

# **THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF JOHN PEMBERTON A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST.**

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## **TO THE READER.**

The following account of one who was beloved in his day for his work's sake, and for the savour of his meek and gentle spirit, has been compiled chiefly from his manuscript diaries, and from letters to his intimate friends; though some matter taken from other sources, and tending to elucidate particular parts of the narrative, has been occasionally interspersed. In condensing his manuscripts, a care has been exercised to avoid any change of language involving a difference of sentiment; and the variations found necessary, have been chiefly omissions for the sake of brevity, or for avoiding those errors of the pen which often occur in hurried writing, without revision.

John Pemberton left no continued account of his life or religious engagements, his memorandums relating principally to particular journeys; and from the length of time which has elapsed since the period of his youth and active life, those from whom minute information on these subjects might have been obtained, have been removed from among us. This may account for an appearance of abruptness in some parts of the memoir, particularly with reference to the

early part of his life.

The striking features of his character were Christian simplicity, meekness and diffidence, united with an ardent love for his fellow creatures, and desire for their present and everlasting welfare. An abiding sense of the Divine presence seemed to cover his spirit; and though his Journal may not be so replete as some others, with incidents calculated to strike the mind by their novelty; yet the reader may find himself amply repaid for the perusal, in tracing the footsteps of one much weaned from the spirit and maxims of the world, anxiously endeavouring to perform his day's work in the day time, and looking for acceptance, not to any merits of his own, but in living faith, to the mercy of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, with the heartfelt acknowledgment that he was but an unprofitable servant, having done no more than was his duty to do.

## CHAPTER I.

### *Early life and first journey in Europe, in company with John Churchman.*

In the summer of the year 1682, about a week after the arrival of William Penn in the province of Pennsylvania, the ancestors of John Pemberton landed at Choptank, in Maryland. The party consisted of Ralph Pemberton, of Radcliffe-bridge, Lancashire, England, an aged man; of his son Phineas, and Phebe, his wife, from Bolton in the moors, both in the prime of life, with their two small children, and a considerable number of other Friends. Pennsylvania was the place of their intended residence, but the site of Philadelphia was yet a wilderness. Phineas Pemberton purchased three hundred acres of land some miles up the river Delaware, not far from the present town of Bristol, and settled there early in the next year. On this tract he resided about sixteen years, and then removed a few miles further from the river, to what was afterwards known by the name of the Pemberton farm. He died on the first day of the year 1702, aged fifty-two years. He appears to have been a faithful and useful member of the religious Society of Friends, both he and his father having been among its early members in the north of England; and both having gone through repeated sufferings for the sake of its righteous testimonies, previous to leaving their native land.

His son Israel, the father of the subject of this memoir, was born on the 20th of the twelfth month, 1684, and about the twenty-fifth year of his age married Rachel Read. He was a useful member of civil and religious society, and was highly esteemed for his hospitality and upright conduct through life. Of ten children, only three sons, Israel, James and John, survived him, who inherited a considerable temporal estate, and enjoyed what is of far greater importance, the advantage of his pious example, and of a deep parental solicitude for their education in the

nurture and admonition of the Lord.”

John, the youngest of the three, was born in Philadelphia, on the 27th day of the eleventh month, 1727, and was brought up to the pursuit of commercial business. Of his younger life very little account has come down to the present day. He appears to have been a young man of amiable and tender disposition, and a mind measurably brought under the sanctifying operations of the Spirit of Truth. His constitution was naturally delicate, which induced him, on coming to man's estate, to undertake a voyage to Europe. He had also on this occasion some views of mercantile business, which however, do not appear to have much engrossed his attention.

In undertaking this journey, it is evident that his mind was seriously impressed with the dangers and temptations to which he would be exposed in a foreign land, far from the salutary restraining influence of parental solicitude. But at the same time that he was mindful of his own frailty, he remembered on whom strength is laid, and left home with sincere desires, that he might be favoured to keep constantly on the watch, and to look to that never-failing source of wisdom and safety, which is the only sure dependence, either in youth or old age. These desires did not forsake him after the dangers of the deep were passed. In a letter to his brother Israel, written while in London, he says, “I have hitherto avoided such company that I thought could be of no advantage to me, and hope my conduct may be such while from home, that I may not merit less the esteem of my friends than when I left you. Wickedness does greatly abound, and temptations of various kinds present; yet there is a Hand, that if rightly applied to, will give strength to overcome them.”

It was his privilege to have for companions on the voyage, that experienced minister of the gospel, John Churchman, and his brother-in-law, William Brown, who were crossing the ocean on a religious visit to Friends of Great Britain, Ireland, and part of the European continent. They sailed from Chester on the 4th of fourth month, 1750, and landed at Dover, in England, on the 6th of the fifth month, after a good passage; during which, John Churchman says, they were careful to keep meetings in the cabin twice a week; in which they “felt the presence of the great Lord and Master, and therein were comforted.”

John Pemberton, on their arrival in England, found an engagement of mind to accompany his friend John Churchman, during a part of his journey. The latter says, “John Pemberton concluded to go with me a few days, and his company was kindly accepted by me, he being a sober, well inclined young man.”

“With reference to this undertaking,” he says in a letter written about that time to his parents; “I could not be easy to leave our friend John Churchman, as he was very low in his mind, and had no companion to travel with him; and being desirous of my company, I have concluded to stay a

while longer with him."

From other letters written to his parents soon after his arrival in London, it appears that his mind was even then undergoing that process of gradual change and purification, which was preparatory to his being made use of as an instrument of good to others and to the church. He says that he felt the Divine hand nearer to him since he left them, than at any previous period of his life; "for which," he adds, "I am bound to render thanksgiving to the Author of all good, who is worthy."

As he continued with John Churchman, he became more and more bound to the service. Writing to his brother Israel, from Bristol, on the 30th of seventh month, 1750, after some expressions of sympathy with John Churchman, under the exercises which attended him, he remarks:

"How much longer I shall stay with our said Friend, I do not at present know; but have no satisfaction when I think of leaving him, though I cannot account for the reason."

In another letter, dated London, eleventh month 12th, addressed to his parents, he says, "Your affectionate advice and counsel was edifying, as well as very necessary; and I hope ever to have a just regard to that principle of light and grace, which alone is able to direct us aright. Though poverty and weakness have chiefly been my portion, yet I have been at times favoured with the income and influences of Divine love, which has filled my heart and raised my hope and faith, when almost ready to fail; that I have secretly been made to praise the worthy name of the Lord. You will find that I had been some weeks with our dear friend John Churchman, whom I accompanied into Cornwall, not being at liberty with ease of mind, to leave him, being held, though I could not tell for what or why. We visited pretty thoroughly, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire and Cornwall; and though it was a poor low time with us, yet I have no cause to repent, but hope that I have reaped some benefit, both in my health and otherwise; and might, I believe, have received more, had I been as faithful as I know I ought to have been. The meetings in these counties are in general small, and lukewarmness is prevalent; yet in many places there is a hopeful seed springing among the younger sort. My companion's service was altogether with those who make profession with us, choosing meetings as free from mixture as possible, and in general he has had them so. His service has been close, having had chiefly to speak to the states of the people; and he has been favoured with a clear understanding in every meeting."

It will be observed, that in this letter he speaks of their having been into Cornwall. It was at a meeting held at Penzance, in that county, that he was first strengthened to open his mouth in public testimony, as a minister of the gospel. His natural diffidence, and the humility of a mind imbued with a sense of its own weakness and unworthiness, prevented him from mentioning this circumstance in his confidential letters to his parents at that time; but his companion, John

Churchman, notices it in the following terms: "At this meeting, my companion, John Pemberton, spoke a few words in way of testimony, tender and broken, being the first time; and I thought it had a good degree of the savour of truth attending."

Having thus put his hand to the plough, in childlike obedience to the requisitions of his Divine Master, it does not appear that he was frequent in his early public testimonies; and his mind was often bowed under a deep feeling of unworthiness, and not infrequently of short coming and unfaithfulness to the manifestations of duty. It is interesting to trace a little the feelings which accompanied him about this period, as we may gather them from scattered portions of his letters. It will serve also, in some degree, to show the course of their travels, and the exercises for the body's sake, which they had to pass through.

In a letter to his parents, dated Yarmouth, first month 2nd, 1751, he says; "I still continue with our dear Friend, John Churchman, not having liberty to leave him; though I am such a poor creature that I often think I add to the weight of his sufferings, of which he has had a large share, having waded through deep baptisms and sore conflicts, on account of the great declension and lukewarmness of the professors of truth, who have a name to live, and yet are dead. This sad disorder is prevalent among many in most places; yet there is preserved a little remnant in nearly all the meetings, with whom he has to sympathize."

In a subsequent letter, dated London, third month 27th, he remarks; "Though I love the truth, and the enjoyment of my Master's presence, yet I have not given up to be so fully resigned to his will, as I am sensible I ought to be; for which he has, in his mercy, been pleased to chastise me many ways; and for several weeks has withdrawn the light of his countenance, so that I have had to pass through a barren wilderness; yet I am sensible that He who is all-powerful, is able to make even the barren wilderness a fruitful field. My transgressions have been so many, and the strivings and visitations of the Lord's Spirit so frequent, and he has so long waited to be gracious to my soul, that I at times fear my day is almost, if not quite, over; and that I am unworthy any more to be favoured. Indeed, such gross darkness and stupidity seem to surround me, that I scarcely dare to look up, or cry out for mercy. But, my dear parents, I have, in much reverence and humility just to say, that for a few days past, I have had a faint hope and belief that the Lord will visit again; and if it should please him, in his infinite love and mercy, thus to do, I hope, through his power, to be more faithful. And I hope that you, my dear parents, in your near accesses to him in prayer, will not be unmindful of me."

They now travelled into the north of England and some parts of Scotland. At Bridlington, in Yorkshire, he wrote a letter to his parents, dated fifth month 23rd, 1751, from which the following extract is taken, containing the first information, from himself, of his being engaged in the ministry.

“I have ever been sensible, since I knew anything almost, that we were not created barely to serve ourselves; and have many times been desirous that I might not be an unthankful receiver of the many favours and blessings which Providence has been pleased to bestow on us. Yet, since I came into England, I have flinched like a cowardly soldier, and not stood my ground; but by hearkening to the insinuations and discouragements of the enemy, I have been hindered in my progress, been led into confusion, and into such a vast wilderness, that I am at times fearful I shall fall therein. The dragon and wild beasts seem to surround, and such darkness to overspread me, that it appears almost impossible I should ever see and enjoy the promised land. Yet I have in humility to acknowledge, that the Lord, in the riches of his love, has been pleased sometimes, in the deepest distress, to afford manna to my poor soul, by which I have been somewhat refreshed. And I much desire to be preserved in patience, until it shall please the Lord to redeem me therefrom; for I believe it has been, and still is, necessary I should undergo suffering, that my will may be brought into true resignation and holy subjection to the Divine will. For we must undergo much, to become truly fools.

“I find you have heard, that it has pleased the Lord to cause my mouth to be opened a few times in the ministry; being obliged to do so after having undergone some days' severe discipline, in order to get a little ease. But I transgressed so often, that He permitted the enemy to lead me into the state I am now in; and I have not said anything for several months.

“My dear companion has been very affectionate and kind to me, and has not been lacking in wholesome advice and counsel, and has frequently given me encouragement; otherwise I believe I should have sunk long since.”

A letter to his brother Israel, dated from Kendal, tenth month 7th, develops the state of his mind under these exercises still more distinctly. The following is an extract:

“It is with much gratitude, not only to you, my dear brother, but to our great and kind Master, that I have to acknowledge the receipt of your several affectionate and sympathizing epistles, which all came to hand in due course, and afford me much consolation; being sensible the counsel given me, sprang not out of the earth, but that you were directed therein by our gracious Benefactor; to whom I desire to be kept faithful, in humble thankfulness, not only for the encouragement he is pleased to favour me with from my near and dear friends, hut also for his immediate support, and tender dealings with me. For I can in truth say. He has not been lacking to give me peace and joy, when I have been faithful in discharging what he has required; although to the natural man it might appear trifling and mean. But alas! I have frequently forfeited this repose and near union with my Master, by allowing reasoning to take place; while the grand adversary of our happiness is always on his watch, to insinuate some plausible excuse to deter us from our duty. This has been my weakness, for which I have had to suffer deeply;

being often put into the furnace to be further refined and hardened. Yet I fear I shall never turn out an edge that will stand, fit for use and service. For whenever I neglect my duty by allowing reasonings to overpower, the enemy well knows my weak side, and fails not to affright me with terrible apprehensions, and so to sink me as into the pit, where nothing but darkness and horror appear. And for my disobedience the Lord is pleased to withdraw his presence, and I am left to be tossed as a ship on the ocean. Yet when I have been most deeply beset, he has been pleased to interpose, and shut the jaws of the devourer, and revive a little hope that I am not quite given over. Then the twilight has again appeared, and the sun in some measure also; at which my soul has had to rejoice, and in thankfulness to praise the name of my Redeemer, who deals tenderly with us poor creatures. I wish I could say that these sufferings had taught me wisdom; for alas! it has not been only once or twice, that I have thus failed, but very often; and I remain frequently in this low spot, sometimes for weeks, yes months. My very dear companion has carried himself exceeding affectionately towards me, and is very capable of giving advice and counsel; which he fails not to do.”

After travelling for several months in Scotland and the north of England, they took passage at Whitehaven and crossed the channel to Dublin. The next day they attended the meeting in Sycamore-alley; respecting which John Pemberton makes the following remark: “There appeared too much curiosity in some, to know who and what we were; of which my dear companion was sensible, and directed them how they might best know such who are sent amongst them; which was, by getting to the root of Divine life, the true touch-stone, which can savour spirits; and in that state, the children of one Father are known to each other.”

While they remained in Dublin, his mind was afresh brought into discouragement on his own account; and he had also to partake of renewed baptism as for the dead, under a sense of the state of the church. He says he was brought into “a very low spot;” but in due time he was favoured with a consoling evidence of the continued favour of the Almighty, as appears from the following extract from his journal, dated 17th of sixth month: “I had some consolation by the presence of Him, whom I often grieve, and through weakness deprive myself of the favour of his blessed presence, and the smiles of his countenance. For this holy visitation my spirit was much tendered in thankfulness, and I renewed covenant with my blessed Redeemer.”

In a letter to his brother James, of the same date, he remarks;

“Let such whose eyes the Lord in mercy has been pleased to open, to see in some measure his beauty, and the great comeliness of his blessed truth, dwell in humility and in a sense of his favours, that so they may be a furtherance and not a hindrance, to the reformation and great work which he is determined to bring to pass. I continue a weakling, yet at times am in degree enabled to breathe for the preservation of myself and friends. There is much lack of qualified

members to act in the discipline of the church, which God in his power and wisdom, concerned our worthy forefathers to set up; and which we know has been as a hedge to enclose and preserve our Society, where it has been strictly kept up, while a manifest declension appears where it is neglected. It is with sorrow of soul I sometimes view our Society in some places, where they have not kept a strict watch in this respect; and in others where they make a show of something of the kind, yet act in the affairs of the church with the carnal will and reasonings of man, not being willing to bow in mind, so that they might receive a qualification from Him, who only can influence rightly to act for his glory. Many of this kind usurp authority and rule in the church, to the burden and grief of the true hearted.

