst most of all ranks there. I went next day to a meeting at Godalming, which proved a time of much favor, in the sweet and precious enjoyment of the consolating streams of that river, which makes glad the whole city of God; in the blessed efficacy whereof, the doctrines of Truth were largely opened, setting forth the nature of faith, hope and charity; that the greatest of all is charity, as faith will be swallowed up in open vision, and hope in the full enjoyment; but charity never fails nor changes its nature, being the same in time and in eternity.

On first-day, the 12th, I was at Alton in Hampshire, where we had a very large precious and baptizing meeting; in the morning, the testimony of Truth had great dominion, and the living members were sweetly comforted together. The afternoon meeting was very heavy and laborious, and held in silence. I had a very open satisfactory meeting at Esher, on third-day the 14th, and another at Wandsworth the next day; after which I went to London, and the next day, being the 16th of the ninth month, I returned home, finding my dear wife and family well: having, through infinite kindness, been much favored in my service this small journey, and found more openness in the city of London than heretofore. It was with great comfort I saw a growing hidden remnant in that city, who will be exalted in Israel in the Lord's time; who has, and will yet open a way more and more, for his pained traveling children to exalt his name and Truth, by removing the stumbling-blocks and other impediments which remain in their way, and hinder them, in some measure, from taking the rule and government, which is their due and right in the kingdom of Christ; and usurpers shall see, that none can sit with Christ upon thrones, but those who faithfully follow him in the regeneration, agreeably to his gracious promise, namely, Mat. xix. 28, and Luke xxii. 30.

To this period of time, being now in the fiftieth year of my age, I have continued an account of divers occurrences of my life, labors and experiences, with observations on the state of the Christian Society of which I am a member; and though done in a way of plain dealing, yet in truth and sincerity, as my mind has been immediately led and opened thereunto. Let none take

any undue advantages thereby to reproach the Truth; for no society of Christians, that I have had any knowledge of, has any advantage of this people, either in principle or practice. Here I intend to lay aside my pen for the present, not knowing that time or ability will be given to add any more, which is all in the Lord's hand; to whom I humbly commit this, with my soul and body, for preservation, during the short space of time he may be pleased yet to lengthen my days; beseeching that his blessing may attend what is done; without which, our endeavors are fruitless, for all the increase is in him and by him, who is glorious in holiness, and fearful in praise. To whom be dominion and glory, through all ages and generations. Amen.

CHAPTER 10

Prospect of a religious visit to America and his proceedings preparatory thereto—Embarks at Gravesend arrival in Philadelphia labors within the limits of that Yearly Meeting—Visits Virginia and Carolina—Returns to Philadelphia—Sets out for New-England and proceeds as far as Boston and Salem then to Oblong and New-York—Attends meetings in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and in Delaware and Maryland—Returns home.

From the year 1762, to the seventh month, 1765, I have preserved no particular memorandum of my travels and service that I can find, and although I traveled no considerable journeys, yet, as I always thought it my incumbent duty, from my first acquaintance with God's everlasting Truth, I diligently attended meetings when at home and well, both first and week-days, also the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, as they fell in course; as well as some adjacent Quarterly and other meetings, In the year 1764, I attended the Yearly Meetings of Colchester, Woodbridge and Norwich, to good satisfaction and comfort, being favored with free open service therein, especially the two last. In the same year, having an inclination to visit London and some parts adjacent, as my way might open; and likewise having a manuscript by me, which I had written about two years before, containing brief remarks upon sundry important subjects, several Friends, whose judgment I valued, having perused it, expressed their unity therewith, generally apprehending there might be a service in making the same public. Being thus encouraged, I laid it before the Second-day morning meeting of London, as is usual in such cases, and attended the revising of it for the most part: Friends agreed it should be printed, which was accordingly done. It was afterwards reprinted here, in Ireland, and in America.

Having had a view, for several years, of visiting Friends in the American colonies, as I waited with earnest desires to be rightly directed in so solemn and weighty an undertaking, both as to the thing itself and the proper time to enter thereupon, I was favored with clear and full satis-

faction, in both respects; and had seen, for a considerable time, that I should embark for that service soon after our Yearly Meeting, 1765. This I esteemed a particular favor, as I had thereby the better opportunity to order my outward affairs timely, so that I might, with more freedom and ease, leave them so long a time; yet, except to my wife and two or three Friends, who were enjoined secrecy, I kept all to myself, till about the time it became necessary to lay my concern before the Monthly Meeting. I readily obtained its concurrence, and a certificate very fully expressive of unity; which I carried to our Quarterly Meeting, laying the same, with my concern, before that meeting; and obtained its concurrence, signified by an endorsement on the Monthly Meeting certificate. This I laid before the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders in London, and after a time of weighty consideration, Friends drew up and signed a certificate of their full unity with me and my intended undertaking. The ready and unanimous concurrence of my much esteemed friends, was a great strength and comfort to me in entering upon and throughout this solemn engagement. I was very sensible it was of such a nature, that the whole body of Friends were interested in the right and proper performance of it; and therefore found my mind much resigned to the divine will, and to the determination of his people.

I returned home from the Yearly Meeting, to complete the settlement of my outward affairs, having partly concluded, with divine permission, to embark in a ship likely to sail in two or three weeks, I went to our Quarterly and Yearly Meeting at Colchester; where, being taken very ill of a fever, I returned home with my wife in a post-chaise, being unable to ride on horseback, and was confined to my chamber about ten days. This put a stop to all preparations for my intended voyage; and on account of my illness, I had wholly given up the expectation of going in the before-mentioned ship; but when I recovered, so as to be able to move a little about, my mind did not seem easy to let that ship go away without me. I therefore wrote to the merchants or owners, who were desirous I should go in her, to know what time they could allow me to get ready; their answer was, about ten days. The time was short, and I was very weak in body, and had some affairs of consequence to settle, which would take time; however, the will being good, I set about them in earnest, and beyond expectation succeeded, recovered strength apace, and got through my affairs in time to satisfaction. I could not help looking upon this as a providential success, far beyond human probability: the Lord in his dealing with us his poor dependent creatures, sometimes brings us very low, baffling all our skill and contrivance, that he may clearly show us, that our success in spiritual things, and even in temporals also, is by his providence.

On the 9th day of the seventh month, 1765, I took leave of my dear wife and family, and accompanied by several friends, went to meet the ship at Gravesend, where we were met by about fifteen or sixteen Friends from London; we dined together, and lodged there that night. Next day being the 10th of the seventh month, I took leave of Friends in much tender affection,

and went on board the Carolina, James Friend master, bound for Philadelphia. We got under sail about eleven o'clock, but it was nearly a week before we took our departure from the Land's-end of England. We had for a few days, a pretty fair wind and a good set-off from the land; yet on our passage we had a great deal of contrary winds, and often a head sea. About the 9th and 10th of the eighth month, and for some time before, things had a very discouraging aspect, having got but a little on our way for about twenty days; and most of the company seeming to be affected with sadness on that account. At the same time I had a strong persuasion of mind, that the wind would turn in our favor before night, and had an inclination to tell them so, in order to cheer their spirits, but was fearful of presuming too much upon the certainty of what presented to my view, lest I should prove a false prophet, and thereby bring dishonor to the good cause; however, it proved true, and held favorable to us a considerable time, so that we sailed next day seven or eight miles an hour the right way.

The 21st of the eighth month, we found ourselves upon the banks of Newfoundland, having about twenty-eight fathom water. It was some satisfaction to find ourselves so far on our way; I was favored with very good health, and a good appetite all the time, and through divine favor, generally with a quiet resigned mind, having full satisfaction that I was in my place. The captain was very steady and well qualified for his station, and very kind to me; the passengers also were generally civil in their behavior, though they often burdened and wearied my spirit with their trifling, vain, empty discourses, in which I could not join, but was rather a reprover and a weight against them, which I am persuaded they frequently felt, and I am sensible I was a considerable awe upon them; yet I thought it was prudent, as we were confined in one another's company, to uphold a family respect. I often reprov'd their vanity and corrupt conversation, and was enabled, in a good degree, to bring judgment over them, so that some would own I was right. Alas, I had sorrowfully to observe how empty, vain, trifling, and even corrupt, the conduct of those esteemed the genteel and polite part of mankind, in our day, is become; little or nothing to be found therein, that conveys solid, profitable instruction, either in things relating to this life or the next, but in general it tends to deprave and corrupt. Yet many thus void of self-denial and the government of their tongues, pretend, with great assurance, to lay claim to the holy and undefiled religion of Jesus Christ; surely, they do not give themselves time to think seriously about the nature of that religion, and must conclude that the name and profession without the spirit and life, is all they are to look for, except adhering to a few exterior observations: such gross darkness and stupefaction is much to be lamented, but very hard to be helped when they are so ignorant of their own states.

It was the 10th of the ninth month, early in the morning, that we first saw land, which proved to be Cape Henlopen; about six o'clock we got a pilot on board, who was a native Indian; about nine we entered the capes of the Delaware, with the tide beginning to make in our favor; about

eleven our ship struck the ground three times, but soon got off. We had fine wind and weather, which made it pleasant sailing up the bay and river; we got up with that tide, within about six leagues of the city. Next day, about eleven o'clock, we came to anchor before the city of Philadelphia. I soon landed and went directly to my old quarters, being very kindly received as formerly, by my much esteemed friends Isaac and Sarah Zane. I was about nine weeks on board the ship in all, and about eight from land to land. I attended their week-day meeting on fifth-day, and had some good open service therein. I went on first-day to the great meeting, where perhaps, nearly, if not quite, fifteen hundred Friends, or those under our profession, were present; my business among them at that time seemed to be to set them an example of silence. I had, with secret lamentation, to view the remarkable declension from a true spiritual exercise, which appeared to me very general, looking for words to feed upon; and found that craving was to be disappointed and famished, and therefore was often shut up from public service amongst them, especially at the great house, though I had some very clear, open, powerful times, in the blessed light and life of the everlasting Gospel, there also.