“As we have been here but a short time, I have seen little about me, having kept house mostly since we landed; for it sinks my spirit to walk along the streets, to hear and behold the profanity of the inhabitants.”

In his journal, under date of first-day, sixth month 21st, is the following: “Many of the professors of truth in this day, attend meetings for form, and because it is looked upon as disreputable to forsake going to places of worship; many content themselves with going once a week, and by reason of these our meetings are covered with heaviness, dryness and gloom, and the faithful few are bowed under a weight of exercise and sorrow.”

From Dublin they passed northward, having meetings at Dundalk, Newry, Moyallen, Lurgan, Lisburn, Belfast, etc. At Ballinderry, on the 5th of seventh month, John Pemberton remarks, that a spirit of drowsiness had come over many of those present at the meeting, who were closely spoken to, but to very little purpose. He adds, “My companion had a very searching time, in which he opened the state of the church, showing the cause why such degeneracy appeared; and had to speak very closely to some who pretended to be of the foremost rank and at the head of affairs, but were corrupt in practice and unsound members; and even ministers, who had begun in the spirit, being called and qualified of God for this honourable station; yet, not keeping to the root of life in themselves, their ministry was become dead, though they retained a form of words, and could reason and speak of things they had learned in the beginning. By joining with the world and the spirit thereof, they had eclipsed the light, and their spirits were not so seasoned with good as in times past. Such, whether elders or ministers, were desired to look back and consider from what they had fallen, and humble themselves before the Lord, that they might be again quickened.

It is hard to persuade some to believe the truth of themselves, and to see where they are. But we had to rejoice, in that there was a number there, both young and old, whose spirits were seasoned with the truth, and whose dwelling was low. Consolation was administered to such, and prayers were put up, that their faith might not fail; as Christ said to Peter, when satan

desired to have him and the rest of the disciples, that he might sift them as wheat; which is the case with the faithful now. They are tried and proved, and often meet with buffetings and slights from such who call themselves brethren, and are at the helm of affairs, and act therein by the wisdom and carnal apprehension of man; under whose government the church will never thrive, nor the affairs thereof be conducted aright. It was declared that the days would come, when such should be laid aside, or taken away, and those raised up who would depend on the Lord for wisdom and counsel, and live uprightly: then would the church flourish and the truth shine."

Passing from there, they travelled to Antrim, Ballinacre, Grange and Coleraine, and afterwards towards Toberhead; near which place they held a meeting, as they had done at the other places of their tarriance. "Here," says John Pemberton, "My companion was greatly opened and enlarged, and towards the conclusion, had to prophecy of a day which was approaching, that would try the foundations of all; and woe would be unto such who were not on the right foundation. It was told them that religion would not flourish, it was to be feared, until a trying time came upon this nation, which would purge the earth from the gross professors of Christianity, as well priests and ministers, as hearers, who live in gluttony, pride and other evils, and thereby have corrupted their ways."

After this they visited Dungannon, Charlemont, and other places in the county Tyrone; where they found the meetings of Friends in a very declining condition, from the predominance of a worldly spirit, by which the faithful were sorely burdened and discouraged. Close labour was administered to those; and a little strength and encouragement extended to the oppressed suffering remnant.

From Dungannon, John Pemberton wrote to his parents to the following effect: "We have travelled hard all last week, meetings lying at a pretty great distance from each other, and had one every day except yesterday. The travail of the faithful in our Society at this day, is with pain and sorrow. How long the Lord in mercy may lengthen out the day of visitation, and forbear to shake his rod over the land, is not for mortals to determine; but wickedness, pride, folly and vanity greatly abound; for which the land mourns. Oh, that such whom the Lord has in some measure favoured with his love, and who have tasted of the good word of life and the powers of the world to come, may stand faithful and upright, under the direction of their holy Captain; that they may be found clear in the day of trial. I much desire to be of the number of these; but infirmities so surround, and faith is so weak, that I am fearful at times, I shall fall a victim to the enemy, who is powerful in his attacks. Yet I am sensible the Lord's power is above his power, and that he will enable such who stand faithful to his command, to resist the adversary."

In a letter written at Lurgan, a week afterwards, he speaks thus of the desolations of the church in those parts: "It is lamentable to behold how many there are who appeared as bright lights, and

might have continued ornaments in our Zion, who, by letting their minds out by degrees after the perishing treasure of this world, have eclipsed the light in themselves; and from this, other evils ensuing, some have of late become a reproach to the profession. Yet I believe there are a few preserved, who I pray may still be kept from the unrighteous leaven.”

At Ballyhagan he makes the following memorandum: “First-day being esteemed by some an idle day, the house was much crowded with Friends and others. Much time was spent in silence; after which my companion appeared in the demonstration and power of the gospel, beginning with the words spoken by the Lord through the mouth of a servant: ‘Oh! that my people were wise, that they understood this; that they would consider their latter end!’ Many were tendered through the power that accompanied his service, and God was glorified, who over and above all, is worthy of dominion and praise now and forever. The meeting concluded well, and Friends proceeded to the business; in which my companion had a short but very close testimony, inviting them to bestir themselves, to revive and put in practice the discipline, that had been much neglected; first, by applying to the great Physician, to have themselves thoroughly cleansed from the dregs of self and the world; that so a holy zeal may again be raised, and they prepared to receive counsel and qualification to act to the honour of God, not in their own wills, nor to be seen of men, but in humility and reverence, for the welfare of Zion and the glory of God. It was told them, that the Lord seemed still to hover over them, and was willing again to revisit and quicken into a holy sense and life, if they would embrace and seek him in sincerity of heart. But if not, they would be set aside, and a purer and more noble people would be raised in that province, who would seek His honour, more than the grandeur and praise of the world.”

Taking, after this, a southerly course, they travelled through the county of Westmeath, having many meetings, until they reached Moat, where John Churchman was detained nearly three weeks by illness. John Pemberton thus mentions it in a letter to his parents: “We have been detained here above two weeks by my dear companion's indisposition. He has been brought very low, to appearance almost to the grave. Yet, through the mercy and providence of God, he is again raised, and has, for a few days past, recovered to admiration; for which mercy and favour let God be glorified and praised; unto whom, and unto his dear Son, honour and glory are due, both now and forever.”

They now resumed their journey; but John Pemberton appears to have been again tried with a sense of poverty and desertion. He was, as it were, in his infancy as a minister of the gospel, and had many baptisms to pass through on his own account, under a sense of his inability, in his own strength, to advance the kingdom of the Redeemer. Many close provings were his portion, and discouraging fears, lest any misstep of so inexperienced a servant might mar the work to which he had put his hand.

It is also apparent that the state of the churches, and various circumstances of the people among whom their lot was cast, rested constantly upon his mind with oppressive weight, and increased the burden of trial and exercise. In his memorandums and letters, he speaks of the low state to which about this time he was reduced, notwithstanding the fatherly care exercised and comfort attempted to be administered, by his experienced companion. These baptisms, which more or less must attend all true ministers of the glorious gospel of Christ, may be considered as an evidence that he was not going about this weighty work in his own will, but under the constraining power of divine love and the holy anointing of the Spirit of Truth.

In a letter to his parents dated at Moat, eighth month 15th, 1752, he says: "I desire to be thankful for the many mercies and favours the Lord is pleased to grant us; and this, I am satisfied cannot be done but through obedience to his manifestations and a careful observance of his law. Oh! that this then may be the practice of all who profess his blessed name. Then would greenness appear on our branches, and lively and acceptable fruits would be produced, to the glory of God and the edification and comfort of ourselves and one another. My mind, though in weakness and much poverty, is at times engaged that this may be my concern and care. But through fears, and sometimes self, that great enemy to our advancement in godliness, getting possession, I reason away, what I fear, yes, by what I feel afterwards, I am sure is my duty. And were it not that we have a most merciful God, who is indeed long suffering and full of compassion, my soul had been as the plains of Sodom, and as desolate as the streets of Gomorrah. But blessed, and in reverence, ever praised be his holy name, I yet witness at times his mercy extended, that would restore. Oh, that I may be favoured with faith to believe and trust in his power! For he alone can create true faith, and give ability and holy resolution to occupy faithfully the gifts entrusted to us."

They had now got as far south as the county Tipperary, where they attended meetings at Cashell, Clonmel, and some other places; and then proceeded into the county of Cork, having close labour at several meetings in the city of Cork, and visiting Youghall, Bandon, Mallow and Charleville. From there they went to Limerick and attended the quarterly, or province meeting for Munster.

Under date of first-day, ninth month 24th, John Pemberton says: "I was concerned in the fore part of the meeting to supplicate the Almighty, in a few words, that he would be pleased to grant us ability to worship him acceptably, and that he would so overshadow with his power, that the disorderly, light and airy spirits might be kept under. My companion had afterwards a searching testimony. The young men who were accounted witty, were exhorted to learn that heavenly wisdom, which would stand them in stead in a pinching time. It was plainly told them, that several of them were favoured with good natural qualifications, and had acquired the world's

wisdom, so that they could argue and pretend to find out the causes of things; yet that this would profit them little; wherefore they were exhorted to get understanding. The elders too were aroused, some warned and some encouraged, and the meeting ended pretty well. In the afternoon meeting I sunk again into the old spot, out of which I had been somewhat recovered, by not having faith to obey a small motion to duty; and I suffered deeply therefor, as I have many times done. O! faith, that precious gift, how weak is it with me, and how does cowardice prevail!

My companion had a searching opportunity to stir up Friends to their duty; but how dull of hearing are the professors; how blind do they make themselves, and what an itching is there after words! Yet there are a few preserved tender, and a visitation to many of the young. But self-denial is a narrow path to flesh, and few care to walk therein. Oh, that I might be favoured with faithfulness to persevere in it! In the evening was the meeting for ministers and elders, in which my companion advised some to search deeply, and see if something had not dimmed the beauty with which the truth arrays her children; and if it was found that life and zeal were in measure lost, to apply unto Him who can, and is willing to restore. He showed Friends, in the wisdom of Truth, the door by which undue liberty and corruption have crept into the church, and laid waste the beauty of the truth in many in this nation; namely, by elders and heads of families conniving at weaknesses in their children, so that by degrees, one evil after another prevailed.

“Second-day; this morning a meeting for worship was held, in which my companion had a clear, good time, though very close to the dead and carnal professors, the libertines and the careless; yet he had consolation for the sensible, and encouragement to such who were young in years, that were tender and desirous of good. I had a few sentences to express in a weak manner and in fear; but by letting in reasoning afterwards, I suffered much, being sorely buffeted both by self and the devil, for lack of abiding in calmness and retiring to the right centre.”

At Limerick they remained some days and attended several meetings; in which John Churchman was led into very close labour with a spirit of worldly wisdom and self-security, and had to show the deplorable condition of those who entertained deistical and freethinking notions.

John Pemberton says in a letter from this place, that they found more substantial Friends in that province than in the north; but adds, that they had to sympathise with them, under a sense of the prevailing degeneracy; “for,” says he, “the beauty of Zion seems to be laid waste, and Jerusalem become almost a desolation.” And he gives this as a great cause of the degeneracy, namely: “The elders having too much winked at what are by many called small things; and thereby greater evils have got head in their families and in the church; and they have lost their authority by not dwelling in the virtue and power of truth.”

After having meetings at several other places, they attended the quarterly meeting for the province of Leinster, at Mount Mellick. Referring to the meeting for worship held there on first-day, John Pemberton says: "There was a greater appearance of Friends than I had seen before at one place. Some yet retain their zeal and tenderness, both among the aged and the youth, though many are lukewarm and carnal professors, whose delight is centred in this world; some have made unto themselves gods of silver and gold; and some of the youth worship themselves, decking and adorning and doting on themselves, yet are careless of seeking after the adornment of a meek and quiet spirit, which only can give true beauty and comeliness."

At Ballynakill they had an opportunity with Friends, in which he remarks; "Little was said to them, their expectations being outward. They were plainly told thereof, and advised not to neglect their own duty and set their eyes on man, but to retire unto Him who alone can afford true satisfaction; and then they would be better prepared to receive help through instruments."

They proceeded to Carlow, Athy and Ballitore, and had a religious opportunity with the scholars at Abraham Shackleton's school; from there to Newton, Kilconner and Waterford. At this place they attended three meetings, which were times of close labour and searching as with lighted candles. A warning was sounded to those who were dangerously building without the true line and plummet, even the anointing of the holy Spirit. Friends were cautioned also against a conformity to the customs, fashions and manners of the world, and a delight in its riches and friendships. The instance of the siege of Ai, was set before them, when the children of Israel could not prosper against their enemies, until they had first cleared their own camp of "the accursed thing." There was comfort, nevertheless, administered to the true mourners, and encouragement for some of the youth.

After having meetings at Ross, Wexford, and some other places, they came to Cooladine, and attended the monthly meeting on the 29th of the tenth month. "The fore part," says John Pemberton, "was heavy and dull, the minds of many not being rightly exercised; but truth came over us towards the conclusion, and it ended in a pretty good frame. The hearts of the sincere were comforted, and the lukewarm and negligent stirred up and warned. My companion had an open, good time, and spoke of the end of man's being created, how Adam fell, and of Christ Jesus, by whom the restoration and atonement came."

After this and some other meetings, they proceeded to Wicklow, and from there to Dublin, and were at the six weeks' meeting for the province of Leinster, and the half-year's meeting for the nation of Ireland. John Pemberton mentions, that in the select meeting his companion had very close labour, "recommending humility and self-denial, submission to the cross, and following the example of our holy Head and High Priest, who, though he was himself God, yet deigned to take on him flesh, and became like unto us in all things, sin only excepted. Friends were warned

of a lying spirit that was gone forth, soothing some in their sins, and persuading them that their condition was better than it really is. The state of the ministry was tenderly, though very closely touched, and also the place of elders; and the great lack of anointed elders in this nation was lamented, with a warning to Friends in that responsible station, to beware of the world, which had corrupted many and rendered them insensible to good, and incapable of discerning the savour of what was delivered in the ministry. In the general half-yearly meeting also, John Churchman was largely engaged in solemn exhortation to forsake the spirit of the world and worldly wisdom, and seek an establishment in the blessed truth, without looking back for the flesh-pots of Egypt, or the delights of the city of Sodom; declaring that a day was coming, wherein the Lord would scourge the inhabitants of this land for their sins, and well would it then be for those who had a place of defence, a sure hiding place, a hole in the Rock to cover them; and that the wicked would have no such refuge, having no right to expect defence in a calamitous day.” At this meeting, John Pemberton says, “Friends signed certificates for my companion and self, signifying their unity with me; which in a degree bowed my spirit, esteeming myself unworthy thereof.”

On the 28th of eleventh month, they attended the monthly meeting at Meath street, in Dublin; “in which,” says John Pemberton, “my companion had an instructive and close time, and chiefly spoke of this text: ‘If we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanses us from all sin;’ pointing out that without witnessing this, there was no true communion or fellowship. There was a nomination of some Friends to visit the families of such who departed most widely from the limits of truth in their dress and the furniture of their houses, etc.; and we joined Friends in this service.

“First-day, twelfth month 3rd; my companion had a close opportunity and spoke to such as were uneasy with silence, and were too apt to blame the ministers, concluding it mere humour in them to sit the chief part of the time in silence, and then towards the conclusion, to get up and speak a few words. They were shown the nature of silence, and how necessary it is to prepare people's minds to receive what may be delivered; which, in an unprepared, unsettled state, might only divert the ear, and not reach the spiritual senses. Such as would reason and say in their minds, ‘We are told of judgments and a trying day; but behold, no such day appears;’ and so are ready to vaunt above it, were told that the Lord in his mercy and long suffering is pleased to lengthen tranquillity, to try if people will receive warning and repent; if not, his judgments will overtake, and he will shake his rod, and sweep the wicked as with a besom of destruction. And if it should not happen in their day, yet such who continued in their sins and rebellion, and would neither be entreated nor warned, it was in the Lord's power to cut the thread of their lives, and appoint them their portion agreeably to their doings.”

A week after this John Pemberton makes the following memorandum; “In the afternoon my companion had a good opportunity in opening in a clear manner, and proving by many sacred texts, that Christ, by his spirit, appeared in the hearts of people before he came in the flesh; adducing the apostle's declaration, that the spiritual Rock, of which the children of Israel drank in their journey through the wilderness, was Christ; as well as other Scripture passages; thereby confuting the notion of such that say there was no salvation to those who lived before the coming of Christ in the flesh.”

The following interesting remarks being part of a letter written at Dublin, to his brother Israel, will serve to show his feelings and exercises about this time.

“I have often to desire, that you may, with myself, be preserved in the path of regeneration and sanctification; which can only be by dwelling under the true yoke and abiding steadfast in the holy cross; so that we may witness the world and the affections and lusts thereof crucified, and our desires thereafter more and more slain; that we may be clothed with the pure and holy adorning, and our desires, as we advance in age, may be to lay up treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust does corrupt; and that we may not esteem this world our home, but seek a city, whose builder and maker the Lord is. Oh! that this was the engagement of every mind.

But it is matter of sorrow and lamentation, to behold how great a part of mankind, and even of those who profess themselves children of the light, are pursuing vanity and many hurtful things, sacrificing the love and favour of the Lord to their lusts, as though they were supported by their own power, and were to continue forever in these poor frail tabernacles of clay.

“I am so sensible of my own imperfections and weaknesses, that I think myself unfit to communicate advice or strength to others; though I have experienced the sentiment of the wise Solomon fulfilled many times, namely, ‘There is one who withholds more than is right, but it leads to poverty.’ Yet I believe it is possible, and think I have seen it, to give that to others which is designed as food for ourselves; which has made me sometimes more backward than has been profitable. But I desire to attain to a state of stability, wherein I may see my duty clearly, and be willing to practice obedience.

“My soul is at times engaged with breathing desires for the preservation of the youth of this age in general; and I have often to remember the beautiful plants which the Lord has given you in particular, with fervent desires, that as he was pleased to visit our souls when very young, so he may effectually reach unto them by the visitations of the Holy Spirit, and influence their minds with a sense of his love and regard, that they may heartily join with the early offers thereof.”

A few days after the date of this letter we find the following memorandum in his journal:

"Sixth-day; at meeting Friends were exhorted to be more inward, and to seek to get into the valley; for the faith of some would be tried, and the church also would suffer a trial; and it seemed as though the Lord would dry up the currents on the mountains, and would restrain the clouds, and would scorch these high places, and they should be barren; therefore there was need for all to sink low and get into the valley of true humility, that they might have something to refresh them, when the Lord is pleased to cause a famine of the word to come. It was also testified, that he would likewise prove in an outward manner, though it was not to be declared in the will of man, nor the time to be limited; for 'a thousand years with the Lord are as one day, and one day as a thousand years.' Yet if it did not happen in their time, it might in that of their offspring; for the earth would be purged from the present load of unrighteousness beneath which it groans, and he would have a pure people, that should exalt his name, by preferring his honour to every thing else; whether he brought it about by sword, famine, or pestilence."

The deeds of insurrectionary violence and rapine under which Ireland mourned, during the latter part of that century, the misery which has of late years involved a large portion of its inhabitants in absolute famine, and the history of what has occurred in our own branch of the Christian church in that land, within the same space of time, naturally and irresistibly lead to the conclusion, on reading the above paragraph, that the Lord still continues to favour his faithful servants with a true sense of the state of the church, and even at times, with a prophetic glimpse into the counsels of his holy will. It is a well known fact, that some years subsequent to this date, the Society of Friends in Ireland was torn by the dividing spirit of a dark Socinian heresy; and since then, with regard to "the ministry of the word," it may almost be said, that the Lord has "restrained the clouds," that they send forth no water.

They were detained many weeks in Dublin, and were brought into much exercise and labour, in visiting the families of those who were deficient in their testimony against the fashions and indulgences of the world, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life." In speaking of his companion's service in one of the meetings for worship, John Pemberton says: "He was led to expose the ignorance of those who concluded there was no worship performed, or profit experienced in meeting together, unless some minister preached, and who were ready to admire at and censure us for sitting in silence. This was not confined, he said, to those of other societies, but included some that profess with us, who never were baptized by the one Eternal Spirit, which creates anew and translates from darkness to light; but are contented to remain in the outward court. Such were declared not to be of the true church, of which there is but one, the foundation and corner stone of which is Jesus Christ, whom the wise builders despise and reject. Though there are many different sects in the world, and all believe they are of the true church; yet none are true members, but such as are redeemed from the world and the corruptions thereof, and their minds purged and purified by the washing of regeneration. It was

believed there were some such in all societies; but those who were delighted in the pursuit of worldly treasure, and lived in the pleasures and the pollutions of the world, whatever their profession might be, were of the church of antichrist. It was not flesh and blood that revealed the Son of God unto Peter. We find that the people, some of whom it is probable were learned and accounted wise, were divided in opinion respecting the Lord Jesus, and ignorant of his true character. But when he queried of the disciples, who they thought that he, the Son of man was, Peter as mouth for the rest answered, ‘You are the Christ, the Son of the living God.’ To which Christ replied, ‘Flesh and blood has not revealed this unto you, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto you, that you are Peter, and on this Rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.’ So all at this day must be founded and built on the same eternal foundation, Christ Jesus, revealed in the heart.”

Having now been at all the meetings of Friends in Ireland, and spent much time in visiting families and attending the meetings in Dublin, they re-crossed the channel and landed near Whitehaven, on the 25th of the first month, 1753; after which they attended many meetings in the north of England. At Cockermouth, John Pemberton observes: “The vanity of such was exposed, who valued themselves for being in society with a people that is respected, who could commend their principles and esteem them the most consistent with Christianity; yet were shallow, and lived not in the life and power of what they professed. It was declared that confession, or assent in judgment to articles or precepts ever so good, without being practisers and careful observers to live up to the profession, will not stand us in stead, or be acceptable to God; and elders, ministers, yes, all were exhorted to wait low in their minds, and not presume to act in their own wills, but to let the will of the Lord be their rule; and if he communicate advice to be delivered either in public or private, to a brother, a sister, or a child in religion, then to do it, as it came from Him who is the resurrection and the life.”

First-day, second month 4th; at Pardshaw Hall, “The meeting was very large. The nature and advantage of true silence and retirement of mind were pointed out, to which our forefathers and elders in the beginning were called, and whereby they increased in divine knowledge, and became acquainted with Him, whom they had in vain sought after among many professions, hearing much, and looking for him where he was not to be found. It is lamentable, that so many of the successors of these worthies have fallen into the same way that they were gathered from; being outward in their views and expectations, and therefore remain destitute of life and salvation.”

Sixth-day, 16th; at Salterforth, “Several not professing with us came to the meeting. They were exhorted to a preparation for their latter end; and as none but the pure and holy can enter the kingdom of God, they were entreated in love to seek that power which would cleanse; none

being true Christians, but such as are alive unto God, and eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood; such who die to sin, as he for our sakes laid down his life and suffered the ignominious death of the cross for our sins; that by laying down the life of self, we might witness restoration and salvation from the evil and wrathful nature, and know the blood of sprinkling, which speaks better things than that of Abel, thoroughly to purge the heart; it being the heart the Lord beholds, and it is that which must be purified and justified in his sight.”

They travelled for about a month in various parts of Yorkshire, and held many meetings. At Sheffield, on the 11th of third month, John Pemberton makes the following remarks: “Friends were exhorted to seek and know the Lord for themselves, and to depend and wait on Him; which, it is to be lamented, is much lacking in many places, both among preachers and other members; an itching ear being in the latter to hear something to divert and please, and in the former a desire to speak, that the people might not be scattered; which is for lack of self being thoroughly mortified and slain, and from indulging a foolish pity. Oh, may I, if it should please the Lord to qualify me to preach the gospel of peace and glad tidings, be preserved from going forth without the true motion and speaking from former experience, without a renewed qualification, and witnessing Him who is the true guide, to put forth; that God maybe glorified, his people edified, and he that ministers be refreshed and have the answer of peace. The afternoon meeting was pretty large, and the state of it spoken to; there being several who have turned to the world, in a pursuit after its treasures, fashions and customs. An easeful lukewarm disposition of mind covers others; so that the few who remain in good degree sincere, are bowed low and sit in their meetings in a sense of great poverty and death.”

Passing through parts of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, they returned into Yorkshire, and attended two meetings at Rawcliffe, which, John Pemberton says, “were distressing. The few who seemed to have some life, were exhorted to keep close to the Lord, that thereby they might be preserved in a divine sense and sight, to judge and distinguish between right and wrong; and to be cautious how they joined with every sound, or danced after every pipe, lest they should be drawn into error; but to try the spirits of such as speak among them. This seemed very close speaking, but it was done in wisdom and meekness.”

At York quarterly meeting they met with their valued countryman William Brown, after a separation of many months. John Pemberton describes this quarterly meeting, as “not a time of great rejoicing; yet it was an instructive good meeting, and a remarkable calm attended the sittings thereof. There was a great appearance of Friends, among whom were a large number of hopeful young people, whose hearts at times mourn for Zion, and long to see her appear in her ancient beauty. Our friend William Brown, proposed the establishment of a women's yearly meeting, as in Pennsylvania; and after consideration and consulting the women Friends, it was agreed to

suggest it to the yearly meeting of London.”

After attending meetings at several other places in Yorkshire, they crossed the river Humber, and travelled pretty generally over Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. At Oatby, John Pemberton remarks, that from the appearance of the members, they were “in hopes to be favoured with some divine refreshment; but there was much sloth and looking outward to the instruments. We are so prone to love ease, that a necessary striving is much lacking in many places, which makes it hard for poor travellers, who are sent to and fro to sympathize with their brethren and sisters. There is too much dependance on them, and Friends were exhorted to seek substance for themselves.”

Passing afterwards through Coventry and Warwick, and holding meetings in these and several other places, they came to Birmingham, and attended the monthly meeting there; at which the necessity for a firm and faithful maintenance of our Christian discipline, in the fear of the Lord and for the honour of his name, was closely pressed upon the members, both male and female. From there they travelled through Worcestershire; and at Evesham, a town in that county, John Pemberton remarks; “the people were exhorted to fear the Lord, and many disorders among them were pointed out, particularly running out in marriage with those not professing truth, and the evil consequences attending it.

We afterwards understood, that there were few in that meeting who had been married, but had acted in that manner; and we had not then so much room to marvel at the barrenness that was felt among them, which is a manifest proof that the Lord's displeasure is against such doings. He at this day, as well as formerly, requires that such as more particularly call themselves his children, by professing to be led and guided by his Spirit, should not give their daughters to the children of the world, nor take its daughters for wives to their sons.” Here also a faithful maintenance of the discipline was closely recommended.

Afterwards having many meetings in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire, they “went to Adderbury, and attended the monthly meeting; in which the testimony of truth ran very close in love, to arouse them that are at ease in Zion and trust in the mountain of profession, yet have lost the life and dew of their youth. After parting with several valuable Friends, who were made near to us by the truth, we passed on to Bicester.

“Third-day; had a meeting here, to which also came some few of the neighbours; and the cross of Christ was recommended as necessary to make them disciples of Christ Jesus and children of God. The advantages of true silence were pointed out, which is a wonder to the world, and too little known by some who profess themselves spiritual worshippers. After some refreshment, we proceeded to Aylesbury, in Buckinghamshire.

"Fourth,-day; there were but eight women and our own company of four men, at this meeting. We had to sympathize in spirit with the few, and encouragement was handed forth to the sincere in heart, to keep steady in their love to God, and to show it by a zealous concern to assemble themselves in the middle of the week, as well as on first-days, to worship Him who is not limited to numbers in his favours, but dispenses his blessings now, as in former times, to two or three that meet in his name, and are humbled in spirit before him."

Proceeding through Uxbridge, Kingston, etc., they arrived in London on the 7th of sixth month, and the next day were at a large meeting at Grace-church street. John Pemberton says: "the expectation of many was outward, who were desirous of being fed with words. But the Lord saw fit to disappoint them in great measure, and they were exhorted to look to the Lord and to depend on him."

They attended the yearly meeting in London; at which the establishment of a yearly meeting of ministers and elders, to precede the yearly meeting at large, was considered, as well as the proposition of York quarterly meeting for the establishment of a yearly meeting of women Friends. Both these subjects were, after solid deliberation, referred to the decision of a subsequent yearly meeting. "The business of this meeting," John Pemberton remarks, "was conducted in the spirit of love, meekness and condescension, in a good degree, though some opposite spirits were for running counter to the current of truth. The good Hand seemed to be near, and to countenance the foregoing propositions in a remarkable manner. The meeting was very large, and a zeal for the cause of truth was felt to flow in the bosoms of many of the youth, as well as the aged, who retain the sap and living virtue of truth."

Speaking of his own exercises and baptisms at this time, John Pemberton says in a letter addressed to his parents, dated sixth month 13th, from London; "I hope I am in some degree sensible of the continued mercy of the Lord, though strippings seem to be my lot; and a secret mourning, in humility and reverence, for myself and my fellow-mortals, attends at times, with desires for my more steady abiding under, and true submission to the cross and walking in the narrow way; which to the unmortified nature is hard. For lack, I fear, of being more inward and attentive, I am not so skilful in distinguishing the voice of the true, from the false prophet; and so, through diffidence and fear, often miss of discharging my duty punctually, and thus leanness and feebleness still attend me; and of late my situation has been such, that I have been ready to cry out, how long will it be before my feet are firmly established on the immovable foundation?"