On sixth-day, the 20th of the ninth month, I crossed the river Delaware, and went to Haddonfield Quarterly Meeting, which was very large, and I was opened to declare the Truth amongst them with good authority. I returned next day to the city, and attended the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, where things seemed low: this Yearly Meeting, which was very large, concluded on sixth-day. It was in a good degree favored with divine wisdom and strength, wherein Friends were enabled to consider and conclude some weighty affairs with unanimity and brotherly love. The Lord was graciously with me, affording wisdom and strength to be serviceable at this meeting, both in ministry and discipline, wherein I had sweet peace and comfort. I went the first-day following to Springfield meeting, in Chester county, where I had very open weighty service, and the blessed Truth prevailed. In the evening I had a comfortable meeting with a sick friend at Darby, who soon after departed this life. I then returned to Philadelphia, and attended both their week-day meetings, which were painfully laborious in silent travail. On sixth-day went to their Monthly Meeting, and was livingly opened therein, to show the reason why the church of Christ is compared to a human body, consisting of many and various members; I had good service also in the meeting of business. Their number is very large, but many appeared to me weak and unskilful as to the proper qualifications of active members in the church, and some did not appear to be redeemed from fear, favor, and affection in judgment. I had great comfort in the labor of this day.

On third-day, the 1st of the tenth month, I had a very large meeting at Haddonfield, in West Jersey; the word was given with clearness and Gospel authority, and I had to show the power and efficacy of true faith, and the weakness and insufficiency of a historical faith: it was a good time, and the glorious Truth was exalted. I then went to Chester; the meeting was very large,

and I had close, thorough service therein, on the subject of self-denial and taking up the daily cross. On fifth-day, had a very large meeting at Evesham, and had weighty service therein, on the nature of that new birth, without which no man can see the kingdom of God; most of the auditory seemed much strangers thereto, which made the labor heavier, yet wisdom was mercifully given to divide the word to this numerous assembly, for about the space of two hours. Next day I had a very thronged meeting at Mount-holly, in New-Jersey; my labor in the ministry was very close and searching, to good satisfaction. On first-day, the 6th of the tenth month, was at Burlington meeting, and had an open time; also at their Monthly Meeting on the second-day following, which was very large; I was livingly opened upon these words, "Pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks;" also showing, that the power of the word of life ought to be the spring of action in the church of Christ.

On third-day, accompanied by several friends, I crossed the river Delaware, and had a small poor meeting at Bristol, in Pennsylvania. I labored according to ability received, to stir up the members to a more lively concern, but things appeared very low. On fourth-day I had a large meeting at the Falls; it was very laborious, under a sense of a dry, lifeless state in too many, and the inconsistent conduct of others; especially in excessive drinking, which I felt to cause a very ill savor: I was informed afterward, that it had greatly prevailed upon many, and that several who were there that day, had been disowned on that account. Next day I had a large meeting at Wright's-town; and was opened therein, to show the similarity between the travels of the soul towards spiritual Canaan, and those of the Israelites towards the outward Canaan. It was a close awakening time to dry, formal professors. On sixth-day, I had a large meeting at Buckingham; to this great gathering the everlasting Gospel was powerfully preached, and the end and design of true ministry set forth. This was a blessed time of divine refreshment, to the rejoicing of many hearts, and arousing, I hope, of the lukewarm, in a good degree. After this meeting, I felt it in my mind to speak to Thomas Ross, a Friend in the ministry, of that county, to bear me company to the southern provinces, which he, after due consideration and obtaining his friends' concurrence and certificate, complied with; and not only that journey, but also to New England, etc., so that I was favored with the agreeable company of this valuable Friend, through most of my American travels, which was to my great comfort.

On first-day, the 13th of the tenth month, I was at North Wales meeting, which was very large, and was favored with a thorough open time, to the tendering of many hearts. The day following had a large meeting at Plymouth. I was opened upon that passage, "Believe not every spirit;" and had close work with libertines, such as are commonly called free-thinkers, and was carried over them: Truth and its testimony was greatly exalted, and triumphed over that spirit and other wrong things. On third-day, had a large meeting at Horsham, and was powerfully opened on the words of the prophet Joel: "I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh," etc., with some close

remarks to those who rest satisfied with a mere profession. After meeting, came a seventh-day Baptist to the Friend's house where I was; and if I had allowed it, would have led me out into a wide field of argument, for which I had neither time nor inclination. He advanced several points, but I kept him so close to some of them that he was soon foiled; he found my method of arguing different from his; he being for a multitude of words and a great deal of ramble, and I was for few words close to the point, backed with clear Scripture proof, so we had quickly done. He seemed willing to drop it, and so was I, for such are so full of notion and so fixed therein, that the clearest reasoning seems thrown away upon them.

On fourth-day had a very large meeting at Abington, the place which I belonged to in my youthful days, and where I was first, through infinite mercy, brought to the knowledge of the ever blessed Truth; and where my mouth was first opened above thirty years before, in a public testimony. A dark cloud seemed painfully over the meeting in the fore part, yet at length Truth prevailed, and utterance was largely given to declare the doctrine thereof, showing that the children of Israel feared the Lord all the days of Joshua, and of the elders that, out-lived him. It was a very awakening time, and many appeared to be pretty much affected. Next day I had a small meeting at Frankford, things appeared very low and dark for a time, yet at length, wisdom and utterance were given upon these words, "Man being in honor, abides not: he is like the beasts that perish." There seemed a lack of a living concern in the general. Next day had a large meeting at Germantown; this was a dark, painful time in the fore part; Truth measurably arose, and the word was given: "Let God arise; let his enemies be scattered."

Went after meeting to Philadelphia, and on first-day, the 20th of the tenth month, over Schuylkill, to Merion meeting; things appeared low, as to the life of religion: I was concerned to call them to work while it is day, and it was a close searching time. On second-day I went to the burial of a valuable Friend at Darby, the same with whom I had a meeting before mentioned; the meeting was very large, and there was great openness to declare the Truth with clearness and divine authority, even to the confounding libertines and gainsayers, of whom I fear there is a considerable number in that place: this seemed to me the most favored time I had had since I landed, and being also at the meeting I formerly belonged to for many years, it was a precious renewal of that sweet unity some of us had enjoyed together many times formerly in that place. Next day I went to Philadelphia; and the first-day following to Newtown meeting, in Chester county, where I had very searching laborious service; things appeared to me mournfully low, as to the life of religion, many being at ease in a profession thereof. I went next day to the Monthly Meeting at Providence, and had some good edifying service to the poor in spirit; things appeared very low and heavy in the meeting for business. On third-day I had a large meeting at Radnor, and labored to convince them that there is something in religion besides the form and outward profession, but few seemed to me alive therein. On fourth-day went to

Haverford meeting; I was opened upon the words of the apostle: "Great is the mystery of godliness; God manifested in the flesh." It was a good time, though the professors are but few and in a weak state.

I went on fifth-day to the Monthly Meeting at Darby, the life of religion seemed very much depressed. I was silent as to ministry, but had some service in the meeting of business, and returned to the city that night. I had been indisposed some days past, and in much pain with a kind of flux; took some medicine on sixth-day, and was soon better. Next day I went to their Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders, where I was livingly opened on that passage, "Him that overcomes, I will make a pillar in the house of my God," etc.; showing that the beast and the false prophet must be overcome, before we can stand with safety and approbation in the great work of the ministry. This Quarterly Meeting ended on third-day, at the several sittings of which I had good open service, particularly at the Bank meeting on first-day afternoon, showing that those who are more willing to receive than to make suitable returns, are neither so honest nor grateful as they ought to be; and on third-day, at the great house, being the Youths' meeting, which was very large, concerning the nature and necessity of Christ's baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire; there was great flowing of love and enlargement of heart to the young people that way. On fourth-day I was at a meeting appointed for the poor negroes, and had open good service amongst them, in the free flowing of universal love, wherein I was enabled to open unto them the way of life and salvation; several of them appeared to be affected and tendered; it was a comfortable time. On fifth-day I was at a marriage in the city, and largely opened upon these words, "The blessing of God makes truly rich," etc.; showing there is no real happiness in any station of life without it. It was a good time, for Truth prevailed.

I set out on sixth-day, the 8th of the tenth month, on my intended journey towards Maryland, Virginia and Carolina; and went that night to my brother-in-law, Micajah Speakman's, at Concord. Next day began their Quarterly Meeting: through divine favor, I had thorough service at the three meetings held there: on seventh-day, at the meeting of ministers and elders, I was livingly opened upon these words of Christ, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord;" also, concerning what was declared of Christ, "That in his humiliation, his judgment was taken away," etc. It is not to be wondered at, if our judgment in the Truth is taken away at times, that we may see who is the giver of it; it was an effectual reaching time. On first-day I was mournfully affected with a distressing sense of the apostasy of many in that meeting, from the life and power of religion; I had a very close awakening time, and Truth mercifully prevailed. On second-day I was largely opened with good authority, on these and other words, "He that comes after me, must first deny himself." Great weakness and lack of living concern was felt in that large meeting, and too much leaning to their own understanding, yet a faithful remnant is preserved; I was favored to be serviceable in the meeting of business. I took

Birmingham and Kennet meetings, in my way to the Quarterly Meeting at London-grove; these were very large, and I had deep searching service at them; but alas! the life and power of religion is mournfully departed from by great numbers in that highly favored land.

On seventh-day, the 16th of the eleventh month, I went to the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders at London-grove; it was a very painful distressing time; great barrenness and carnality appeared to have prevailed in many in those stations, which was cause of sore lamentation: my public service amongst them was in much close plain dealing, showing, "that to be carnally minded is death; and that the natural man understands not the things of the spirit of God." Here my intended companion, Thomas Ross, met me. On first-day the meeting was very large; I had a close searching time, particularly to some who stood in the foremost rank; my spirit was much distressed in viewing the great desolation made by the prevalence of many evils. On second-day I had large thorough service to the various states of the members, and also in the meeting of business, which appeared to be well conducted; some skillful members being principally engaged therein. On third-day the meeting was very large, and through divine favor, I was raised in much strength and clearness to divide the word amongst them; showing, "That the children of Israel feared the Lord all the days of Joshua, and of the elders that out-lived Joshua, who had seen the wonders of the Lord." I was opened largely upon the degeneracy of our Society, and with great weight and dread, had to signify, that the judgments of the Lord would be poured out upon them, and that what they had yet seen, was but like the beginning of sorrows, that the stroke would fall upon their idols, their worldly enjoyments. It came before me many times, that the fruits of the earth would be smitten, whereby there would be a sore famine in the land, and that judgments, much heavier than they had yet known, would fall upon them; it seemed to me in various ways, of which the sword would be one. It was an awful deep searching time as ever I knew; I hope not easily to be forgotten.