Soon after the yearly meeting they left London and travelled through parts of Essex, Suffolk, etc. At Colchester they attended the quarterly meeting of Essex; "in which," John Pemberton remarks, "Friends were exhorted to be cautious how they meddled with the affairs of the church

in their own spirits; and were shown where they ought to look for a qualification to act for the Lord, in the way that would be pleasing to him, and for the edification of his church and people; the transacting of these affairs not being, as some vainly imagine, political and formal, but first introduced in the wisdom and power of Truth, and if rightly conducted, must be continued and upheld by the same Divine and heavenly power.”

The affectionate feelings which clothed his mind in the remembrance of his relations at home, and the motives which induced him to continue for a while longer in the field of labour, to which he had felt himself bound now for about three years, may be judged of by the following expressions, in a letter written to his parents from Woodbridge, sixth month 30th, 1753: “It gives me great uneasiness to find that my dear father is so weakly and declining in health; yet I am in some degree comforted, with an evidence, that through the mercy and favour of the Lord, you have been preserved through the course of your pilgrimage, in his fear, and by dwelling in it, have witnessed life and favour; not living in a hypocritical, pharisaical show, a cleansing of the outside barely, but have lived in and possessed the vital part of religion. And oh! says my soul, may the Lord in the riches of his love and condescending goodness, be pleased to favour with the renewings of life, strengthen your faith, and fix your hope and confidence in him, that you may be enabled to keep sight of the Pilot, till you be conducted and anchored in safety in the harbour of rest, where the righteous live forever. I fully intended to leave my dear companion at London; but when I looked towards home, the cords seemed not to be loosened. So with the advice of my friends, and in pursuance of the way that seemed most easy, I set out from London, and am come thus far with my dear companion; who, I expect, after the conclusion of this and the Norwich yearly meeting, will shortly embark for Holland. He is not certain of any person to accompany him, unless I go. Notwithstanding I long greatly to see home and my dear parents, and cannot perceive what advantage my stay is to anyone here, yet I am resigned to the will of the Lord, and to be directed in his counsel, and desire to be preserved from saying, ‘What are You doing?’

They attended accordingly, the annual religious gatherings called yearly meetings, at Woodbridge and Norwich; at which latter place, John Pemberton makes the following memorandum in his journal:

“First-day, seventh month 8th; this morning went to the meeting at Norwich, which was large and a solid meeting, though too much outward dependance.

“Second-day; this morning was the meeting for ministers and elders. It was an exercising time; a cloud of darkness seemed to hang over, which caused the hearts of the sincere to examine and query after the cause. It seemed as though the Lord was displeased with some, because their hearts were turned from him to idolatry, and yet they pretended to rule and govern in his church.

“First-day, 22nd; were at the meetings at Norwich, much in silence, which to many is unpleasant; but there is a hopeful seed and young plantation here that labour for their own food, and do grow, and will be preserved in greenness, if they abide steadfast; though the foundations of others may be shaken, who depend on receiving food outwardly, and have neglected the gift in themselves. For the Lord is jealous of his honour, and will be sought unto by the whole house of Israel.

“Third-day, attended the week-day meeting; in which preachers and hearers were recommended to silence, and such who were at times commissioned to preach the gospel, exhorted not to speak before they witnessed what the apostle alludes to, when he says, ‘Woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel;’ lest they should communicate to others what was designed for themselves.”

Soon after this they proceeded to Yarmouth and embarked on the 25th of seventh month, for Rotterdam, in Holland, where they arrived on the 29th, after a rough passage; and went to Amsterdam and had a meeting with Friends in that city. John Pemberton says, “here are a few tender spirited Friends, who live near the truth; but the spirit of the world prevails, which ever was, and ever will be at enmity with the Father, and causes the upright in heart to bear heavier burdens.

“First-day, eighth month 5th; the meetings were attended by many others beside Friends; to whom the kingdom of Christ within was preached, and the people directed to him as the only sure leader and conductor. There were some tender people at these meetings, especially among the youth, who were exhorted to seek the Lord in their youthful days, and he would be found of them.

“6th; The hearts of many in this land, as well as in other places, when they hear the doctrine of truth declared, assent thereto; but the stumbling blocks in our Society cause them to halt, being led to conclude, when they see the conduct of some who profess themselves children of the light, but are stained with the spots of the world, and continue in the unregenerate nature, which is not subject to the cross of Christ; that there is nothing in religion, or that these are not the people with whom they should join. There are many who have broken off from their bondage to the priests, and are in a seeking condition, often sorely distressed to know how to act, or with whom to join; some crying, Lo here, and others, Lo there. It is pleasant to behold the sober countenances of some, as we pass through the towns and streets, who seem to be of tender spirits. The fields are ripening unto harvest; but my dear companion, as in his previous travels, is led to our own Society, if possible, to regulate things there. The love of our heavenly Father is still extended to us as a people; and he is desirous that those whom he has particularly distinguished from all the families of the earth, should be inheritors of the holy and promised land.

“7th; Poverty and weakness surround me; yet the Lord in his mercy is at times pleased to favour with a degree of light, and with a humble spirit, and to raise fresh desires for an established heart and a mind more disposed to believe and obey.”

After a few days spent at Amsterdam, they proceeded to Twisk, about twenty-four miles distant, and visited the families of those professing with Friends at that place, and a village in the neighbourhood, called Abbey-kirk. They also had some close labour with them in their meetings, and then took wagon and went to Hoorn. Here they held a meeting with the sober inhabitants to a good degree of satisfaction; and returned to Amsterdam.

On the 22nd of the eighth month was held a meeting, called a yearly meeting; “which,” says John Pemberton, “consisted chiefly of the Friends belonging to Amsterdam, and a few of the town's people. The sincere were encouraged to faithfulness, and to discharge themselves honestly one toward another, not letting in the reasonings of the creature, which bring weakness and death. My companion had to tell them, that though things looked dull among them at present, he was well satisfied the arm of the Lord was stretched forth, and he would gather a people in that city that should be zealous for his name and cause. Therefore they were encouraged to trust in the Lord and often to seek his face, and be upright in their day, that they may be as lights to the world; and by their humble walking, be instrumental to gather people to the name of the Lord.”

“First-day, 26th; the meeting was more full than at any time since we have been here, and my dear companion had a large and acceptable opportunity, tending to stir up the people to labour to be prepared for death.”

Being now clear of Holland, they embarked at Rotterdam in the same vessel which had brought them over, and landed at Yarmouth, in England, on the 2nd of ninth month. The next day they went to Norwich and attended the monthly meeting in that city. Speaking of this visit to Holland, in a letter written to his parents from Norwich, John Pemberton says; “We visited the few Friends there very particularly, and were three first-days at Amsterdam, and had some pretty good meetings among them, Truth favouring with a degree of authority. Respecting our Society, things are very low, owing in great measure to the neglect of discipline, which when rightly maintained, is of great benefit. May those who are favoured to see the advantage and necessity of such order, keep near the Truth, that their sight may be preserved clear, and their judgment sound; for true discerning is with the upright only. Such having the cause of Truth at heart, are not drawn aside through favour or affection, but with Christian boldness are concerned to do justice and judgment. Where this is the case, the Lord is pleased to favour them in their sitting before him; but where the hedge is allowed to be trampled down, a blast attends, and the true seed is in sorrow and mourning. There are in Holland a few professors who witness the life and

savour of Truth, and are concerned daily to seek after it; but it was painful to us to find ourselves deprived of the satisfaction of freely conversing with them, without having recourse to an interpreter.”

John Pemberton feeling himself now released from further service with John Churchman, after solid deliberation they concluded it right to separate. He thus mentions the separation, which was at Edmondsbury, on the 21st of ninth month, 1753. “This morning I accompanied my very dear companion a few miles out of Bury, when we parted in much love and tenderness, having travelled together about three years in tender affection towards each other. But this seemed the time to separate, he having been ever since we landed from Holland, much straitened, being shut up, till yesterday, when his way opened for Wales, and myself inclined towards London.”

John Churchman in his journal, expresses on this occasion the same feelings of affection for his faithful companion. “My mind,” says he, “being drawn towards Wales, my companion, John Pemberton, who had been with me three years, having travelled together in much love and unity, inclining to go towards London, we parted in the same love.”

The remainder of this journey may be briefly narrated in the following extracts from John Pemberton's journal.

“Fourth-day, ninth month 26th; attended the meeting at Colchester, which was small and low, words not being so much lacking as life and power, and a living up to the truth professed.

“Fifth-day, I went to Chelmsford, accompanied by John Kendal.

“First-day, I attended both the meetings. That in the morning, small and dull for the most part; but the Lord favoured in some degree towards the latter part. The afternoon meeting was pretty large, yet attended with pain; there being many whose minds are indifferent and cool about religion, and are as a door upon its hinges, going and coming, and yet remaining in the same spot; on account of whom there is a mournful seed.

“First-day, tenth month 21st; attended both the meetings at Walden, where are several valuable Friends: these have heavy burdens; which I much desire that the Lord may remove in his time, by arousing and stirring up the careless and lukewarm to seek him for themselves, and to witness the Word to purge and purify the heart; that thereby the Lord might delight to come down and visit his people with his enlivening presence, in their approaches before him. In the evening had a pretty satisfactory opportunity in the family; where there are several hopeful plants, who I desire may be preserved from the snares of the tempter.

“Third-day, took leave of my kind friends, and accompanied by William Impey, went to Bard-

field, where in the evening we had an opportunity with some of the few Friends of that place.

“First-day, tenth month 28th; attended the quarterly meeting for worship at Stebbing, which was large, but truth low.

“Fourth-day, had a meeting with the few professors at Coptford, where much blindness and darkness reigns, and a great declension in not keeping to the testimony against paying tithes, etc. Had discourse with Friends on the subject, and afterwards proceeded to Colne, and on fifth-day had a meeting with the few Friends there.

“Sixth-day, was at the meeting at Coggeshall, and Friends having notice, pretty many attended. The lukewarm and careless professors were closely spoken to; these have spread through the Society and in the world; and Oh, that there may be an awakening, and a true thirst raised in the people after the pure Fountain of life; that truth may prevail in their hearts, and the Lord delight to overshadow the assemblies of his people with his life-giving presence. Next morning set forward to Chelmsford, and then to London, where I arrived in the evening.”

He remained in London and its vicinity, attending meetings and preparing for his departure homeward, until the 15th of the ensuing second month.

A vessel at length offering for Philadelphia, he left London on the day above mentioned, in company with Daniel Weston, and at Gravesend went on board the ship Carolina, Stephen Mesnard, master. They had a favourable, though not a very rapid passage, and entered the Delaware bay on the 10th of fourth month. On approaching his native shores, John Pemberton received the afflicting intelligence of the decease of his father, which he mentions in the following terms: “By the pilot I had the sorrowful and greatly afflicting tidings of the decease of my dearly beloved and much honoured father, who departed on the 19th day of the first month, being seized as he was attending a funeral, with a dizziness, to which he had been for some years much subject. He was taken into Samuel Mickle's, near the grave-yard, and there departed. He was an exemplary man in life and conduct, devoted to the fear and service of God. He lived beloved, and died much lamented. May his descendants be religiously concerned to follow his pious steps, and their latter end be crowned with peace, as I believe his was. I retired into my state room, and had some sorrowful moments; yet I had before been apprehensive that he was departed, being, about the time he went off, much impressed with such a belief, when at my friend Daniel Weston's, in London; and I told Mary Weston that I believed my father was gone.

“I reached Philadelphia on seventh-day, the 13th of fourth month, 1754, and met my honoured worthy mother. It was a meeting of joy and of deep sorrow. She was supported with Christian fortitude and resignation under her heavy exercise. I felt a sorrowful spirit, but a solid mind. My

beloved friends appeared rejoiced at my safe return after so long an absence; and I hope I am thankful for the preservation experienced over the great ocean, and the evident sense of the continued mercy of Almighty God towards me, a poor unworthy person, who have often neglected the performance of known duty. I had experienced the Lord to be long suffering and abundant in compassion, seeing my weakness and dastardly disposition; giving way so much to which, has caused many days and nights of anguish and distress.”

He was now restored in peace to his family, and a new scene opened before him. He had been careful, on undertaking so important a journey, to take with him a certificate from his friends at home; and having, since his departure, notwithstanding his sense of many frailties and short comings, experienced his feet to be shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, and his tongue enabled to declare of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, he presented to his brethren, at their monthly meeting held in the fifth month following, testimonials of the unity of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, with his services.

For some years after his return home from Europe, John Pemberton resided with his mother, and was diligently occupied in mercantile business. It appears, however, that he was careful to avoid entanglement in the affairs of trade, or drinking in the spirit of the world, which would have disabled him from faithfully pursuing that path of religious service to which he believed himself called. He was also mindful to cherish a deep interest in the welfare of his fellow men of all classes, and a peculiar sympathy for those two oppressed races, the natives, or descendants of Africa, and the aboriginal inhabitants of his own country.

About this time he was instrumental, with his two brothers and several other Friends, in the formation of an association for the benefit of the Indians, and the preservation of amicable relations between them and the white inhabitants of Pennsylvania. This “Friendly Association,” as it was termed, took great pains to induce the governors of the province to adopt such measures as would be likely to soothe the irritated feelings of these oppressed sons of the forest; and was useful also in persuading the Indians themselves to accede to the reasonable propositions made to them. John Pemberton, on several occasions, had some of the chiefs as guests in his hospitable abode; and the three brothers appear to have possessed great influence with this people.

About the year 1757, he was united with Daniel Stanton and Benjamin Hooton, in promoting a treaty of peace and amity amongst the frontier Indians, at Easton, in Pennsylvania. Some of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Fort Allen, having discovered a backwardness about attending this treaty, it was deemed necessary for the above mentioned Friends to visit them, in order to endeavour to persuade them to join the rest in council at Easton. They accordingly conveyed to them an invitation from those Indians who had already assembled, and also from the government of Pennsylvania. Daniel Stanton thus speaks of it in his journal:

“It was thought some of them had been very mischievous in the murders and bloodshed, and taking of captives on the frontiers of our province. And a great concern having fallen on the minds of a number of worthy Friends, principally in Philadelphia, who freely contributed their money and time, for promoting the restoration of peace with the natives; I have apprehended, and believe, they were instrumental in the Lord’s hand, to appease the revengeful nature of so barbarous and cruel an enemy; the hearts of the Indians retaining a great love for the memory of our first worthy proprietary, William Penn. Remarkable it was, that through the protection of the Almighty, which was as a mighty rock in a weary land, few called by our name were ill used during all this calamity.

“Three Indian men accompanied us as far as Fort Allen, Moses Tatamy and two others. We travelled much in the night and through a great rain, stormy and cold weather, to reach that place; to which we came the next morning. The captain received us very civilly, and I thought did what he could to be of service to us, and behaved very kindly and friendly to the Indians, which they seemed to take well. At first sight the Indians appeared dreadful to behold, as to anger and revenge in their countenances, with their painted warlike looks and weapons, and were very shy. Yet after some friendly conversation, and their receiving a few small presents, which we carried with us for some of their chiefs, they appeared in quite a different disposition before we parted. But they could not be prevailed with to come to the treaty, because of the word and engagement they had made among themselves, to depute Tedyuscung, their chief man, to transact the business with the government on their behalf. In confirmation of their continuing in this mind, they sent a string of wampum by Moses Tatamy. After a further time of free conversation, they appeared still more pleased, and as I thought, out of love to us, sent two of their young men to accompany us back; we parted with them in love. Our endeavours appeared to be well taken by them, and I hope were of service; although none of them but the two young men, came with us to Easton. We ventured our lives and went through hardships to perform this errand; but through the mercy and kindness of the Lord we were preserved; for which my soul had cause to be thankful to his great and good name.”

About this time also, John Pemberton united with his friend Daniel Stanton, in a religious visit to the families of Friends and those making profession with us in Philadelphia, the Northern Liberties, and the vicinity of the city across the Schuylkill. This service, in the course of which they visited more than five hundred families, engaged them at various times, as they found freedom to proceed, for upwards of two years. It was kindly received, and believed to be, through the goodness of the Almighty accompanying them, a time “of tender visitation to many souls.” During a part of this period, in the spring of the year 1759, he accompanied William Reckitt, a minister from England, to some meetings in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey; and about three years after this, on the 17th of fifth month, 1762, he left home on a journey to Rhode

Island and some other parts of New-England, visiting the island of Nantucket, in company with Robert Proud, H. Harris and E. Wilkinson. He was out on this occasion upwards of two months, and on his return made the following memorandum:

"I have occasion to be thankful for the fresh extendings of Divine notice in this journey, and particularly so in the latter part of it; though many deep baptisms attended."

For several years he remained principally at home, being diligently occupied, not only in his temporal business, but also in aiding the cause of the oppressed, and promoting, by works of benevolence and Christian love, the welfare of his fellow-creatures, without distinction of tongue or colour. He also occasionally visited neighbouring meetings in the country, as impressions of duty, or gospel freedom and love to the brethren prompted.

On the 24th of the second month, 1765, he was deprived of his mother by death, about the seventy-fourth year of her age. She was the daughter of Charles Read, one of the early settlers of Pennsylvania under the grant to William Penn; and is described by the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, in their memorial respecting her, as a "mother in Israel, having a pious concern for the prosperity of the cause of Truth. She usefully filled the station of an overseer and elder, being carefully concerned to rule her own family well, and that her offspring might have a portion of that treasure which fails not. She was a true sympathiser with those under affliction of body or mind, demonstrating her sensibility herein by her frequent visits to such, which were weighty and comforting, her conduct being solid and instructive. Few," they add, "have been more zealously concerned and diligent in the attendance of religious meetings, seldom allowing the inclemency of weather to prevent her; and continuing the like concern when very feeble."

On the 8th day of the fifth month, 1766, he was married to Hannah, the daughter of Isaac and Sarah Zane.

About this time a company of stage players came to Philadelphia, with a view to erect a theatre for the exhibition of their pernicious and sinful diversions. Friends were affected with much concern on this account, and feeling it incumbent upon them to bear their testimony against it, and do what lay in their power, to prevent the establishment in the city of a thing fraught with so much evil, they sent a remonstrance to the governor, John Penn, who was then at Shrewsbury, in New Jersey; requesting him to interpose his authority to prevent the same. John Pemberton, Mordecai Yarnall, Joshua Emlen and Daniel Stanton, were appointed to present the petition. They found, however, to their disappointment, that the governor had already given a promise to the players, of permission to proceed. Friends continued sorrowfully affected with this dangerous innovation upon the morals of their city, and deeply concerned for the preservation of the youth from the snare thus laid for them; and this concern resulted in the spreading of a

printed paper among their members, of which the following is a copy:

*Advice and caution from the monthly meeting of Friends in Philadelphia,  
the 23rd day of the ninth month, 1768.*

To our friends and brethren, in religious profession with us:

Dear Friends, A deep exercise and fervent concern being impressed on our minds for the preservation and welfare of the members of our religious Society, and especially of the youth under our care, we affectionately exhort and advise all who make profession of being led and guided by the dictates of the divine principle of light and truth, to commemorate with reverence and thankfulness, the manifold mercies and blessings which, by the bounty of the Lord our God, are continued to us; and by integrity, sobriety and circumspection of life and conduct, to manifest that we are sincerely desirous of walking answerable to so great favours.

We are engaged the more immediately to excite these considerations at this time, from an apprehension that the minds of the unwatchful will be in danger of being captivated by the ensnaring diversions of the horse races and stage plays, which are intended to be again exhibited in and near this city. We earnestly entreat and beseech, you would seriously consider the danger and destructive tendency of countenancing or encouraging these profane amusements, by attending, or being spectators of them, as they evidently tend to introduce idleness, licentiousness and intemperance, and are directly opposite to the precepts and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the testimony and practice of his disciples and followers in every age.

We therefore fervently desire that all Friends, to whom the important care of youth is entrusted, would, by admonition and persuasion, endeavour to convince them of the hurtful consequences of being deluded by these ensnaring temptations; and where this labour fails of success, that they would discharge their duty faithfully, by proper restraints.

And dearly beloved youth,—Considering how many are drawn aside into vanity and folly, from the holy visitation of Divine love, which you have at times been sensibly affected with, we entreat and beseech you to avoid these temptations; permit the sincere and ardent desires of your elder brethren for your present and eternal welfare, to have place in your minds.

Let a due consideration of the uncertainty of the time allotted you, excite you to devote it

to the honour of God. Attend to the restraints of Divine grace, and thus you will be preserved from the evils of the world, become serviceable in your several stations, and obtain true peace here, and a well grounded hope of everlasting happiness hereafter.

Signed in and on behalf of our said meeting, by

John Pemberton, Clerk at this time.

On the 30th of fifth month, 1769, he left; home with the unity of his friends, on a religious visit to Rhode Island and Nantucket; during the course of which he attended a great number of meetings at various places, and had religious opportunities in many families. The following memoranda are taken from a diary which he kept of this journey, and may serve to elucidate in some degree, the exercise which attended him on that occasion.

“Sixth month 2nd; Proceeded to Bethpage, and met with our friend Rachel Wilson and her companion. After taking some refreshment we went to the meeting, which was large, there being a marriage; then proceeded to Sequetague in company with many Friends, where we had a large and good meeting, and many departed with thankfulness.

“4th; Had a favoured meeting in the court house at Setawket, several being reached by the testimony of truth; and then proceeded with intent to have a meeting about three miles further, where was a meeting place of a people who had separated from the Presbyterians, and who, we expected, might be more free from bigotry. But we found the elders were very shy, and not free to permit a meeting there, though their minister was absent. Many however gathered, and finding our minds engaged, we held a meeting at some distance from the house, under the trees. A number of young people staid, and some of their elders; and the testimony of truth was in a solid and free manner declared, which had place with many. About two miles further, we came to a meeting house of the Presbyterians, and after halting a short space on horseback, went a little forward; but not finding entire liberty, we alighted, and went back to the meeting house and continued without until their service was over; when we stepped in, and our friend Rachel Wilson, craved liberty to speak a few words. The minister consented, and continued in his pulpit; but after she had gone on for some time, and was declaring her call to the ministry in a clear manner, he interrupted her, and said to this effect; ‘that if she asserted her being called to the ministry, as it was not agreeable to the word of God, he should oppose her.’ She paused awhile, and I requested he would have patience. She asked him whether he would oppose the truth, and repeated the same words. He said, if he heard anything contrary to ‘the word,’ it was his duty to oppose it. She said, if she declared anything contrary to the Scriptures, she was willing to hear rebuke; adding, that she did not desire to offend; it was love to God and to their souls, that she had at heart, and so went on; and the minister came out of his pulpit and went off.

A sober young man spoke softly to him, as he afterwards told us, and desired that she might go on, for he had a mind to hear her. The people staid and heard with serious attention, many of them being affected, and she had a good opportunity, the truth being declared with power and authority.

6th; At New London application was made to the sheriff, who readily granted the court house, and assisted in placing seats. Many people gathered, and it was early perceived that it would not accommodate them all. One Colonel Saltonstall, stood up and proposed our going to the meeting house just by, for the better accommodation of the people. They moved to it in an orderly manner, and the testimony of truth was freely declared by our friend Rachel Wilson. Some ranting people, called by some, No day Baptists, by others, Quakers, were at the meeting; and one woman, near the close, said that if we were the children of God, there were some of the children of God in prison, and one very sick, and she would have us go and visit them. As these poor deluded people were called by many, Quakers, I was concerned to declare our disunity with them and their practices, expressing that we were known to be an orderly people, and did not countenance, nor had we unity with such conduct as these people manifested.

After the meeting we had conversation with the young man who officiated as parson, a sober courteous man, who had appeared sensibly affected with the truth; and we condemned their manner of treating these deluded people, who are severely persecuted. After dinner we went to the prison. Parson Graves, of Providence, the young Presbyterian, and several others attended; so that the prison was crowded. Our friend Rachel Wilson, was enabled to speak suitably to these poor creatures, some of whom were calm, but others looked very wild. They all appeared, with respect to their persons, cleanly, well looking people, but very positive in their sentiments. The women seemed the most fiery; they used the plain language, and were full of Scripture, but argument has little weight with them. The evil of persecution was exposed, and endeavours used to calm them; which I desire may be blessed with success. We afterwards spent a little time with Parson Graves, who appeared a thoughtful, sensible man, and condemned the conduct of the Presbyterians to these ranters.

“Sixth month 13th; This morning we visited the prisoners at Newport; a stinking jail, where it is a shame that human beings should be kept. The sheriff, the governor's son and others, besides some Friends, were present; the meeting was favoured and the prisoners thankful for the visit.

“19th; Went to Aponygansett, where the meeting was exceedingly crowded, and though not so lively as some others, yet Truth in some measure favoured, and the gospel was preached.

“20th; Embarked on board the Dartmouth packet with a number of Friends for Nantucket. We stopped at Elizabeth island, and some of us went ashore and waited for a proper time of tide to

pass through Wood's hole, a dangerous passage. We set sail again about four o'clock, got safely through, and arrived about sunset at Holme's hole, a good harbour in Martha's vineyard. We went ashore, and collecting some of the inhabitants, had a meeting at our friend Daniel Coffin's, being the only family of Friends on that island. In the morning we went on board again and landed at Nantucket about eleven o'clock.

"22nd; I met twice with a committee of Friends, appointed by the yearly meeting at Rhode Island, respecting a division that has long unhappily subsisted among Friends on this island.

"23rd; This morning began the yearly meeting on Nantucket, and in the afternoon I again met the above committee and some of the parties in the difference here; and the Lord favoured us, so that there was a willingness wrought in all present, except one who desired to think more upon it, to leave the matter to arbitration; and a paper was drawn up accordingly. This step affected my mind with thankfulness. Next day, in the afternoon, I again met some of the parties, and a few more signed the paper; but some principally concerned not being there, it was resulted to visit them privately.

"27th; After the conclusion of the meeting for business yesterday, I acquainted our friend Rachel Wilson, with the contention which had subsisted, of which she was unacquainted, except that there was some uneasiness. I told her I apprehended we should need some of her assistance; which she was free to give; and early this morning we set out, and being joined by the committee, we first visited; a divine covering and sweetness almost immediately attended, and after some time spent, he signed the paper, and we went to 's, the former Friend accompanying us. We spent some time in solemn silence, and suitable advice being communicated, we proceeded to the business; and though at first there was an unwillingness, yet truth prevailed, and this family came into the agreement. After which we collected again into silence, and the opportunity was seasoned with divine virtue, our friend Rachel Wilson, being concerned in fervent prayer. We then concluded to give notice to the parties, to meet this evening to conclude on referees; when they met, and after a pause proceeded to a nomination. We then gathered into silence, and our friend, Rachel Wilson, was concerned in prayer, and the meeting concluded in peace and thankfulness.

"29th; This morning we took a farewell of many tender Friends, who seemed afresh visited. Some that are young, and several advanced in life are alive in the Truth, and many of the middle aged steady and hopeful; and my mind was thankful that amidst such distraction, a remnant should be preserved. We embarked about seven o'clock, and landed at Wood's hole about five o'clock in the evening.

"Seventh month 2nd; Although very poorly, I set out for Yarmouth. The people who attended

this meeting seemed generally very poor, and many came who were bare-legged and bare-footed; truth prevailed, and it was an instructive edifying meeting.

“8th; Crossed Merrimack river to Amesbury, had a meeting there, and then proceeded to Hampton. On second-day was the quarterly meeting for business, and after that a meeting for worship, which was large and laborious, by reason of a greater dependance on words than labour to feel for the life; too many under the profession of the truth being faulty herein.

“14th; Embarked on board a boat in company with several Friends, and had a passage of about four hours to Mariconeague, or Hartshill, having passed many small islands. The meeting that evening was but a dull time; afterwards those that profess with Friends were selected, and some advice communicated. They are in a poor situation, and the meeting I apprehend not properly supported, though some appeared hopeful.

“15th; Took boat again for Perumscot, which we reached in about six hours and a half, and next day were at two large meetings in their new meeting house. My mind has been much stripped, and great poverty of spirit experienced; yet my mouth was opened in each meeting.

“On fifth-day morning we mounted our horses and went to Lynn; and here my mind continuing very heavy respecting Mariconeague, I halted and remained at Zaccheus Collins's, and the women Friends proceeded for Boston. After resting awhile, I wrote an epistle to Friends at Mariconeague; in the afternoon I took horse towards Cambridge, intending to overtake the women Friends; but not finding true quiet, I returned; and on seventh-day morning I set out again eastward, determining that if it was the requiring of Truth that I should go back, I would strive to perform it.

“On third-day Samuel Collins brought his chaise, intending to accompany me. Very dull was I for lack of divine enjoyment, yet fearful of turning back. We proceeded to Berwick, and on fourth-day arrived at Perumscot. On fifth-day I had conversation with some Friends respecting the situation of Friends at Mariconeague, and I found them of the same sentiment with myself respecting the danger of their declining. The next day I set out with Friends in a boat, and after a passage of about five hours, landed on the neck and visited four families that evening.

“Seventh-day, I rose early, visited three families and attended their monthly meeting. Things here are indeed very low, and unless the Lord interpose, the beloved youth are likely to be scattered and lost to Society. I endeavoured with all the ability afforded to discharge myself, and if possible to stir up to faithfulness. After this we again embarked, and returned to the harbour we had left.

“On first-day I attended two meetings at Perumscot, which were dull, hard meetings, yet I was

faithful to perform what I apprehended my duty, and had afterwards an opportunity of making some serious remarks to several Friends. On the 6th of eighth month, I got to Newport, and after a few days' stay, embarked for New-York, and so home."

On the 6th of the tenth month, 1774, he again left home on a visit to some parts of New-England, in company with our friend Mary Leaver.