Next day I went to Sadsbury Monthly Meeting, where I had satisfactory service, both in the ministry and discipline. On sixth-day we had a meeting at Lancaster; many not under our name came to it; and my concern therein was to endeavor to open to the understanding of the people, what true religion is: we had a pretty satisfactory meeting at Isaac Whitelock's, in the evening. On seventh-day, we crossed Susquehanna, at Wright's ferry, and next day went to Newbury meeting; second-day to Warrington; third-day to Huntington: fourth-day to Monallen; at all which places, I had close thorough service; found the life of religion very low amongst Friends; yet a remnant was preserved sensible from which good comes. We went from there into Maryland, and had small meetings at Pipe-creek and Bush-creek; Friends were few in number, and seemed low in religious experience. from there, fording the great river Potomac, we entered the province of Virginia, and on third-day, the 3rd of the twelfth month, we had a very large meeting at Fairfax: Truth opened doctrine and counsel largely, showing that two things are essential

to the very being of a true Christian, namely, The saving experimental knowledge of God, and the knowledge of ourselves; the last being the natural consequence of the first: it was a highly favored time, and the living were sweetly comforted.

Next day I had a large meeting at Goosecreek; it was a dark afflicting time; my mind was deeply impressed with a sense of a corrupt, blasting ministry being amongst them; and the people having itching ears, loved to have it so; this was so strong upon my mind, that I feared for some time I should have been under a necessity of declaring it publicly in the meeting. I was an entire stranger, and did not know by any outward information, that they had any who appeared in public. After meeting, I took some of the elderly Friends aside, and told them how it had been with me, as above, for I was silent the whole meeting; I was informed afterwards, that there was a forward unruly man, who had given sensible Friends much trouble in several places, and had been much labored with by way of advice, to refrain from his public appearance, that he had for some time settled within the compass of that remote meeting, and was encouraged by many of the members, to the great uneasiness of some others. That afternoon I put what was upon my mind in relation thereto, with a few remarks thereon, in writing, and sent it to some Friends of that meeting.

In our way to Opeckan, we had a small meeting at a place called the Gap, where Gospel doctrine, showing the way and means of salvation by Jesus Christ, was freely and largely preached. On first-day, the 8th of the twelfth month, we went to Hopewell meeting; it was a dark, afflicting time; great insensibility and lukewarmness appearing in almost a general way; I was led in as close, plain dealing, and searching a manner, as ever I remember. The third-day following we had a large meeting at Crooked-run, both Friends and many others attended. My mind was exceedingly low the morning of that day, being lately set out on a great journey, and my horse was fallen very lame, and it seemed unlikely that I could be supplied with a suitable one in those back parts: what to do I could not tell; the more I thought about my distressed condition, the more I sunk and was perplexed. In this disconsolate state, I went to the meeting: to see such a number of other societies, and some of them of high rank by their appearance, still added to my distress in this weak state, greatly fearing the blessed Truth should be dishonored through me; yet as I endeavored to look singly to the Lord, he was graciously pleased to be a present help in the needful time, and appeared to my soul, as it were in an instant, as a clear morning without clouds. A heavenly time I had, upon these words; "Trust in the Lord, and lean not to your own understanding;" showing clearly, that the soul's salvation was of God and not by human ability: the oil of gladness ran sweetly. Next day, my horse being unexpectedly recovered of his lameness, we set out on our long journey towards Carolina, and he continued well all the time. I write this for the encouragement of some poor travelers into whose hands this may fall. After three days traveling, we had two poor small meetings, where the life of reli-

gion seemed to be almost, if not wholly lost, namely, Camp-creek and Fork-creek; we had but little satisfaction in our Gospel labors, and endeavors to revive true religion in these poor places.

From Fork-creek, to the first meeting we had in the back settlements of North-Carolina, was about two hundred and thirty-five miles. In our way there, we had four small poor meetings, namely, Genito, Amelia and Bannister, and a meeting at Kirby's, on the banks of Dan river: to some of them, many of other societies came, and Gospel doctrine was opened largely for their help and information; in which labor there was good satisfaction; but, alas! few under our name in those parts, let the true light shine before men, but were most of them as stumbling blocks in the way of serious inquirers: we were enabled to clear our minds to them, and proceeded on our journey. On the 29th of the twelfth month, we went to New-Garden meeting, in North-Carolina, which was very large, and mostly of professors with us: a thick, dark cloud overshadowed the fore part of that meeting, and it was a painful, distressing time; most of them seemed as asleep, 1 Thess. v. 6, 7, in the night; yet at length, through merciful kindness, Truth prevailed in a good degree. It was a close awakening time, and many seemed to be reached and tendered by the virtue of Truth, and I found great ease and liberty of spirit after meeting. On second-day we had a large meeting at Deep-river, mostly of professors with us, but they appeared so generally void of a spiritual concern, that there appeared to me no room for Truth to arise into dominion. I found it my place to sit the whole time in silence, which, I believe, was no small disappointment. On fourth-day, there being a marriage, we went to New-Garden again; wisdom and utterance were given to speak largely and with good demonstration, in a very searching manner to their states. On fifth-day we had a meeting at Centre; it was extremely cold, and as some observed, the like had not been known there in the memory of man; and being quite an open meeting-house, and very little of any thing to be felt amongst them of religious warmth, it was really a distressing time inwardly and outwardly; yet, through divine favor, I was preserved in a good degree of resignation.

Next day we had a small meeting at Rocky river. I could find little evidence of the wrestling seed there; we sat the whole meeting silently,, yet a Friend had something to offer very suitable to their states. On seventh-day we went to the Monthly Meeting at Cane-creek, which was large, but most of the members seemed void of a solid sense and solemnity; a spirit of self-righteousness and contention was painfully felt; the leaven of the pharisee seemed to prevail, and the few living sensible members were borne down and discouraged. Most of the meeting of worship was held in silence; yet towards the conclusion, some very close remarks were delivered to their states, and very plain dealing in the meeting of business. It seems to me, that when affairs of importance come before such a meeting, they are very likely to be perplexed and made worse by ill management, which I have reason to believe has been much the case in

that meeting. I am persuaded many of those under our name have removed out of Pennsylvania and other places to these parts, in their own wills, having taken counsel of their own depraved hearts, and when they have got there, have set up for something in the church; but it seemed to me most of them were very unfit for the spiritual building, not having been hewn in the mount. We went to their meeting on first-day, but there was much darkness and death over them; I found it my duty to sit the whole meeting in silence. On second-day we went to the Spring meeting I was led therein to speak largely upon the subject of water baptism, which I wondered much at, not knowing of any being there who did not profess with us; for as people in general in those parts clothe in a mean way, the difference is not great in their dress and appearance. After meeting I understood that the Baptists gained ground much that way, and even had prevailed on some of our Society to join with them, and that their teacher was there; and also a woman brought up amongst us, who thought it was her duty to be baptized, but her husband opposed it; and that the Baptist preacher took her and her husband into the meeting-house, when the people were gone, to undo, as it was supposed, that day's work, or to prevent its having effect upon the woman: it was a time of great favor, and the one saving baptism was exalted above all types, signs and shadows. Next day we had a small, poor meeting at the Hawfield's; and on fourth-day we had one at Eno, which was the last we had in the upper settlement: this was a laborious meeting, in close, plain dealing with wrong spirits, for which, we understood afterwards, there was a cause.

On the 9th of the first month, 1766, we set out, having two guides, for the lower settlements of North Carolina, being about two hundred miles, and had but two small meetings in the way, namely, Richsquare, and at one Stephens's; at the first, many of other societies came in; and the Gospel was freely declared with good authority and clearness, to the reaching of several present: at the other place there seemed to be very little, either of form or substance; we were quite shut up as to ministry. We got to our friend Thomas Newby's at Piney-woods, on third-day the 14th, being pretty much fatigued, and rested a few days there. On seventh-day we went to the funeral of a woman Friend, and had a meeting; after a time of deep wading, the word was given in counsel and searching doctrine to their states, who seemed mostly to be settled in a mere form and profession: after meeting we went to our friend Thomas Nicholson's. The first-day following we were at Little-river meeting, which was large, but very low and dark in the fore part; the professors we felt were much at ease and in a state of indifference; yet at length, in great mercy, the blessed power of Truth arose, and afforded counsel and doctrine suited to their state. It was a searching time, I hope not easily to be forgotten. On third-day had a large meeting at Simon's-creek; through divine favor Gospel truths were opened with clearness and good demonstration, to the affecting of many hearts. Next day had a meeting at Newbegun, which was pretty large and open. On fifth-day we had a very large meeting at Oldneck, near the centre of Friends in this settlement, and others came together in abundance. I was shut up the

whole time in silence, which I apprehended they had not been much used to. Next day we had a large meeting at Wells, in which I had a close searching time; but alas! it seemed to me that many of the professors of Truth hereabout, are far gone from a lively sense of true religion, and are become harder to reach than people of other societies.

On first-day the 26th of the first month, we had a very large meeting at Ringwood's, it being the last we were to have in Carolina; some Friends came to it, I believe, from all the other meetings, with many of other societies: at first it was a time of painful travail, but at length the great Master was pleased to give wisdom and strength in Gospel authority, to open the state of the Society in those parts, and to divide to each of them; also to show that in every dispensation of God to man, he was pleased to give to those who are sincerely attentive, clear evidence of his will and approbation of their obedience; it was a highly favored time, which I hope, will not soon be forgotten. Next day we traveled into Virginia, and on third-day had a meeting at Summerton; the doctrine of Truth was largely opened, and some close remarks made on the state of our Society; many others also being present: the testimony had a considerable reach. Next day we had a large meeting at the Western Branch of Nansemond: those under our profession appeared too generally unacquainted with the work of religion upon their hearts; many weighty truths were closely delivered, but did not seem to take so much effect upon the minds of many, as could have been desired.

On fifth-day we had a large meeting at Black-water: the greatest number of negroes were at it that I ever saw in a meeting not appointed on purpose for them. This was a highly favored time; the everlasting Gospel was preached with clearness and good demonstration, showing that the inward and spiritual knowledge of God, is the substance of true religion; and that according to the prophet, this knowledge is to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. I had great satisfaction and comfort in the labor of that day. We went from hence to the Quarterly Meeting at Blackcreek; the number here was large, but alas! great deadness, insensibility and darkness were felt to prevail amongst them; close labor, in great plainness was used, showing the cause thereof: amongst other things, that which appeared none of the least was their keeping the negroes in perpetual slavery. I was often concerned to use plainness in families where I went, in respect to this matter, and am satisfied Truth will never prosper amongst them, nor any others, who are in the practice of keeping this race of mankind in bondage. It is too manifest to be denied, that the life of religion is almost lost where slaves are very numerous; and it is impossible it should be otherwise, the practice being as contrary to the spirit of Christianity as light is to darkness. Through divine favor, the testimony of Truth prevails against it in most of the American colonies, especially in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys.