They visited the meetings generally of Rhode Island, Nantucket, and some parts of Massachusetts, and were accompanied on a portion of the journey by Moses Brown, of Providence, then a young man. Respecting this Friend, afterwards so highly esteemed as a qualified and faithful elder in the church, John Pemberton makes the following remark in his diary of this journey:

"Moses Brown, with his wife's mother, her daughter and Audrey Green, a nurse in his family, are lately convinced of the truth, and happily brought into conformity to it; so that they are weighty, solid, plain and circumspect. And though he is great in the world, and has been much engaged in the concerns thereof in various respects, yet is he humble, meek and lowly, and by diligent attention, has, for so short a space that he has professed the truth, made great advancement on the right foundation; where I wish he and the rest may be mercifully preserved. I could not but remark the gravity and plainness of his family and servants; their words being few and savoury; so that I had much satisfaction in this religious family."

He made a third visit to New-England in the sixth month, 1776, attending the yearly meeting on Rhode Island, in company with his friend Samuel Emlen, jr. It was a time of great commotion, the revolutionary agitation making it difficult travelling from one place to another; yet they were preserved from much annoyance by the contending parties, and had to encourage their friends to a firm adherence to their peaceable principles. "Through the various sittings of the yearly meeting," he says, "the love and mercy of the Lord was manifested, to the tendering of many hearts; and I could not but admire at his gracious condescension. It seemed as though the Lord was preparing his people for some great trial, and that the shaking of his rod had a humbling, profitable effect upon many minds." During a part of his homeward journey, John Pemberton had the company of William Rickman, then of New-York, and afterwards a devoted minister of the gospel, zealously exercised in support of the ancient principles of truth in his native country, Great Britain, where he died in the year 1839, in the ninety-fourth year of his age, full of days and full of peace.

Late in the autumn of this year, 1776, and at a time of much commotion and some danger to travellers, from the contending armies which were spread over great part of the country, John Pemberton visited the Eastern shore of Maryland, attending the quarterly meeting at Cecil, and the particular meetings belonging thereto. Towards the close of this visit, he found himself not at

liberty without proceeding to Accomac county, in Virginia, to visit a family residing in a remote situation, sixty miles from any other Friends. He accordingly paid this little debt of gospel love; had two seasonable religious opportunities with the family, in one of which a number of coloured people were present, and left them with hearts tendered by the power of Truth.

He remarks in his memorandum of this visit, that “they were glad to see the face of a Friend, and to receive the crumbs which the full-fed would have despised.” Before reaching home he received intelligence of Friends in Philadelphia being subjected to much trial and loss by the violence of a mob, on account of their refusal to illuminate their houses, as a mark of joy for a victory gained in Virginia.

About this time he recommenced the keeping of memorandums, as follows:

*Diary during part of the Revolutionary war.*

“The ways of the Lord are unsearchable to frail mortals. His judgments are in the earth, and remarkably so in this once peaceful land; his wisdom, power and majesty, are greatly manifested in confounding the wisdom of the wise, and showing the weakness and insufficiency of human contrivance, policy and prudence. And yet, in abundant condescension and mercy, he is showing himself gracious to a despised remnant, amidst the agitation, confusion and distraction that prevail; with which multitudes are tossed, and in terror and amazement, so that they are like men at their wits' end, having no stay, but fleeing one way and removing another; whose situation is much to be lamented. Yet though disappointed, they are not humbled, but persist in their gainsaying, as men given up to a reprobate mind.

“Amidst all these commotions, the Lord in mercy has vouchsafed to say to a remnant, as to the boisterous waves formerly, ‘Peace, be still!’ He has permitted our religious meetings to be held in much quietude, and favoured the minds of such who have endeavoured to keep out of the flaming fiery spirit, with an admirable calm. Although destruction has been threatened to Friends, yet the Lord has hitherto preserved, and few have unsettled themselves, or removed from the city; to Him be the praise. The covering of Divine love attends, to unite well concerned Friends, in considering many weighty matters, which almost daily call for their attention and consideration; and the gracious dealing of the Lord, is abundantly worthy of being commemorated and preserved for future time.

“It is indeed deeply affecting to see the destruction of mankind by the unnatural war now raging, wherein multitudes have been slain, and more have died through sickness and want. The flower of the country, young lads, and those just arrived at a state of manhood; many of them sons of reputable farmers in Maryland and Virginia, and other provinces; being brought to the city in

large numbers, pine away with sickness, and many are buried in a day. Besides this, the last fall was very dry, and the green wheat in many places suffered so much, that some husbandmen sowed their fields over again. The late harvest was greatly blasted, so that in some places in this province, there was not more than a fourth part of a crop. In Maryland, Virginia, and the southern colonies, the grain was injured by a worm, and much was given to the swine. In some parts of North Carolina, besides this destroying worm, a murrain prevailed among the cattle, so that many died; and yet the people are not humbled.

“Another occurrence I have thought memorable, as it shows the necessity and advantage of humbly seeking wisdom superior to our own, to direct in times of difficulty and trial, and also of acting in conformity thereto. It was the case of Friends in New-York, most of whom, under a prospect of trial and danger in that city, sought a retreat on Long island and at Westchester, Hackensack, Newark, Elizabeth-town, Rahway, etc.; places which afterwards were invested, and put under greater trials than even the city itself. A few who kept steady to their principles and to the guidance of Truth, not being free to leave the city, remained during all the troubles, and were upheld and preserved. In the time of a great fire there, after the city was occupied by the king's troops, wherein nearly a fourth part was burnt, the dwellings of Friends were preserved. One family who could not be free to leave the city, lived near where the fire raged; it was on each side of their dwelling, yet their house was preserved unhurt, which was justly esteemed a providence of the Lord. The Friend of that house, a descendant of the worthy Isaac Penington, told me during last summer, that she could find no peace in thinking of removing; and I believe she and some others profited under the dispensation. In this province many have removed to Bucks county, apprehending they should be more safe than in the city; but the American army being ranged along the river from Bristol, as high as Tohiccon, ravage and destroy almost all before them; wasting in many instances, as much as they otherwise consume; so that little remains of fodder, or food to some families.

“The last summer, on the second-day of the week, our meeting house in High street was forced open, and a large number of soldiers put in. It appeared to be from a disposition in some to show their authority, more than from real necessity, for there were plenty of empty store houses near the river, and other places much more convenient; and it did not appear satisfactory to the officers and soldiers themselves. Friends met on fourth-day, to consider whether it was proper to alter the place of our meeting on fifth-day; and great unanimity appeared, that it should be held there next day as usual. A few Friends waited on some of the principal officers, who received them civilly, and after being informed that the next day was the usual time of our meeting for Divine worship at that house, and that it was our desire to hold it there, with other information respecting the nature of true worship, and our differing from most others in the manner of performing it, they proposed that way should be made for it. We had the house somewhat

cleansed, and it was very satisfactory to find that a zeal appeared both in male and female, young and aged, to attend the meeting, which was favoured. On first-day the soldiers did not get away until Friends were gathering, yet it was evident they gave as little interruption as they could. The meeting was held to a good degree of satisfaction, and those who had been instrumental to the house being thus occupied, seemed ashamed of their conduct.

"Twelfth month 19th; The monthly meeting for sufferings this day, was larger than usual, though no particular notice was sent to the members; but truth operating on the minds of Friends, they were brought together; and apprehending that under the present exercise and trials, it would be profitable to issue an epistle to encourage Friends in stability, a committee was appointed, and the next day an epistle was approved, and directed to be printed and speedily dispersed; being as follows:

To our Friends and brethren in religious profession, in these and the adjacent provinces.

Dearly beloved Friends and brethren,

Our minds being renewedly impressed with a fervent religious concern for your spiritual welfare and preservation in the love and fellowship of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of peace; by the constrainings of his love we are engaged to salute you in this time of deep exercise, affliction and difficulty; earnestly desiring that we may by steady circumspection and care, in every part of our conduct and conversation, evidence that under the close trials which are and may be permitted to attend us, our faith and reliance are fixed on Him alone for protection and deliverance, remembering his gracious promise to his faithful followers; 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' And, 'As it became Him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings;' let us not be dismayed, if we are now led in the same path.

As we keep in the Lord's power and peaceable truth, which is over all, and therein seek the good of all, neither outward sufferings, persecutions, nor anything that is below, will hinder or break our heavenly fellowship in the light and Spirit of Christ." — George Fox's Epistle, 1685.

Thus we may with Christian firmness and fortitude, withstand and refuse to submit to the arbitrary injunctions and ordinances of men, who assume to themselves the power of compelling others, either in person or by other assistance, to join in carrying on war, and of prescribing modes of determining concerning our religious principles, by imposing tests not warranted by the precepts of Christ, or the laws of the happy constitution, under

which we and others long enjoyed tranquillity and peace.

We therefore, in the abundings of that love, which wishes the spiritual and temporal prosperity of all men, exhort, admonish and caution all who make religious profession with us, and especially our beloved youth, to stand fast in that liberty, wherewith, through the manifold sufferings of our predecessors, we have been favoured, and steadily to bear our testimony against every attempt to deprive us of it.

And, dear Friends, you who have known the truth and the powerful operations thereof on your minds, adhere faithfully thereto, and by your good example and stability, labour to strengthen the weak, confirm the wavering, and warn and caution the unwary against being beguiled by the snares of the adversaries of truth and righteousness. Let not the fear of suffering, either in person or property, prevail on any to join with or promote any work or preparation for war.

Our profession and principles are founded on that spirit which is contrary to, and will in time put an end to all wars, and bring in everlasting righteousness; and by our constantly abiding under the direction and instruction of that spirit, we may be endued with the ‘wisdom from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.’ That this may be our happy experience, is our fervent desire and prayer.

Signed in and on behalf of the meeting for sufferings, held in Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, the 20th day of the twelfth month, 1776.

John Pemberton, Clerk.

“On the 22nd and 23rd, some skirmishes happened between portions of the European and American armies not far from Burlington; and during this week two Friends were taken up and cast into prison for refusing to bear arms, or work at the entrenchments making near the city. Upon this, some Friends were verbally named at the meeting for sufferings on the 26th, and the next morning had an opportunity with General Putnam, and laid before him the grounds of our religious principles, and why we could not join in warlike measures, nor consent to pay, or perform any services, in lieu thereof. A discharge was obtained for one of the Friends, and the other had been released the day before on the application of one not professing with us.

“First month 4th, 1777; This week has been a bloody one. On the 2nd instant, a battle was fought at Trenton, in which many were slain, and lay unburied for several days. The inhabitants had generally deserted their dwellings, and the town was much wrecked. On the 3rd was a

battle, said to be still more bloody, with numbers slain on both sides, among others, Anthony Morris, son of the present Anthony. On the 1st instant, our friend Thomas Watson, of Buckingham, a peaceable, quiet, sensible man, was haled from his home by a number of armed men, who came towards bed time, terrified the family, and carried him before one called Lord Sterling, who sent him to Newtown; where he was confined in irons, and his coat taken away. And though through the lenity of some who watched him, it was returned, yet heavy irons were kept on him for forty-eight hours, and he was detained there three nights without a bed. The general congress having recommended to those called the Council of safety, to enforce the passing of their money, they have created heavy penalties for refusing it; so that fresh sufferings seem likely to ensue. This week great numbers of soldiers have died; the pestilential disorder increasing, and the sick being greatly neglected, not having proper nourishment or nursing.

"25th; Great numbers of soldiers have been buried during the past two weeks, and many others came to the city from Virginia, Maryland, etc., looking like respectable farmers; and the reflection was sorrowful, how many wives were likely to become widows, and children fatherless. Our friends Mark Miller and Thomas Redman, of New-Jersey, were imprisoned this week at Gloucester, for reading in their meetings the epistle issued by the meeting for sufferings; and several Friends at Mount Holly and Evesham, were taken up for refusing to bear arms, etc.

"By the newspapers, it appears that the king proclaimed a fast in England, that the people should lament on account of their sins, and implore the Divine mercy and assistance on their arms, in this contest with America; and on the other hand, in part of New-York, Connecticut, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, fasts and days of humiliation have been proclaimed, to desire success for the arms of America. The sense of such contrary and contradictory proceedings is very affecting. That there is necessity to fast from all wrong things, and to humble ourselves because of the great impiety and wickedness that abound, are indeed to be acknowledged, and that we implore the Lord to have mercy on this land, and to pity the people; but to abstain from labour one day, and even on that day to sport and commit evil of various kinds, and smite and despitefully use such as dare not join in this hypocrisy, cannot reasonably be supposed to be the fast acceptable or available with God. And how can it be supposed that we, as a religious Society, could comply with such injunctions? For thereby our Friends in England and Friends here, might implore the same Divine Being for contrary and contradictory things. Lamentable confusion and defection from the Spirit of Christ!

"Our friends Mark Miller and Thomas Redman, were discharged, after being confined eight weeks in Gloucester jail; and Mark attended the meeting for sufferings, and gave a comfortable account of the Divine support they had experienced. They refused paying any fine or fees, and maintained their testimony with uprightness.

“Fourth month 13th, being first-day of the week, and also on second-day, inquisitors went about to know what provisions people had in their houses; and by fresh resolutions from the Board of war, a large committee was named, to take all provisions, bar-iron, etc., except what they shall deem a reasonable allowance for each family; so that it appears probable much calamity will ensue.

“27th; News was brought that the English troops had destroyed a great quantity of provisions laid up by the Americans at a place called Danbury, in Connecticut. Greatly indeed is it to be lamented that such destruction and havoc should be made of what we may, before long, be much in need of.

“Feeling the gentle drawings of Truth on my mind, I mentioned at the monthly meeting on sixth-day, my prospect of attending the yearly meeting in Virginia, etc.; and after deliberate consideration, several expressing their approbation and sympathy, a minute was made for me. Putting my affairs in order, and taking a solemn leave of my dear wife and many Friends, I set out on the 6th of fifth month, 1777, and at Wilmington overtook my beloved friend Samuel Emlen, jr., and his companion, who were under a like concern. We had a favourable passage across the bay, from Rockhall to Annapolis, and on the 11th attended the meeting at West river, which was small, and for the most part a suffering time, though more favoured towards the conclusion.

“Fifth month 15th; Attended the quarterly meeting held by adjournment at White Oak swamp, which was favoured. The business was conducted well, a growing concern appearing for the prosperity of truth.

“17th; The yearly meeting was opened at Curies, and finished on the 20th. It was attended by more solid Friends than I expected; great unanimity appeared, and the business was conducted well.

“Fifth-day, 22nd; Apprehending my mind drawn still further southward, I proceeded to Petersburg, accompanied by S. Fisher and R. Pleasants, and on the 29th reached our friend Thomas Newby's, at the head of Perquimons river, in North Carolina.

“Sixth-day, went to the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, held at the Old-neck meeting house; which was a solid good meeting. Next morning a committee of the yearly meeting for North Carolina, met to consider a matter which was greatly distressing and afflictive. Many Friends, from humane and honourable motives, had set their negroes at liberty, and the assembly, so called, for this province, had made a law in the present month, to take up and sell all that should be set free. Immediately on the law being published, parties of men went about,

and taking up these poor creatures, carried them to Hartford jail; which not only alarmed them, but greatly affected their former masters. Friends appeared unanimous, and a committee was selected to have the case particularly under notice, and to act therein as wisdom should direct. After this the meeting for worship came on, which was large, and many appearances therein. But I found it my place to leach them silence by example; there being a disposition to hear, and also with many to speak, so that I thought both hearers and preachers had occasion more deeply to learn and love silence. Near the close of the meeting I was free to make some observations to excite to such a disposition, and to an awful retired waiting upon God, in every rank.

“Second-day evening, again entered Virginia, and on seventh-day went to the monthly meeting at White Oak swamp. The first meeting was laborious and exercising; the minds of many not duly attending to the important end of meeting, being outward and indolent, though there were a number of concerned Friends.

“Sixth month 8th; Went to the meeting at Wainoak, to which came many not professing with Friends, and a larger number of black people than I had seen at any one meeting since leaving home. They sat solidly, and I was glad to find encouragement was given them to attend the meeting.

“14th; I got safely home in the evening, through the mercy and gracious dealings of the Lord, where I found my dear wife, better in health than when I left her, and my friends generally well, for which I have cause to be truly thankful. I returned with an easy quiet mind, which I attribute to the condescending goodness of the Lord, preserving me in stability and resignation; for which I bless his name, to whom the praise of his works belong.

“Seventh month 19th; Our friend Joseph Moore, is in confinement at Trenton, for refusing the test; and Isaac Horner for refusing the continental currency. They are preserved in resignation and peace. Richard Smith has also been confined a considerable time in Burlington jail.

“On the 2nd day of ninth month, 1777, about two o'clock, P. M., three persons came to my house, and informed me they had orders from the Supreme Executive Council to take me as a prisoner, I inquired, for what? and demanded their authority. One of them pulled a packet out of his pocket, and read a few lines of a long writing, the amount of which was, that I was suspected of being inimical to the cause of America. I pleaded with them for a considerable time, on the injustice and oppression of imprisoning a man, unless some crime was alleged against him. They replied, they had orders, and must obey them. I represented that I was an innocent man, and had not done anything I was ashamed of, or to the injury of America. They pretended that it was very disagreeable to them to execute such orders; whereupon my dear wife told them, that Pilate washed his hands and said he was clear; yet he was not so in the Divine sight. Many

serious remarks were made, but without effect, though there appeared some tenderness in one of them. Another said I should have a hearing when I came to the lodge, where they had orders to take me. They presented to me a paper, called a parole, and urged me to sign it, to make my own house my prison, and be ready at the call of the council; not to correspond with the enemy, as it was expressed; nor to do any act or thing, by word or writing, prejudicial to the cause of America. Knowing my innocence, and that my religious principles would restrain me from doing anything to promote the shedding of blood, or to injure my country, I told them I could not sign such a paper, as it would imply guilt, which I was free from. They still urged my going with them; but I told them, that as they had nothing justly to lay to my charge, and as my house was my own, and I was a free man, I could not consent to comply with their unreasonable demand, and could not leave my house without being forced.

When they saw I was resolute, endeavours were used to prevail on my wife to urge my going quietly with them but she was staunch and upright. One of them then went and brought a guard of about ten men, whom they had left in the street; and again urged my going with them. But I still maintained my right as a freeman and a Christian. He then took me by the arm, and said he would force me to go; but I would not move from my seat. The men he had brought into the house seemed averse to meddling with me; but this man insisted that they should do their duty; so I was lifted by two of them off my seat and led to the door. My wife insisted on going with me; so my friend John Parrish, taking her by one arm, and myself by the other, we supported her; and with these soldiers we were conducted to the masons' lodge. Though I believe she had not walked so far, at once, for two years, and was very poorly, yet she was sustained, both in mind and body.

The people seemed generally serious, and many affected, when we came to the lodge and were conducted up stairs. Before we were put into a room, the person who brought the guard into my house, demanded the keys of my desk. I told him I thought he had no right to make such a demand, and I would give him none. He then asked my wife, and she also denied him. He then said he would break the desk open; and so returned to my house, guarded by the same men; they broke open my desk, and took out the rough minutes of the meeting for sufferings for seven or eight months past; and in other places which they searched, they found some other meeting papers, and two bundles of manumissions for the freedom of slaves, which they took away. But in all their searching, they could not find anything to their purpose; and though they condemned Friends for publishing epistles, especially the last Christian exhortation from the meeting for sufferings, yet they now republished it themselves, at a time more critical than any heretofore.

"On my coming to the lodge, I met there my brother James, and several other Friends. We were favoured with support in our persecution; though that evening and night was to me a season of

trial of spirit, and I had little sleep. Yet in the morning my heart was tendered, and from that time to the time when we were removed from the city, I was preserved in a steady resigned state of mind.

“Fifth-day, the 4th; Brother Israel, John Hunt and Samuel Pleasants, were brought as prisoners, so that our number was twenty-three. Previous to brother Israel's coming, he and John Hunt and Samuel Pleasants had presented a remonstrance to the council, and demanded a hearing as their right; but they were not admitted, and informed that they could have no hearing, and so were conveyed to the place of confinement. Afterward we also prepared and sent remonstrances to the council and congress, but could not obtain a hearing.

“On first-day, the 7th, having had much company for several days past, the inhabitants being affected with the unjust conduct pursued towards us, we requested that we might be more retired; and had a favoured opportunity in humbly waiting upon Almighty God, so that the hearts of many were tendered, especially in time of solemn prayer and supplication, for the support and preservation of ourselves and our families.

“On third-day, we sent for some of the persons who were instrumental in our being taken, and demanded of them whose prisoners we were? One of them said that none of us were his prisoners; and the other did not own any except my brother Israel, John Hunt, Samuel Pleasants and Phineas Bond. In the afternoon an order from council appeared, for our removal to Staunton, in Virginia; upon which we wrote another remonstrance against their proceedings. Next day we were permitted to go homo to prepare for our journey, and on the following morning I had a solid opportunity in quiet retirement with my family, and parted with my beloved wife in tender affection. We were supported in this close trial beyond expectation, the saying of the apostle being verified in my mind, ‘None of these things move me;’ being enabled to resign my life and my all to the disposal of Divine Providence. About eight o'clock I returned to my prison and continued until afternoon, when two men came and informed us they were appointed to conduct us to Reading.

We demanded a sight of their orders, which they refused. At length, after much altercation, one of them read a paper, but another paper containing further orders, he absolutely refused to read, or to give us a copy of it. We entered a protest, and called in several inhabitants to witness it: they were also informed that messengers were despatched to the chief justice, for writs of habeas corpus; but they paid no regard to that. The wagons, etc., being before our prison, we were at length forced out. Many hundreds of people were ranged along the alley, some of them much affected; and many poor blacks, as well as others, after I was in the wagon, shook me by the hand, being affected with our hard treatment. We were paraded through Third street, until we passed out of the city, when the town-major and the guards generally left us; though a few went

with us to the falls of Schuylkill. The next day we reached Pottsgrove.

“Seventh-day, about eight o'clock in the evening, a guard of men came from Reading, much incensed against us, who insisted on our setting out this night; but after a considerable time we were permitted to Stay till seven o'clock in the morning. About that time the next day, the messengers despatched for the habeas corpus, met with us, and our guides were notified thereof; but still they hurried us to Reading. Here we found the people's spirits greatly enraged, and many appeared to be in a wicked disposition; but through the good providence of the Lord we were preserved from injury. My father-in-law, Isaac Zane, being there, came up on my alighting from the carriage, to salute me; but was laid violent hands on, and abused; and so was James Starr. But after a while their wrath in part subsided, and next day several Friends were admitted to see us. The evening we arrived, we had an opportunity of religious retirement,

“I was poorly all the time we were at Reading, which was during this week; and although the chief justice had granted writs of habeas corpus for us all, yet after our persecutors in the city heard of it, they obtained from the assembly an act to supersede them, and indemnify all persons concerned in our removal, contrary to reason and equity, and even their own constitution.

“First-day, 21st; Being guarded by the sheriff and some others, we proceeded to Lebanon; and next day reached Harris's ferry, on the Susquehanna.

“Third-day morning we crossed the Susquehanna, our carriages being driven over, and some of us going in canoes. Great had been the industry of our adversaries to prejudice the minds of the people against us, by lies and forgeries; yet the Lord in great condescension opened a way for us, and softened the hearts of many; blessed be his name, for his goodness both in preserving our minds calm and resigned, and seasoning them with his grace. In the evening we entered Carlisle without molestation.

“Fourth-day afternoon we had a religious opportunity in awful retirement, to wait upon God for the renewal of strength and comfort from him; which, through his great mercy, were in measure vouchsafed.

“Sixth-day morning we set out from Carlisle and reached Shippensburg in the evening. This had been mentioned as a place where it was most likely we should be roughly treated; but though the spirits of some seemed disturbed, yet on a little opening our case, they were changed, and we were well accommodated. Before supper we fell into awful silence, and a concern came upon me to commemorate the goodness of God, to thank him for his mercy, and to pray for the continuance of his kindness to myself and beloved friends present, and that he would condescend to remember and preserve our beloved connexions, from whom we were cruelly separated.

Much brokenness of spirit appeared amongst us.

“Seventh-day reached H. Pawling's, near the Maryland line, and the next morning we had a seasonable time of solemn worship, in which our minds were softened by the mollifying virtue of truth, and the Divine witness was reached in many hearts. The sitting concluded with fervent prayer for ourselves and for this once highly favoured land. Previous to leaving our own province, we again protested against their unwarrantable proceedings; as also at Potomac, on leaving Maryland, crossing the river at Watldns's ferry.

“Second-day, 29th; Near Winchester I met a letter, by which I found the inhabitants had imbibed some prepossessions against us; yet we entered peaceably.

“Third-day, the lieutenant alleged that the papers presented to him were so confused, that he could not determine what to do with us. About noon some turbulent persons assembled, and demanded very peremptorily that we should be ordered out of the town, threatening to force us out that afternoon. The lieutenant moderated them by promising that a guard should be kept at the doors of the house where we were, and that he would despatch a messenger to congress, and another to their governor, respecting us. We endeavoured under this trial to gather into silence, and my mind was preserved above the fear of man, having been helped to resign myself and all I had, with my dear wife, to Him who gave me breath and being. The power of the Highest is able to stay the wrath of man and preserve his dependent people; blessed and praised be his holy name!

“Fourth and fifth-days, an address to the congress, and also one to the governor of Virginia, were prepared by us, setting forth our case and enclosing our publications.

“First-day, tenth month 5th; This morning we sat down together, accompanied by Philip Bush and his wife. Several of the guards were in the entry, and some others, white and black, about the windows. Our dear friend John Hunt, had a clear and lively testimony, and the meeting concluded in prayer and acknowledgment of the goodness of the Lord. In the afternoon we again assembled, and after a considerable time spent in silence, our friend John Hunt stood up with these words: ‘Say to the righteous, it shall go well with him; but woe to the wicked, it shall go ill with him; for the works of his hands shall be given him;’ asserting the certainty of future rewards and punishments. He opened also the early appearance of sin, the cause of the fall, and the nature and difference of the offerings of Abel and of Cain; and expatiated thereon, in a clear and lively manner. The lieutenant was present at this meeting, having never before been at any meeting of Friends, and was much a stranger to us as a people.

“Seventh-day, about noon the guards left us, and we were without any the remainder of the day.

After breakfast nine of us took a walk two or three miles round, which was refreshing.

“First-day, 12th; This morning we assembled in order for Divine worship, and some men, brought from a distance as a guard, came in and sat with us; the time was spent mostly in silence, and part thereof was exercising. I had to make a few remarks at the close, respecting the nature of Divine worship, and the necessity of labouring for a qualification to perform it in an acceptable manner. The men who came for guards, thought there was no necessity for their continuance, and went home again without license. In the afternoon several Friends came; but some persons of an envious disposition appeared disturbed, and objections and discouragements were made to the Friends slaying to sit with us. However, they finding most ease and freedom so to do, and risk the consequences, we sat down and had a favoured opportunity. The meeting concluded without molestation, and Friends departed in peace.

“Fifth-day, our company were notified that indulgence was allowed us to ride or walk any distance within six miles round, “First-day, 19th; Our large room was pretty well filled, and the Lord condescended to own and favour the gathering. It was a solemn comfortable season, and the doctrine of Christ was preached and flowed freely, to the instruction and edification of many.

“Sixth-day; This evening the houses in the town were illuminated, and other tokens of rejoicing manifested, for the capture of General Burgoyne and five thousand eight hundred men under him.

“Eleventh month 26th; We held our religious meeting as usual. Our friends John Parrish, on a visit to us, and John Hunt, had acceptable service; but to me it was for the most part a season of deep poverty; and I was ready to apprehend that the anxiety of some of our brethren to be informed respecting matters relating to our outward affairs, tended to exclude that good which is sometimes vouchsafed.

“Fifth-day, I went to the preparative meeting at Hopewell, which was a season of exercise and poverty. Though there is an agreeable appearance of Friends, yet the minds of many are outward, and rest in a form.

“Twelfth month 3rd; In our meeting held this morning, my heart was contrited and deeply humbled, in a fresh commemoration of the tender dealings of the Lord with us and our dear connexions, in supporting and preserving under the various trials and exercises which have attended since our separation; and fervent desires were excited for dedication of heart, and that, if permitted to return home, we might not forget such gracious and tender dealings with us.

“9th; Being the adjourned monthly meeting of Hopewell, and a large committee meeting previously this morning, I went to it with my brothers and H. Drinker, and joined with Friends in a

solid conference on the subject of the first settling of the lands in these parts, a doubt existing whether the natives had been fully satisfied for them. The committee appeared unanimous in recommending to the monthly meeting that a subscription be entered into, to raise a sum to deposit under the care of the meeting for sufferings and a committee of Hopewell monthly meeting, to be applied for the benefit of the descendants of the native inhabitants formerly seated here, if to be found, or any others where it may be truly useful; which report the monthly meeting approved, and referred for further consideration to the next meeting.

“17th; An order was received from the board of war to remove us to Staunton; may the Lord continue his mercy to us.

“18th; Guards were placed yesterday at the front and back doors of our quarters, and we were ordered not to go out; but they were this afternoon released; yet we were put under stricter confinement than for some time previous.

“26th; In the afternoon we were visited by our friends William and George Mathews, Isaac Jackson and Thomas Millhouse, and spent some time in solemn retirement. Our spirits were contrited and comforted in a sense of the Lord's goodness, and the preciousness of that unity which is experienced by those who know the truth, and are concerned to live under its influence and operation.

“First month 8th, 1778; More liberty to walk abroad for exercise and air.

“13th; A colonel in the American army, who lately returned from camp, visited us, appeared kindly disposed, and thought our case hard, especially as we had never had a hearing, or been convicted of any crime. While he was with us, another colonel came and showed a letter, directing the orders of the board of war to be strictly put in execution. He at the same time placed a guard at the front and back doors of the house. We represented that the order from the board of war did not direct this; and that there was no necessity for it, for that he knew we had not given them much trouble. He said he must obey orders, and that we must be removed towards Staunton. The other colonel said he would stand engaged for us, as did our landlord, who also said there was no need of a guard. After about twenty minutes the guard was ordered away, and our landlord came in and said he had engaged we should not go out, nor be visited. This is the third time that guards have been hastily set over us. Thus we are permitted to be proved; yet through all, our minds are kept pretty quiet; blessed be the Lord.