We took meetings from this place at Burleigh, Petersburg, at Curl's, over James'-river, Wain-

oak, John Crew's, Black-creek and the Swamp; most of which were very laborious, in a sorrowful sense that the life of religion was too generally departed from; yet in all of them, except Wain-oak, a degree of wisdom and utterance was given, to labor in the love of the Gospel for their help and recovery; which I hope was not altogether in vain. The next meetings we went to were Cedar-creek and Caroline, being the last we had in Virginia: they were large, not only those under our profession attending, but also many others, as was often the case in these parts. I think it may be truly said, these were memorable meetings: the Gospel was preached in the demonstration of the spirit and with power, which appeared to reach and tender many, if not most present, and my mind was comfortably relieved from that painful weight of death and darkness which mostly attended it in these greatly corrupted colonies. On fifth-day the 13th of the second month, we set out for Maryland, crossing Rappahanock-river at Portroyal, and the Potomac, about three miles over, at How's ferry. We got to West-river meeting on first-day, the 16th of the second month. We found very little if any thing in that meeting, of that simplicity and self-denial so conspicuous in our ancients; but a conformity to the fashions and corrupt customs of a vain world. The Gospel power arose, giving ability to set forth the nature of Christianity, and how far the professors had deviated therefrom in life and practice. The judgment of Truth was set over libertines and unfaithful professors thereof. The next meetings we had, were at Indian-spring, Sandy-spring, Elkridge, Patapsco, Gun Powder, Little-falls, Bush-river and Deer-creek; we were also at Deer-creek Monthly Meeting next day: in all which meetings, ability was mercifully given, to divide the word suitably to the various states, which seemed in a general way, much out of the order, and from under the government of Truth; yet the labor tended to solid satisfaction and peace; I hope it may be remembered by some to advantage.

Thus having visited the western shore of Maryland, we crossed the great river Susquehanna, and went to the house of our friend John Churchman, near East Nottingham. On first-day the 2nd of the third month, we went to that meeting, which was very large, the professors of Truth being numerous hereabout. To this great assembly the Gospel of life and salvation was powerfully preached, showing the force of Truth, how it gained the general assent of people, yet few were concerned to know the same in experience or practice. It was a highly favored time, and the meeting seemed to be generally affected. From Nottingham we went to the following meetings: New-garden, Hockesson, Center and Kennet, which were mostly large, abundance flocking to them from adjacent meetings. The travail of spirit in these meetings was very deep and painful; much distressing flatness and insensibility were felt; yet, through merciful help, Truth prevailed and largely opened doctrine and counsel suitable to their states; showing, there is not the least ground to hope for happiness in a future slate, unless true religion becomes the principal concern of the mind; and much more, in the free extendings of Gospel life and power, to the reaching of many hearts: everlastingly adored, revered and worshipped, be infinite condescending love. Amen.

From Kennet I went home with my sister Speakman, to Concord, and staid there one night, and next day to Goshen Monthly Meeting, which was very large. There was a great body of Friends, generally under a plain appearance; but alas! it proved a painful, gloomy time of silent travail to me, the whole time of worship; and through the meeting of business, though in a good degree regularly and decently conducted, the cloud still remained. This I am persuaded was occasioned by the lukewarm careless state of many members; there being a great lack of that living concern and holy ardor of soul, which the Lord is often pleased to own in our religious meetings. The members engaging in his work, without his presence to animate and endue with heavenly wisdom, cannot fail to cause thick darkness, which may be felt by those who are truly alive and have their spiritual senses exercised. After meeting, my valuable companion Thomas Ross and I parted for the present, he returning home, and I staid Goshen meeting, on first-day the 9th of the third month. It was very large, and in the fore part low and cloudy; yet at length I was favored with a degree of faith, which enabled me to stand up, and as I continued in patience, I found an increase, with considerable enlargement to speak closely to their several states, from these words, "Trust in the Lord with all your heart, and lean not to your own understanding." But alas! very many of them seemed to be far gone into the spirit of the world and at ease in a profession; so that instead of Goshen being a land of light, darkness has prevailed in a sorrowful degree, and many are not sensible of it to lament it. I went from there to Philadelphia, taking Darby meeting in my way; and got there on sixth-day the 14th of the third month, having been on this journey about four months. I was received with affectionate kindness by my friends in that city, and attended three meetings on the first-day following; at two of which I was silent, as was often my lot there, I believe to disappoint and famish the unsanctified desires and cravings of many after words. I attended their week-day meetings, and had considerable service therein.

On seventh-day began the general Spring meeting, which ended on third-day following; some of those large meetings were held mostly in silence. I had then as has often been the case, a deep travail upon my spirit, that the people might be led by the example of ministers and elders, to find the comfort and advantage of true silent worship, all coming to sit under their own vines and under their own fig-trees, where none could make them afraid. I had, notwithstanding, at some of them, good open public service. I staid in the city till their Monthly Meeting was over on sixth-day, where I had some close service, and then went to the Yearly Meeting at Wilmington, and was at four meetings in two days. At three of them, the truths of the Gospel were largely and with clearness declared, to much satisfaction and comfort. I returned towards the city, attending Darby Monthly Meeting in my way, where things appeared mournfully low; some of the active members seeming very unskilful in the management of the discipline: earnest labor was bestowed, but I thought it had very little effect. On sixth-day I went to the children's meeting in the city; I suppose there were about two hundred in all, of both sexes.

On first-day the 6th of the fourth month, in company with several Friends, I crossed the Delaware at Gloucester point: the wind blowing very hard, it appeared dangerous; yet, the boatmen being very careful, through mercy we got well over, and went to Woodbury meeting, which was very large, and the Gospel power livingly arose, wherein many weighty truths were delivered, showing the great use of that propensity in man of seeking after happiness, if rightly directed; also, wherein true happiness consists, and how to attain the same. It was a good time, through the gracious extendings of merciful regard. I went home with my near friend Isaac Andrews, who bore me company in this journey, three or four weeks in the Jerseys. We had meetings that week at Upper Greenwich, Pilesgrove, at the head of Alloway's-creek, Salem, and Alloway's-creek, which were mostly large; great lukewarmness and insensibility were painfully felt, many seeming to rest in only professing the religion of their education; for these I had a deep concern and travail of mind, that they might come to know Christ formed in them. The Lord was graciously pleased, in great condescension, to furnish with matter and utterance in an awakening manner, in order to make them sensible of the nature and importance of true religion and worship: may it not be in vain!

On first-day the 13th of the fourth month, we went to Greenwich meeting; the glorious Gospel power eminently manifested itself that day, by clearly opening several weighty points of doctrine, suitable to the various states of that large auditory; among other things, showing that the true and saving knowledge of God, whereby we obtain the right knowledge of ourselves, is essential to the very being of a real Christian; and by what means that knowledge is obtained. It was a highly favored time, for the Lord's heavenly power was over all, and the people appeared to be generally affected. Next day we had a large meeting among the Presbyterians, at a place called New-England Town; their minister having given notice the day before from the pulpit, of a meeting for us; he attended it himself, with, I suppose, most of his hearers, who behaved solidly and respectfully. The universal love of God, through Christ, to mankind, was largely set forth, and people directed from outward observations, to the substance, whereby victory might be obtained over sin: it was a favored time, and the people seemed generally well affected and very loving, though several things were delivered which are usually controverted between us and those people; there was no visible opposition, but all passed off in quiet and peaceably.

On fourth-day we traveled a day's journey through the pine-barren wilderness, to CapeMay; had one meeting there, and two at Great Egg-harbour. We found the number of professors small, and the life of religion low; yet we were enabled to minister suitably to their states for their help and recovery, and had a good degree of satisfaction and peace therein. On third-day, the 22nd of the fourth month, we had a large meeting at Little Egg-harbour. After a time of trying poverty and deep travail, Gospel-life and power mercifully arose, in which, doctrine and counsel flowed forth freely to several states, particularly to a libertine youth. Next day we had a

meeting in a new Presbyterian meeting-house, near Barnegat; it was large, and held more than an hour in silence, which the people were not accustomed to. At length the word was given with authority and clearness, showing the necessity and advantage of silence in worship, and distinguishing Christians of the letter from Christians of the Spirit, as also ministers of the letter from ministers of the Spirit; and that those who are always ready to preach, must either have the Spirit at command, or act without it. It was a great and good time; the people appeared to be generally affected, and all passed off quietly, without any opposition. We traveled on by the sea-side, to a place called Good-luck, where we found a large meeting-house erected, though not quite finished, by one Thomas Potter, intended by him, it seems, for all preachers to make use of who would preach freely, except papists, who would not be admitted even on those terms. We had a meeting in it, but notice not coming timely, and Thomas Potter not being at home, it was small and to little satisfaction. We met him that afternoon on his return, he seemed sorry he happened to be out at that time; he sees beyond hireling ministry, and I understand, inclines most to Friends of any, but joins to none. On sixth-day we had a poor, low meeting at Manesquan; but very few therein seemed alive in religion; yet some Gospel labors were bestowed for their help. We went after meeting to Shrewsbury, intending to be at their Quarterly Meeting, which began on first-day, the 27th of the fourth month. It was very large; some solid Friends were present, also many loose, libertine people under our name, and of other societies. In that sad mixture, the life of religion was exceedingly depressed, and my mind in sympathy with it: I could not wade through so as to get ease and satisfaction, though I labored very hard. In the meeting next day, the power of Truth in marvellous kindness arose, and the Gospel was preached with good authority and clearness, to the various states of that great auditory. The meeting of business followed; there seemed but little judgment to maintain good order and discipline; and unity appeared not so general as could have been desired. On third-day abundance of people flocked to meeting, perhaps with much expectation; but my way was shut up as to ministry, and but very little from any other; I found peace and satisfaction by abiding in my place.

On fifth-day I went to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting; it was very large, and I had deep and painful wading therein, in my public service, showing what man is by nature, with whatever mode or form of religion he decks and adorns himself; for that which is born of the flesh is but flesh, and cannot see the kingdom of God. I got through at last to pretty good satisfaction, but found much close labor in the meeting of business, and saw great deviation from the right thing, in some high ruling members, who had carried an affair through that meeting against the most lively part of the body, which they themselves had sufficient cause to repent. On sixth and seventh-days, I had meetings at Upper-Freehold and New-Springfield; and on first-day, the 4th of the fifth month, had a very large meeting at Mansfield in the morning, and another at Bordentown in the evening. The people seemed full of expectation from one come so far; but it

pleased the great Master, without whose gracious aid the poor servant can do nothing to advantage, to shut me wholly up as to ministry, in both places, to the great disappointment of many; but there was no remedy; I dared not contrive or form any thing for them, and, I have no doubt, that silence was the most profitable lesson for those meetings. I went next day to Burlington Monthly Meeting, it was large and divinely favored; the doctrine of Truth flowed forth freely, showing what it is to be a fellow-citizen with the saints and of the household of faith. On third-day I had a laborious meeting at Ancocas, yet had some good open service towards the latter-end, which seemed to fasten on several minds.

I got to Philadelphia next day, and on fifth-day, the 8th of the fifth month, went to the marriage of John Pemberton and Hannah, the daughter of my worthy friends Isaac and Sarah Zane. It was at the great meetinghouse, the assembly was large, and there appeared much desire and expectation after words, which often hurts meetings and blocks up the way of ministers, which was the case now for a while; yet at length some, I hope, profitable labor was bestowed, from the words of our Lord, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness." On first-day, the 11th of the fifth month, I attended three large meetings in the city, in all which, I thought it my duty to set an example of silence. Near the close of the evening meeting, it was a sweet refreshing time; the thirsty soul had to drink of that river that makes glad the whole city of God; in the enjoyment whereof, there was comfortable solacing rest from the painful labor of that day, and, full satisfaction, with thankfulness that I had been preserved in my place. I staid their meeting on third-day, which was large; the power and wisdom of Truth opened deep counsel and doctrine, pointing out the different states of professors in that city, that some of the true wrestling seed dare not choose or contrive for themselves, which way to be fed; whether immediately by the great Shepherd's own hand, or instrumentally by his servants; and that there were many others anxiously choosing to be fed with testimonies and outward declarations, which state ought to be famished; also, that the time would come, when the word of the Lord, by way of ministry, would be very precious, and he would command the clouds to rain no rain upon such; that it was already a time of parching drought, because of idolatry; yet the Lord would open springs to the seed of Jacob, in the midst of the valleys, and in his own time bring them to Rehoboth. It was a great and good time, and the meeting was much affected. I set out next day for New-England, and had meetings in my way to Long-Island, at Byberry, Middletown and Stonybrook, where my old companion, Thomas Ross, met me: my service was very close and searching at these meetings. Alas! how has an indolent spirit prevailed on the professors of Truth, a small remnant excepted, who are preserved in most places, to rejoice in the painful labors, in great mercy yet continued to the churches.

In company with several other Friends we proceeded on our journey, in order to attend Flushing Yearly Meeting, on Long-Island, for the government of New-York. On fifth-day, the 22nd

of the fifth month, we attended the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of ministers and elders at Flushing; in the latter I had comfortable open service, upon the blessing pronounced by our gracious Redeemer to the poor in spirit, showing the necessity and usefulness of that state; and also setting forth the essential qualifications of a Gospel minister. It was a blessed time, and the upright-hearted were sweetly comforted. Next day was held the Quarterly Meeting, which was small, and the life of religion was felt to be very low; a painful gloominess having spread itself, through a lack of living concern in many of the members, and from some presuming to act in the church, too much in their own will and wisdom; yet the Lord who waits to be gracious, afforded doctrine and counsel suitable to their states; showing, there is one body and one spirit, and that all the members who act profitably, must know a being baptized by that one spirit into the one mystical body. I found great numbness in the meeting of business; my spirit was deeply baptized into suffering therein, and constrained to lay their condition before them by very close searching observations, which appeared to take some impression, and my mind was much relieved thereby. On seventh-day morning the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders was held, which was small, and the vital part of religion seemed to be much obstructed; some close remarks were delivered, which afforded considerable relief: at eleven o'clock came on the first public meeting for worship, the time of which was taken up very unprofitably by an unskilful appearance; after which, the business was entered upon, and it was a painful, distressing time; the forward, busy, active spirit of man was let loose in a few elderly persons, who had placed themselves at the helm of government there, and who seemed to have got such an ascendancy over the meeting, as to bear down whatever appeared in the right line of tenderness and Truth's simplicity, when they did not see fit to promote it. The attempt was to lay aside the necessary queries to be answered by inferior, to superior meetings. I was favored with a degree of wisdom and strength to withstand that spirit, and to show the necessity of proper queries, in order that the state of the Society might be better understood; how else could suitable advice be administered? But through the cowardice of many present, I was left to engage much alone; yet have cause to believe, that the weapons given both in the meeting and afterwards in private conference, wounded that spirit deeply, and gave honest Friends a clearer sight of it than they had before. In the succeeding meetings, business was managed with more harmony and peace, and the meetings for worship were very large; wherein the everlasting Gospel was preached with clearness and demonstration: many were deeply affected, and the great Author was humbly worshipped and adored, who is worthy forever!

We went from Flushing, and had a large meeting at Cow-Neck, in which Truth opened Gospel doctrine largely, to the tendering of many hearts. Next day we had an exceedingly large meeting at Westbury: as there was general notice, abundance of people came from several parts of the island, so that there was nearly as large a concourse as at the Yearly Meeting; their expectations were much after words, but they had none from me, being shut up in silence the whole

time: the Monthly Meeting of business was held at the close thereof. We had very large meetings afterwards, on this island at Matinicock, OysterBay, Bethpage and Sequetague; and notwithstanding the low, languid state of the Society, Gospel truths were largely delivered, and livingly opened in them.

We then traveled towards the east end of the island, on our way to Rhode-Island, and on third-day, the 3rd of the sixth month, went on board a vessel about eight o'clock in the morning, taking our horses with us, and landed safe at Gratten, opposite to New London in the colony of Connecticut, about one o'clock the same day. We got that night to our friend Peter Davis's, in Rhode-Island government, about twenty-two miles. We had a meeting next day at Westerly: the governor of the province was at it and behaved kindly, inviting us to his house; but it did not suit us to go.

In order to fill up our time before the Yearly Meeting, we had meetings at a new meeting-house near James Perry's, South Kingston, Greenwich, Neshantecut and Providence; and though we found some honest travelers for Zion's prosperity, yet, for the most part, the life of religion appeared mournfully low, indifferency prevailing in many, and several undue liberties in others. I was much afflicted at some of the meetings with the dark principles of deism, and was favored with ability to lay open the wickedness and gross absurdity of such principles, warning Friends and others to shun the conduct of those tintured therewith, as they would a poisonous serpent. On fifth-day, the 12th of the sixth month, the Yearly Meeting for New England began at Portsmouth on RhodeIsland: this meeting was very large as to number; but it was a dark gloomy time of deep suffering: the glory and diadem of our religious assemblies seems to be sorrowfully removed from these people, and instead of the meeting being covered therewith, it was overspread with darkness. Here I met our friend Thomas Gawthrop, who was upon his third visit to Friends in America; we both sat the whole meeting in silence.

The meetings following, both for worship and discipline, were held at Newport, and continued till second-day was over. The public meetings were exceedingly large, both Friends, and abundance of other people attending most of them; it was supposed there were two thousand people. To these great assemblies, it pleased the gracious fountain of all good, to open much Gospel doctrine in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power, which appeared to be generally well received, and was to the great comfort and relief of those engaged therein. But the meetings of ministers and elders, and those for discipline, were for the most part very heavy and distressing; great weakness and lack of living concern, were painfully felt, therein; that divine wisdom which alone can build the house, was little attended to, and formality prevailed. Ability was graciously afforded to use plainness of speech, endeavoring to make them sensible of the loss they sustained, by forsaking the fountain of living waters, and hewing to themselves cisterns,

broken cisterns, that would hold no water: yet we found a few sincere laborers amongst them, whose hands I hope were in some degree strengthened; but things in general were very low. On third-day we had a large satisfactory meeting on Conanicut Island, to which many from Newport went; and next day another at Newport, which was the last we had there. In this meeting wisdom and utterance were given to declare the Truth to their several states, in much plain dealing, endeavoring to show them from where they had fallen, and how vain it was to imagine they were God's people in the state most of them were then in: there was also encouragement to the few sincere hearted. On fifth-day we had a very large meeting at Portsmouth, to which came great numbers from Newport. It was a time of great darkness and deep suffering with the oppressed Seed: the young people are mostly gone into the air and undue liberties; and those more advanced, a few excepted, are gone into the earth; having much to do in government affairs, and many of them had got into the offices, friendships and parties, as well as into the profits, of this world.

Next day we had meetings in our way to Nantucket Yearly Meeting, at Tiverton, Little-Compton and Accoakeset. The last two were very large, especially Accoakeset; the Gospel was largely and with good authority declared in them to much satisfaction and comfort, there being considerable openness, many of other persuasions attending. On second-day, being their Monthly Meeting at Aponyganset, and notice having been given of our intention of being there, it was exceedingly large; it was supposed there were two thousand people present. In this large assembly the everlasting Gospel was preached in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power; wisdom being mercifully given to divide the word suitably to the various states: the meeting appeared to be generally affected, and the minds of those engaged, greatly relieved. Early next morning we embarked for Nantucket, in company with about twenty Friends, and landed about five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. On sixth-day the Yearly Meeting began, and was very large: a becoming plainness appeared in the general; but, alas! the life of religion was very much departed from by numbers in that place, once so much noted for a family of love. I went on the island a stranger to their present state, though I had been there twice before, a witness of better times: much distressing anguish was felt in this meeting, and for some time I expected the current of life would have been wholly obstructed. But at length, through divine mercy, Truth arose with Gospel authority, setting forth what a great manifestation of evangelical light and Truth sprung up in the last century after a dark night of apostasy and error; when the heavenly power being embraced, brought forth the nature and spirit of religion; but endeavors now are too often used to support the same principles in a formal way, by the strength and wisdom of man; and the Lord will not own a people in that state. Many things were delivered upon this subject with great dread, and I felt the Lord's power go forth as a fire amongst the briars and thorns; many were struck with sadness and fear, and the everlasting name was exalted. Thomas Gawthrop was there and had good service. The meeting ended on

second-day, much Gospel labor having been bestowed in the several sittings thereof. Notwithstanding the general state of Friends on that island appeared deplorable, yet I believe a remnant are and will be preserved fresh and lively in religion. May their number increase!

We left the island on third-day, the 1st of the seventh month, and landed that evening at Seconeset, on the continent, being about fifty in number. We had a small meeting on fifth-day, at a meeting-house near the place of our landing, and went forward to be at Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. On sixth-day we went to their Monthly Meeting, where was a burial of a Friend who had died suddenly. There were many Presbyterians present: the Gospel power arose with considerable strength and clearness, with the words of the apostle; "Give diligence to make your calling and election sure;" with remarks on the great importance of the work, how necessary to be assured of its going forward, and that a certainty thereof may be obtained, by the spirit of God bearing witness with our spirit, according to the apostolic testimony. This exhortation contradicts the dark opinion of absolute and unconditional election and reprobation; seeing this pressing advice to make it sure, implies something to be done on man's part, which may be omitted, and he thereby may miss the election of God's grace; whereas, according to that, the election is made so certain, even from the foundation of the world, by an immutable decree, that all man's endeavors will make no alteration, seeing one cannot possibly be added to the number of the elect, nor one diminished. The great absurdity of this doctrine was exposed, showing how it reflected much dishonor on infinite mercy and goodness; and some of their strongest arguments in favor of that doctrine were answered.

I was also opened upon infant baptism, so called, setting forth how unreasonable it is to uphold types, signs and shadows, unless We expect another and higher dispensation: that types always pointed to the anti-type or substance, and seeing most acknowledge the substance is come, how weak to keep up the sign. It was a good time, for Truth was exalted and the meeting pretty generally affected; and though these disputable points were closely handled, yet there was no opposition, nor the least objection appeared. On seventh-day the Quarterly Meeting was held, in which we had some profitable service, in a close, searching way; things appeared very low, yet there were some sincere, honest laborers. We went after meeting about twenty miles to Plymouth, where it is said the first colony of English landed and settled. The next day, being the first of the week, we went to Pembroke meeting, which was but small of Friends, but a pretty many of other societies came in, considering the short notice; the truths of the Gospel were largely delivered amongst them, and seemed to be well received. We set out after meeting, intending to pass through Boston, and as far to the eastward as we proposed to visit Friends, leaving notice as we went, at the several meetings, to take them in our return. We had very large meetings at Cachechy and Dover; and although we found but little living concern amongst Friends, yet the blessed Truth favored and opened the way for much Gospel labor

suiting to their states, in order to revive ancient zeal and ardor. The weather was extremely hot and the meetings crowded, so that at times it seemed as if I should have been overcome and faint; but by divine favor, I was mercifully carried through, to a considerable degree of satisfaction and peace. We returned to their Quarterly Meeting at Hampton, which began for ministers and elders, on seventh-day the 12th of the seventh month. We were sorrowfully affected to find so little living concern amongst the leaders of the people.

Next day being the first of the week, we had two large meetings composed of Friends and others. A religious labor for heavenly bread seemed almost lost, even amongst those advanced in age and profession of the Truth; yet in marvelous condescension, the Gospel power and life sprung up and extended to their various states, with great strength and clearness, even as a flame of fire against the wood, hay and stubble. It was showed what a great and glorious thing Christianity is; how complete victory and dominion may be obtained by it over sin, and the soul of man be endued with sublime virtues; but that to view the notion of Christianity which people in general appear now to be contented with, it would seem as if little real religion remained on the earth. In the afternoon I was led to set forth that there is one body, one spirit, one Lord, one faith and one baptism; that by this only, people come to be truly initiated into the church, being buried with Christ by his saving baptism into his death, and thereby witnessing with the apostle, the measure of the sufferings of Christ which are yet behind, fulfilled in us; if so be that we suffer with him, we also may be glorified together: the deep mystery of man's redemption through Christ, was largely opened, it being a time of great favor, and the people were generally affected. Next day forenoon was held their meeting of business; but as the power of Truth, the main spring of action in the weighty affairs of the church, appeared to me sorrowfully wanting, little could be done to good purpose; some close remarks were made upon the declining state of that meeting, wherein we had very little satisfaction. In the afternoon we had a very large concluding meeting, wherein Christ was freely set forth as the true light, who enlightens every man that comes into the world; and that as the light of the outward sun is necessary for transacting the affairs of this life, so the light of the Sun of righteousness, is no less necessary to show us how to perform the great work of our soul's salvation: it was a good time. We then had meetings at Amesbury, Newbury, Salem, Lynn and Boston. At Lynn in the afternoon, being first-day, I found it my place to set an example of silence; at the other meetings I was largely opened in the service of the Gospel, to good satisfaction and comfort. From Boston we traveled to Dighton, and dined on the way at Taunton. Our guide being acquainted with a shopkeeper in that town, we were invited to dine with him: after dinner we entered upon much reasoning about religious principles, and a close dispute ensued. I was, through divine assistance, enabled to stand my ground and to maintain our principles, to the comfort and satisfaction of my own mind, and I believe in a good degree to his; who I understood had been accounted a very zealous Presbyterian, and had entertained an unfavorable opinion of our prin-

ciples: he confessed they never had been cleared up so much to his satisfaction before, and seemed to be a good deal affected; we parted in love and friendship.

We then had meetings at Free-town, Longplain, Rochester and Acushnet; in these we found things very low and languid, as appeared generally the case in New England; our Society, like others, having too much dwindled into form and profession. The last meeting was very large, but my way was quite shut up as to ministry; in the others I had close searching service. On first-day the 27th of the seventh month, we had a very large meeting at Swanzey, to which came Friends from many parts, some even from Newport. The power of the everlasting Gospel arose in this large assembly, and wisdom and utterance were given to declare the Truth from these words; "To know you the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent, is life eternal." The meeting was much affected; the Lord's heart melting goodness was sweetly enjoyed by a remnant. Next day we had a large meeting at Smithfield; the nature of true religion, from the apostle James's definition of it, was copiously treated of: it was a favored time, and the people were generally affected. On third-day we had a meeting at Wainsoket: great numbers of loose, libertine people, who, I suppose, rarely attended any place of worship, came out of curiosity; and indeed those, for the most part, who profess with us there, seem as if they knew little of the nature and importance of religious worship; but it was my duty to sit in silence.

Next day we had a very large meeting at Mendham, to which came many of our profession, and a great number of such as being dissatisfied with the established worship and a hireling ministry, had separated and held meetings in one another's houses, having such as thought it their duty to preach freely amongst them: to this meeting the Gospel was largely preached, which seemed to have a general reach. After meeting came a predestinarian, and a young man, a preacher among those separatists before mentioned, who are quite averse to that dark opinion: these two it seems, had been engaged in a dispute in the meeting-house when all were gone, upon some points of doctrine delivered that day concerning original sin and the opinion before mentioned; and as they could not settle the points, at length they agreed to come to my quarters, to ask me a few sober questions, by way of further explanation of some things delivered. When they informed me of the reason of their coming, I told them I was very willing to afford them all the satisfaction in my power, but was not very fond of disputes, which seldom tended much to edification as they were generally managed. The old man signified he had no intention of entering into any dispute; however, one thing brought, on another, till we got very closely engaged: the young man, the preacher, was on my side, and I think, had as remarkable a memory in the Scriptures as I ever knew, and was favored with a considerable understanding in the mystery of them. The poor old man, though I suppose as well furnished as most upon such a bad subject, was entirely vanquished and confounded to that degree, that his spirits appeared

to be sunk with sorrow, because he could not support his principles better. The young man and I, with other friends, withdrew into another room, and had a religious conference, particularly upon the nature of Gospel ministry and worship; he appeared to be much enlightened and not far from the kingdom; but I fear he had entered into the ministry too soon. This opportunity afforded my mind a good deal of satisfaction. I found many of those high professors in New England, in rather an unsettled state, and fond of flocking to our meetings; they seemed to hear the doctrines of Truth with satisfaction, and there was great openness amongst them in many places. But what sorrowfully affected my mind was, that there is so little of the life of religion held up as a standard to these, by our Society in those parts; yet I believe there will be a gathering to Shiloh, in the New England colonies. Their esteem and regard to Friends, is very different from what it was formerly, though perhaps that in part may be owing to some in our Society being more like them, than our Friends were in early times; yet I believe the case is otherwise with many, and that it arises from their good opinion of most of our principles.

On fifth-day the 31st of the seventh month, we set out, accompanied by two guides, through the back parts of Connecticut, towards Oblong, in the government of New-York, being about one hundred and forty miles through a Presbyterian country; they generally carried themselves civilly, and we had some religious conferences to good satisfaction. The weather was very hot and the roads stony, rough and mountainous, and the entertainment but mean in many places, so that the journey was attended with fatigue to our bodies and horses. We went to New Milford meeting on first-day, the 3rd of the eighth month. I had nothing to offer by way of ministry, yet in my quiet waiting, I was favored with the first clear satisfactory glance of my being at liberty towards the latter end of this year, to return home, which I fully believed, but kept it to myself. After meeting we ascended to the Oblong, and a long ascent it was, of nearly a mile to the summit of that called Quaker hill; the weather being extremely hot, I feared it would have killed my horse, and I was not able to relieve him by walking. On third-day we had a very large meeting at a commodious house built by Friends on that hill. They who attended were generally professors of the Truth as held by us, and mostly plain and becoming in their outward garb; yet alas! when they came to be viewed in the true light, they appeared dry and formal; many, I fear, having clothed corrupted nature with a form of religion, and in a plain dress sit in their religious meetings like dead images. After a time of deep suffering in spirit with the oppressed Seed, the word was given with good authority, and went forth like a flame of fire against the wood, hay and stubble, to the arousing, I believe, and awakening of many for the present. The condition of man in the transgression, as set forth by the inspired writers, was opened; that he is in a state of enmity to, and separation from God, and consequently must experience a very great change, before he can be acceptable to his Maker: showing how this change is to be effected, and that the operation necessary thereunto, makes indelible impressions on the minds of all who are so happy as to experience the same, without which none can

be true Christians. Truth had great dominion that day.

We had a very large meeting next day at the Nine Partners, and had close service therein. Next day we had a very painful afflicting meeting at Oswego; I was quite a stranger to them, and did not know by any outward information, that they had any one who usually appeared in public among them; yet my mind was strongly impressed with a sense that the meeting had been much hurt by a wrong ministry, and for that reason chiefly, my mouth was shut up there in that respect: it seemed as if the very person was shown to me in the meeting, though I had never seen him before that I know of; but I found afterwards, it was a true sense, and I told Friends in his hearing, how things appeared to me in that meeting, which seemed to strike him, and he struggled a little, but I left it upon him: may the great and gracious helper of his people, have the praise of his own works, says my soul, now and for evermore! On first-day, the 10th of the eighth month, we were at the Oblong again; and my travail during the whole meeting was in suffering silence. From hence, in our way to New-York, we had the following meetings: Peach-Pond, North-Castle, the Monthly Meeting at the Purchase, Mamaroneck, and Westchester; at most of which, the Gospel power was largely manifested, by opening doctrine and counsel, in a close, searching manner, to the various states of the people.

On first-day, the 17th of eighth month, we were at two meetings in the city of New-York; in the morning I was silent; in the afternoon, Truth opened the way to public service, showing the beautiful order and economy of human life; all seeking for some mansion, possession or settlement, and agreeably to the laws of prudence and justice, endeavoring to increase their store, that they may have something of their own against the time of need: if prudence requires to provide the necessaries for this short and uncertain life, how much more incumbent is it upon us, in regard to the immortal part; and that our eyes should be turned to view the order, harmony and beauty, of the new creation, and to seek an inheritance in the holy city? It was a blessed time, and many hearts were tendered. I had a good deal of satisfaction among Friends in that city, and hope there is a growth in the best things experienced by many.

On second-day we crossed the bay and Staten-Island; ferried from there at Elizabeth-town Point, and went to Rahway. On third and fourth-day we went to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings at Woodbridge; and I was enabled to labor largely in a searching way, with much plainness and Gospel authority, for their help and recovery from a weak, languid, unconcerned state; yet we found some solid, valuable Friends amongst them. from there we proceeded on our way to my companion's house in Pennsylvania, and had large meetings at Plainfield and Kingwood, wherein the Gospel was preached with great openness, to good satisfaction. On seventh-day evening, the 23rd of the eighth month, having crossed the Delaware at Howell's Ferry, we got to my companion's house, and attended two meetings at Wright's-Town, where he

belongs. Next day there was a considerable number of professors assembled at meeting, but spiritual idleness was felt sorrowfully to prevail over many, craving to be fed with words; I found it my duty to be silent at both the meetings. Having taken a cold after some of the late large and hot meetings, I was much indisposed, and staid at my companion's till fifth-day, and then went to the Quarterly Meeting for the county of Bucks, held at the Falls, which was exceedingly large. Truth greatly favored that meeting} in opening doctrine and counsel, for the help, reproof and encouragement of many, beginning with these words, It is especially worthy to be noted, that the inspired writers, both in relating their own experience, and in administering advice and counsel to others, on a religious account, lay the whole stress of religion upon the inward, saving and spiritual knowledge of God. It was a great time, and many hearts were tendered. The Youths' meeting was held next day at Bristol; it was a low, poor time, and I had nothing to offer by way of ministry.

On first-day, the 31st of the eighth month, I went to Makefield meeting, which was an exercising time; a careless, earthly spirit was felt to be very prevalent; I had some service there, in a very close, searching manner. In the afternoon I had a very large meeting at John Beaumont's, wherein much Gospel doctrine flowed to the people, upon the nature of self-denial and bearing the yoke of Christ; many, not of our Society, were present and pretty much affected; it was a favored time. Next day I went to Buckingham Monthly Meeting, which was very large, a numerous body of Friends living in those parts; I had great openness for public service therein, showing, that the promises of God in him, are yes and amen forever; yet we are not entitled to them but upon certain conditions, that is, being in those states to which they are applied. It was a good time, Truth being exalted. On third-day I had a large meeting at Plumstead, many attending from Buckingham and other places. The word was given with authority and clearness, to declare to this numerous auditory, upon the nature of true religion and worship, showing, that it principally consisted in an inward exercise of the soul towards God, and especially depended on a spiritual acquaintance with him; it was a favored time, and many hearts were tendered. For some time past I had been indisposed, being, through the extremity of the heat, much afflicted with a rash, called the prickly heat; and having taken a great cold, my asthmatic disorder was much increased; yet, through merciful help supporting soul and body in the great work to which I was called, I was enabled to proceed on my journey, having a strong desire to visit some meetings in the back parts of Bucks, Philadelphia and Chester counties, before the approaching Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, to be held in Philadelphia towards the latter end of the ninth month: apprehending if I could accomplish that, I should have little to do after, except on the eastern shore of Maryland and in the lower counties upon Delaware.

Here my valuable friend Zebulon Heston, joined me for a companion to the back parts. We

traveled next day to Richland, and the day following had a large meeting there, mostly consisting of those under our name: great lukewarmness and lack of a living concern was felt; yet it pleased divine goodness to favor with ability to labor in the Gospel with plainness, in a very awakening manner, which seemed to have some tendering effect, at least for the present. We traveled next day to Oley, called also Exeter, and went to their meeting on first-day, the 7th of the ninth month. They appeared to me mostly ignorant of the importance of that worship and service which they pretended to meet about, and as if the chief waiting was to hear what the poor servants had to say: they were disappointed in respect to me, finding it my place to sit the meeting in silence. We afterwards went to Maiden-creek, and had a large meeting the next day. I believe there were some valuable Friends there, but many appeared in a state of indolence as to religion, looking for words. There was a considerable space of silence; at length Truth arose and obtained dominion, and the Gospel was freely preached; showing the nature of the work of man's salvation by Christ, and the great danger of a neglect thereof. On third-day we had a meeting in Reading Court-house, to which many came, not of our Society, mostly Germans, who behaved in a solid, becoming manner; the word of the Gospel was given, and ability to declare it with good authority and clearness for a considerable time, to the tendering of many hearts. Next day we crossed Schuylkill, and had meetings at the Forest, Nantmill, Providence and Pikeland, in all which, ability was given to labor in the Gospel, for stirring up professors to a more lively sense of religion, which was felt to be at a low ebb amongst them, as in many other places. There is cause of mournful complaint, where people go no deeper into religion than what comes by education or outward conformity: many in these parts have entered into the outward possessions and profession of their worthy ancestors, at a very easy rate; yet the Lord, in great mercy, is causing his trumpets to sound very loud, to awaken such to a sense of their danger.

On first-day, the 14th of the ninth month, we went to Uwchlan, which was a very large meeting of itself, and Friends came to it from most of the adjacent meetings. The fore part was a time of deep travail and silent labor, in a painful sense that many present were at ease in a bare profession of the Truth. At length the word was given with considerable weight and Gospel authority, showing what a powerful efficacious thing Christianity was, when it made its first entrance into the world, and so continued for a considerable time, mightily prevailing by its own force and efficacy, against all opposition and worldly interest, until the world smiled upon its professors; the name then spread, but they gradually losing the power and life, many disorders, great corruptions and desolating contentions about trifles, got in. Close application of these things was made to the states of the inhabitants of this highly favored province, earnestly pressing the auditory to seek after the substance of religion. The afternoon meeting was solid and comfortable in silence. On third-day we had a large meeting at EastCain, in which I had thorough service, to good satisfaction; and next day we had a very large meeting at Bradford, in the Forks of Brandy

wine; things were felt to be much out of order, and religion to be at a very low ebb amongst them, yet, through infinite condescension, Gospel authority was given, with much clearness in doctrine, showing, that in order to possess a valuable religion, man should be feelingly and experimentally convinced, that in matters of religion, he must wholly resign his will to God, and give himself up to be guided by the holy Spirit; until then, he cannot say, with acceptance to his Maker, "Your will be done in earth, as it is done in heaven." It was, through divine mercy, a highly favored baptizing time, and the blessed Truth was in dominion over hard, unmortified spirits. I went home with my brother-in-law, Micajah Speakman, to Concord, where I rested quietly three days, after long fatigue of traveling and hard labor; yet all was made easy through the efficacy of that heavenly power which mercifully attended from place to place, filling my soul, at times, with true contentment and perfect resignation to the Lord's will, either to do or suffer; in which happy state, my peace flowed as a river.

On first-day, the 21st of the ninth month, I went to Middletown meeting, but had no public service therein, and on second-day proceeded to Philadelphia; attended their weekday meeting next day, and on fifth-day I went to Haddonfield, in West-Jersey, to the burial of Thomas Redman, a public Friend in good esteem, who formerly told me he was first reached or convinced through my ministry, in the Bank meeting at Philadelphia, about thirty years ago. The meeting was very large, consisting both of Friends and those of other societies; the truths of the Gospel were largely declared, with clearness and good demonstration; the auditory being very solid and attentive, Truth had good dominion to the comfort of many. In the afternoon was held their Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders; it was a low time. Next day was held their Quarterly Meeting, which was very large; there seemed to be great expectations and looking after words, as is sorrowfully the case with many in these parts, especially if the poor instrument had been favored before, and it pleased them: this sometimes tends to deprive them of that which they so anxiously seek after, which I believe was now the case, for I was quite shut up as to public service, but had some good service in the meeting of business. On seventh-day, the 27th of the ninth month, I went to the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. It was large, and I had some service therein. I informed Friends that I expected liberty to return home that fall, requesting a few lines by way of certificate, to my friends in England, according to the good order used amongst us; this was the only one I requested on the continent of America, yet Friends, of their own accord, sent certificates from most or all the parts I visited. A certificate was readily granted, and signed by a great number of ministers and elders, testifying their unity with my Gospel labors and conduct while among them. I diligently attended the several sittings of this Yearly Meeting, both for worship and discipline, and had some weighty service in them.

On first-day, the 5th of the tenth month, I went to Fair-hill meeting, and returned to the evening

meeting in the city. On third-day, the 7th of the tenth month, I set out in order to attend the Yearly Meeting on the eastern shore of Maryland, being accompanied by Samuel Eastburn. We had meetings in our way at George's-creek, and the head of Sassafras; Truth made way for close, weighty service, to the states of those present. We went, the 11th of the tenth month, to a small poor meeting for ministers and elders, at Cecil, in Maryland; and next day being the first of the week, the Yearly Meeting began there, to which came many people of various sorts, most of whom seemed loose, and void of a solid, religious concern. Death and darkness were felt to reign in the general, yet the Gospel power, in great mercy, broke through, and opened suitable doctrine to their states, showing the general consent of all ages and nations, to the immortality of the soul and future rewards and punishments; and although the professors of Christianity were favored with more clear apprehensions thereof, than others, yet numbers of them live as if they had no such belief, or as if they did not look upon themselves to be accountable creatures. The succeeding meetings, both for worship and discipline, were, I hope, through divine assistance, profitable to many. The Yearly Meeting at Choptank began on seventh-day, the 18th of the tenth month, and ended on fourth-day afternoon; many of the meetings were very large, and the truths of the Gospel powerfully declared in them, and the everlasting unchangeable Truth was exalted over all of a contrary nature to itself: this Yearly Meeting afforded great relief and satisfaction to my mind. We set out on fifth-day, in order to attend the Yearly Meeting to be held at Little-creek, in Kent county, on Delaware. It began on first-day, the 26th of tenth month, and held two days; I had very open service therein. After this meeting I found myself at liberty to seek a proper opportunity to return to my native land, and so went from hence directly toward Philadelphia, and attended the Monthly and Quarterly Meeting there, wherein I had good open service.

I found a vessel bound for London, the captain intending to sail about the middle of the eleventh month. I went on board, accompanied by several Friends; we sat a while in the cabin in solemn silence; my mind deeply engaged to be rightly directed; and finding, as I thought, rather a freedom to go in that ship, I signified to the captain and owners, that I intended to embark in her, which they appeared to be well pleased with. I then went to Chester county, to take leave of my relations and friends, and to attend the Quarterly Meeting at Concord; which I did, and had large open service in the several meetings, to great satisfaction and comfort. On third-day I went to a large meeting at Chester; over which death and darkness seemed to reign, so that I had no power to move, as to ministry. I got to Philadelphia next morning, the ship being to sail from there the next day. On sixth-day, about nine o'clock, I took a solemn leave of sundry valuable Friends in the city, and set out for Chester to meet the ship; many Friends from there and Darby accompanying me, after dinner, in near affection we took leave, never expecting to see each other again. I embarked on board the ship Phebe, captain Mungo Davidson; we got under sail about two o'clock next morning, and on first-day, the 16th of the eleventh month, about

four o'clock in the afternoon, we got to sea.

I find this remark amongst my memorandums, written, I suppose, after I had been some time at sea: "It is fit to be remembered, in humble and awful acknowledgment, that the Lord has been with me ever since I came on board this ship, in love and mercy unspeakable, causing sweet peace to flow as a river in my soul, so as to make me forget all my former anguish. For the former things are all passed away, so that through infinite condescending love, I have learned to sing the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb, and even upon the mighty foaming unstable ocean, to speak in myself in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, making melody in my heart to the Lord. He has been pleased to preserve me through many, oh! very many heights and depths; heights in my service and in the affections of my friends and others, I hope from being lifted up or exalted above measure, by the revelation I have been favored with; and through the deep baptisms I have experienced, in sympathy with the precious Seed, borne down and pressed by the sins of mankind, as a cart is pressed with sheaves; the Lord enabling me to be resignedly contented in that state. Whether in suffering or rejoicing, in silence or in words, he mercifully gave me this support by the power of his own Spirit, and now is so gracious as to reward my mind with sweet peace for abiding in that station wherein he alone preserved me. I was, through unspeakable kindness, when I sat down in a meeting, mostly enabled to say, "Your will be done, whether in making use of me as your instrument to sound an alarm to the people, or to set them an example of silent waiting upon you." What shall I say or return to the Lord of everlasting loving kindness, for preservation by sea and by land, in many perils; I am at a loss for expressions to set forth his bountiful goodness, and the greatness of his love and mercy to those who trust in him. I therefore humbly desire with silent reverence, or otherwise as ability is afforded, to magnify, worship and adore him, who is glorious in holiness and fearful in praises, working wonders, who alone is worthy now and evermore! Amen!"

We had a strong new ship which had been at sea but one voyage before, and was very tight in the river and bay, but we had not been a week at sea before she sprung a leak, so as to require much labor to clear her of water. This seemed to affect the captain and the passengers pretty much, not knowing but the leak would increase, and we were but poorly manned, the captain having been deceived in some whom he had taken for good hands, and who proved of little use, no, one of them rather a burden. In this gloomy time, through merciful help, I found a blessed support to my mind, in humble confidence that he who is Lord of all, in whose counsel I apprehended I was there, would conduct me safely to my outward habitation. Yet I was sorry for such an addition to the work of the sailors, as we were obliged to keep one hand at least, at the pump night and day all the passage, which was stormy and rough, and very unpleasant to the body. The "captain and passengers were very civil and obliging to me. It was the 19th of the twelfth month, before we found ourselves in soundings on the English coast. After we had

sailed a considerable way up the channel, the wind came ahead of us, so that we beat about there for several days, and were once in great danger of being shipwrecked upon the island of Alderney. On the 25th of the twelfth month, in the evening, we put into the safe port of Dartmouth. I then resolved to leave the ship, being about two hundred and thirty miles from home, where I arrived the last day of the year 1766, having been upon this journey one year and a half, lacking a few days. I understood it was six or seven weeks before the ship arrived at London, after I left her.

As I have already far exceeded in what I intended to leave behind me in the way of journal, I must forbear adding much more; yet may just hint, that in the year 1768, I went to the Quarterly Meetings of York, Kendal and Lancaster. I had several other meetings in the north, and accompanied by my worthy friend Samuel Fothergill, had several meetings in North Wales, in town-halls, where none under our name resided. I passed afterwards through a part of England, into South Wales, and so to Bristol; from there I returned home; having passed through, in England and Wales, about twenty-five counties, and attended sixty-three meetings, and traveled about one thousand and sixteen miles.

In the fourth month, 1770, I set out, accompanied by my wife, intending to be at the Circular Yearly Meeting, to be held this year at Ormskirk, in Lancashire. We were at Manchester meetings on first-day, and attended a very large Monthly Meeting on the second-day following, at Warrington. Truth and its testimony was exalted, and had great dominion over libertine spirits, to the joy of the upright in heart. The Yearly Meeting before mentioned, began the 17th of the same month, and held three days: there was a very convenient booth erected for the purpose, which it was thought, would accommodate two thousand people; yet it was not sufficient to contain the numbers who came, so that other meetings were held out in the open air at the same time. The people in general behaved with civility and respect; there was considerable openness, and the meetings were well conducted. We returned from there homewards, taking Warrington meeting on first-day: the journey was very satisfactory, the whole being about four hundred and eighty-eight miles.

In the year 1772, I went in company with my friends Sarah and Deborah Morris of Philadelphia, to the Yearly Meeting at Bristol; it was large and divinely favored. I attended, this year, four other Yearly Meetings, to very good satisfaction and comfort, namely, London, Colchesler, Woodbridge and Norwich, accompanied by my wife to the last four, as well as by the two Friends before mentioned, who were in this nation upon a religious visit.

Being now in the sixtieth year of my age, and having labored for twelve or fourteen years, at times, under an asthmatic complaint, which has caused riding to be frequently painful to the body, which difficulty age is likely to increase, I expect that my traveling any considerable

journeys will of course cease, and having written so much already, I here intend to lay down my pen, committing myself, and what is done, to the providence and blessing of God, in whose power alone it is to grant patience, resignation and perseverance, to his poor, helpless servants, and an increase of their Gospel labors: So be it!

**A TESTIMONY FROM THE MONTHLY MEETING OF WITHAM, IN
ESSEX, CONCERNING JOHN GRIFFITH, DECEASED.**

The character of this our well beloved Friend being so generally known, we esteem it unnecessary to extend our testimony concerning him, further than the time of his arrival and residence amongst us.

In the year 1747, being a member of the Monthly Meeting of Darby, Chester county, in Pennsylvania, he was concerned to visit the churches in Great Britain and Ireland. During this engagement his mind was impressed with an apprehension of duty to settle in this nation; the importance whereof was the occasion of earnest supplication to the Lord, that he might be rightly directed. After deliberate consideration, finding the expediency of his removal clearly confirmed, he returned to America, and having settled his affairs, with the concurrence of his brethren he removed to England; and entering into marriage covenant with Frances Wyatt, of Chelmsford, he became a member of this meeting; wherein, we trust, the fruits of his labor afford substantial evidence of able talents faithfully applied. Few were his companions zealously concerned for the restoration of good order, which rendered the task more arduous; yet in regard to the exercise of the discipline, compared with the state in which he found it, considerable regulation has been effected.

His gift was eminently adapted to service: in ministry sound, powerful and clear; in discipline, diligent and judicious; searching impartially into the causes by which the circulation of life was obstructed. This care, disturbing the false rest of lukewarm professors, at times, excited their displeasure; yet being mercifully preserved from the spots of the world, and endued with authority to speak feelingly to the states of his hearers, in him that proverb was remarkably verified, "When a man's ways please the Lord, he makes even his enemies to be at peace with him." In doubtful cases, he manifested an exemplary tenderness and forbearance, particularly respecting such as appeared forward in launching into religious engagements above their qualification, being disposed to afford full opportunity for trial; observing, upon these occasions, that it would be most acceptable, deluded persons should perceive their error by its effects. But when thoroughly convinced of unsoundness, he faithfully discharged the duty of an elder, in the

application of plain dealing, which indeed, was his peculiar talent; yet so tempered with discretion, both in ministry and discipline, that we believe few have filled these important stations with more general approbation: nor were his amiable qualities confined to the notice of our Society, having a large share in the esteem of others, especially those of his neighborhood.

Much of his time was devoted to public service; and a foretaste of the reward promised to them who persevere in well doing, proved his substantial support through a long course of painful infirmity, being affected with an asthma about fifteen years. At length the disorder producing a dropsy, indicated that his dissolution was near; yet in this condition he continued about eight months; during which season of deep trial, the fruits of faithfulness were conspicuous, being at intervals, favored with strength to speak intelligibly. His mind appeared to be centered in sweet consolation, which, in great measure, overcame the sense of bodily pain, though evidently hard to bear.

His mental faculties seemed rather enlarged in quickness of sensibility, having frequently to express thankfulness and admiration, that during this sharp probation, Infinite Goodness had not allowed his mind to be clouded, but continued to lift up the light of his countenance upon him; under the influence whereof, his spirit was engaged to encourage those present to faithfulness, the happy effect of which he experienced at that awful period. Several who assisted during his illness, have declared that his patience in suffering, kind acknowledgment of their care and instructive admonitions, so far alleviated their anxiety occasioned by the sharpness of his conflict, that they esteemed it a favor to attend him.

After a laborious winter, gradually declining, he quietly departed this life the 17th of the sixth month, 1776, and was interred in Friends' burial ground at Chelmsford, the 23rd of the same; aged about sixty-three years; a minister about forty-two years.

Signed in and on behalf of Witham Monthly Meeting, held at Chelmsford, the 28th of the tenth month, 1776, by twenty-two Friends.