“15th; A person waited on us, and acquainted us, that he had attended to our case as fully as he was capable, but other business being before congress, ours was deferred; that some members appeared kindly disposed, some were under a fear of disclosing their sentiments, and others

warmly against us; though he did not find that they had anything against us, except the publications of our religious Society, that is, the advice to our members to maintain a conduct agreeable to our religious principles and profession. He brought nothing to revoke the order of the board of war; but upon conversing with the colonel who has charge of us, he was willing to defer sending us away, at least for a week longer, or until we hear further from congress.

“16th; My mind for the week past has been very poor, having been much hindered from that retirement which I find needful for me to be exercised in.

“19th; Andrew M'Coy called on his way from Pipe creek, and acquainted us that nine Friends were named to attend the congress at York on our behalf, and that four Friends were appointed particularly to assist us, in case we are removed to Staunton.

“First-day, 25th; Our religious meeting this day was attended by our friends John Hunt and Edward Penington, quartered in the country. Our dear friend William Mathews, arrived from Yorktown with an order from the board of war, for the suspension of their former order respecting our removal, which gave us some relief.

“28th; George and William Mathews attended our meeting, which was held mostly in silence. Towards the close I had to commemorate the gracious dealings of the Lord with us, in affording us, for a considerable time since our exile, the cup of consolation for our encouragement, and to strengthen and support us in stability and faith, though we had latterly experienced a season of drought and poverty; under which dispensation I desired we might endeavour to profit, and not grow slack, or insensible of the soul's needs; being watchful that the mind is not permitted to wander, but humbly to wait until the Lord is pleased to knock; and by thus waiting, be ready to open, and again sup in his Divine presence. The meeting was solid, and our spirits were somewhat refreshed.

“Second month 2nd; Went with some of my companions to the monthly meeting at Hopewell, which was large, and our friend John Hunt had to speak of the judgments of the Lord in this land, mentioning that he had heard, as with his inward ear, a voice proclaiming mourning, lamentation and woe, unless the people repented and sought the Lord; and remarked how opposite the revelling, dancing, balls, etc., now prevalent, were to that humiliation which ought to be experienced. He mentioned also, that he apprehended he should not have the like opportunity again among them, though he should leave that to Divine Providence, and concluded with expressions of comfort to the truly religious.

“Fifth-day, my dear father Zane arrived from Yorktown, where he and several other Friends had spent about ten days, labouring for our release. They were heard by a committee of congress,

and although they did not obtain their desire, yet they had opportunity to obviate objections, and manifest that the charges against us were false and groundless. What was objected, was rather against the body of Friends than individuals. One matter they pretty generally urged, was that Friends did not join with them, or approve their measures. Friends replied that it was our concern to promote peace, and inculcate the principles of Christ; while it was theirs to promote war; and therefore of course they must be opposite; to which they were silent. It was comfortable to find they could not make out anything criminal against us. Several wished us at home, but granting a discharge would make them appear criminal in taking us up.

“First-day, soon after the afternoon meeting broke up, we dropped into solemn silence, and the Lord condescended to cover our minds with his love, and season them by his grace. Both myself and father had to express counsel and encouragement to stability and faithfulness, and a caution to beware of giving way to impatience. My heart also was engaged in prayer to the Author of our being, that his mercy and goodness might be continued to us and our beloved connexions, that we might all be preserved in his pure and holy fear, and under a sense of his love; and that neither heights nor depths, things present, nor things to come, might separate us from his love. Our spirits joined in commemoration of the Lord's gracious dealings; magnified and praised be his great and adorable name, and Christ Jesus the Lamb, both now and forever.

“Second-day, I rode with father Zane as far as Shanandoah, on his return to Pennsylvania; and then called and spent a short time with some poor negroes in their quarters near the river. What was said to them they received in love, and I returned towards my prison.

“Third-day, Dr. Thomas Parke and James Morton arrived with letters from our friends, and I was comforted in reading a letter from my dear wife, being thankful for the Lord's goodness to her and me, in this season of deep exercise.

“Fifth-day, I accompanied Dr. Parke and James Morton to Hopewell meeting, at which were our friends Thomas Bailes and William Robinson, who had gone about three months past with an intent to pay a religious visit to the Delaware and other Indians; but on their way they were stopped near a place called Sewickly, carried prisoners to Hanna's town, and there kept for about twenty-seven days. At first the people were very violent, and threatened their lives; but after a time they became more moderate, and even consented to their having a religious meeting. They were shortly after discharged, the people agreeing to burn their court order; but telling them that if they proceeded, they would be stopped at Pittsburg. There is a great ferment at present among both the whites and the Indians, on account of the injuries these poor people have received, and the cruel murders committed on some of them, particularly near Pittsburg, about two months since, upon the sons of Corn-stalk, the chief of the Shawanese, and a man of great note among them; and on these considerations, the Friends found freedom to return, though Thomas

expressed that his love and concern for the poor Indians still continued.

“Second month 25th; I went to visit my beloved friend John Hunt, quartered in the country, who had been very ill. He expressed his joy at seeing me and my brother Israel, and we dropped into silence; in which time our hearts were contrited, and John expressed that he was broken in spirit, and thankful in being renewedly made sensible that the Lord had not forsaken him; that for some weeks it had been a time of great inward stripping and baptism; and he had a prospect that an exceedingly trying time would attend Friends as a people, more deeply exercising than they had ever experienced, and our deepest sufferings would be from some of the same family; that many would make submission to this and the other, but that the poor and some weak ones would be strengthened; and he desired us to notice it. He added, that under his present exercise, he had made a narrow search, and desired the Lord to manifest, if in any particular he had done wrong, or was deficient; nothing however, in particular was manifested, but that there was need of becoming still more pure and holy, and inwardly refined throughout.

“28th; Our friend Thomas Gilpin is ill, and reduced to a very weak state, but favoured with his understanding, and very calm and patient.

“First-day, third month 1st; After our afternoon meeting broke up, our banished friends being more select, we again dropped into silence, and I had to press my beloved brethren to continue watchful and steady, and not to look too much outward, nor be attracted too much homeward, so as to bring them into danger of joining with things that might not prove peaceful to their minds, or to the honour of the cause and testimony of truth, for which we suffered. Our friend Thomas Gilpin continued calm, resigned and sensible, and quietly departed between twelve and one o'clock. In his sickness he was disposed to be retired and quiet, and several times towards his close, requested to be kept very still; and I doubt not he was inwardly exercised in a preparation therefor.

“This day is six months since I was first arbitrarily deprived of my liberty; but I have been hitherto upheld by an invincible Divine power. Oh! may I thereby be kept still, under all trials, so that the Lord's name may be magnified.

“Fourth-day, John Hunt seemed better, though he had but little sleep last night. He expressed to my brother Israel and me, that he had thought much of some expressions of John Woolman's, in a time of great exercise and affliction, respecting true prayer; that it was deep, and the place thereof was a precious habitation; that it was not to be truly come at in the commotions of the mind, but in pure stillness; adding, that at times he had been troubled with strange imaginations and unsettlement, but that he had laboured after a state of resignation, and he thought he could at times say, ‘not my will, O! Lord, but yours be done.’

“22nd; Our friend John Hunt, had his leg amputated, which he bore with Christian fortitude and patience. I spent some hours with him, and found him calm and easy.

“27th; I visited two persons, both on beds of languishing; one with a pleuritic disorder, and the other with the same fever that has attacked several of our captive brethren.

“Fourth month 1st; My worthy friend John Hunt, departed about ten o'clock last evening. On fifth-day a large number of Friends attended the funeral, and some not professing with us, who appeared much affected; his religious labours having had a place in the minds of many. During his illness he was preserved in great patience and resignation, and favoured with his understanding, except that during two or three days before his departure, he appeared somewhat at a loss at intervals; but sensible at the close. He was a wise and experienced minister and elder, who will be greatly missed in the church.

“14th; A messenger arrived from Lancaster, to inform us that the congress had ordered the board of war to deliver us up to Pennsylvania, and that two men were on their way here, to conduct us to Lancaster. And on the 18th, our escort having arrived, we engaged in preparing for our journey homewards.

“On the 19th, after spending a short time in solemn retirement, we set out; and on fifth-day crossed the Potomac at Nowland's ferry.

The wind being very high, and two poles breaking, our passage was somewhat difficult and dangerous; but through the Lord's good providence, we got safely over and reached our friend Richard Richardson's, near Fredericktown, about twelve o'clock. The next day we arrived at Yorktown much wearied, but were cordially received and entertained.

“Seventh-day, Henry Drinker and myself visited a young man confined in jail for his religious testimony against war, who appeared in a tender disposition. We found that our persecutors had not yet quite relaxed in their enmity. James Pemberton and Henry Drinker waited on the president of the council, informed him of our being here, and desired that we might be restored to our families; he replied that the council would meet and consider our case.

“Second-day; council met, and after spending some hours, came to the following result, which was delivered to us: ‘

In Council, Lancaster, April 27th, 1778.

The case of the prisoners brought from Virginia, and now in this borough, being considered,— thereupon ordered—that they be immediately sent to Pottsgrove, in the

county of Philadelphia, and there discharged from confinement; and that they be furnished with a copy of this order, which shall be deemed a discharge.

Extract from the minutes,

Signed, T. Matlack, Secretary.

“This was far short of what we demanded; which was, to be reinstated in our families in the manner in which we had been wrested from them; but Timothy Matlack gave us to understand that the council would not do more, and said they were determined to do no act that should frustrate the operation of a law the assembly had made, to confiscate the estates of those who went into the city.

“30th; We reached the city without molestation, to the joy of our friends, and I hope with thankfulness to the great Preserver of men. May I ever remember the gracious dealings of the Lord with me during my exile. He was indeed my preserver through various conflicts and trials, the lifter up of my head, and my merciful sustainer, in affording me peace and the softening virtue of his Divine presence, which settled my mind in resignation to his holy will. I found my dear wife as well as I could expect; blessed be the great Name, says my spirit.

“First-day, fifth month 24th; It became my concern this morning at our meeting in High street, to advise Friends to give attention to the voice of Divine Wisdom communicated to the mind, as a more sure intelligence than outward counsel; that our reliance being on the Lord alone, his interposing mercy might yet be towards us. It was a favoured meeting, and Samuel Emlen being there, corroborated what I said.

“Sixth month 17th; The British army remaining in the city, were ordered to be ready by six o'clock in the evening, and lay along the redoubts, etc., all night. Early in the morning of the 18th, they marched to Gloucester point, and went over to New-Jersey. Some of the American light horse then entered the city, and large numbers of soldiery and of the former inhabitants, came in by the 20th. The English went away without suffering the inhabitants to be pillaged, or any further destruction of property to be made, and the Americans came in quietly.

“28th; Near Monmouth court-house, was a battle between the contending armies, and it being very hot weather, many fell through the excessive heat, as well as by sword and gun.

“Seventh month 18th; I visited Christopher Sower, who had been taken prisoner by the Americans, stripped naked, and painted in different colours; confined at the camp for some time, and at length released with a Pew rags given him. The man that painted him and had part of his clothes, was a few days afterwards seized with a violent pain, and died in great misery, desiring

that those clothes which he had taken from Christopher, might be taken from his body; which being done, he expired.

“Eleventh month 2nd; I visited two persons in prison, and found them in a thoughtful disposition, and tender.

“Fourth-day; Friends in the city were sorrowfully affected with the melancholy scene enacted, in putting to death the two persons above mentioned. They appeared resigned, and died without a struggle. Their countenances when deceased, looked like those of persons in an easy sweet sleep. The burials were very large, and their execution alarmed and affected the inhabitants, as neither of them had committed anything worthy of such treatment. But their friends were comforted with a belief that they were gone well, and they were strengthened to forgive their persecutors.

“Third month 22nd, 1779; An English transport vessel, with soldiers from Halifax for New-York, ran ashore and bilged, off Egg-harbour. The people on shore observed their distress, and got ready with boats, to go off to their assistance; but a privateer, lying near the vessel in distress, would not allow it. At length, however, one man, captain Job Carr, whose heart yearned with compassion for them, said that let the consequences be what they might, he would go to their relief. Accordingly, with a son of Joseph Maps’, he went in his boat, and saved about forty-two; but about one hundred and forty perished, who might generally, if not all, have been saved.

The people on shore saw the poor creatures falling from the shrouds, as death, through the severity of the cold, seized them. A woman was afterwards found with a child tied to her, both drowned. Oh! cruel and sad effects of the spirit of enmity, hard heartedness and war! May the Lord, in his infinite mercy, soften and take away the stony heart, and promote a more Christian spirit than is now generally prevalent.

“Fourth month 11th; At our meeting in High street, were several libertines, and such as had been disowned by Friends, and some not professing with us. Our beloved friend Samuel Emlen, jr., was zealously concerned in public testimony, beginning with the words of Jeremiah: ‘My eye affects my heart, because of all the daughters of my city,’ and after some expressions to the dissipated daughters, he called upon the women, in the words of the same prophet: ‘Yet hear the word of the Lord, O! you women, and let your ear receive the word of his mouth; and teach your daughters wailing, and every one her neighbour lamentation;’ repeating these words several times, and proclaiming a day of wailing and bitter lamentation, that he that rides on the pale horse, whose name is death, would invade the habitations of some, and that calamity and distress would attend many parts of this once peaceful land; even this once peaceful and joyous city, the place of his birth, if humiliation and turning to the Lord did not take place. He was

favoured with energy and power, and was very close against the workers of iniquity, but comfortable to the true seekers after God.

“On the 22nd of this month, my dearly beloved brother, Israel Pemberton, departed this life, aged nearly sixty-four years. He had been much broken in his constitution, for about three years. In his banishment to Virginia, with others of us, in 1777, in which he remained a prisoner nearly eight months, separated from an aged and endeared wife, beloved children and grandchildren, and hurried in a violent manner from home, among spirits exasperated by misrepresentations, he was endued with constancy, and a good share of fortitude and patience. The separation, however, nearly affected him, being a man of tender feeling and sympathy. On his return he found his wife in a poor state of health, and from the time of her departure he visibly declined; and spent his time among his friends, as one sensible that his own departure drew near. He appeared in a very tender frame of mind, and in the fore part of his illness, expressed that he was much favoured in spirit.

For some hours before his departure he seemed to be free from pain, and quietly departed without sigh or struggle. At this awful season, a great solemnity and sweet calm attended; and I doubt not he is gone to join the spirits of the just made perfect, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. He was a man of good natural endowments, of a large understanding, which was sanctified and rendered useful, both with respect to temporal matters and those of greater importance. He was very weighty on all occasions that affected the reputation and testimony of truth; a true friend to the poor and needy in their distress, a great advocate of the negroes, and a promoter of various public institutions, particularly of the Pennsylvania hospital, of which he was a manager from the beginning. All ranks of people appeared affected with his death, and a very great concourse attended the funeral.

“On the 8th of fifth month, I left home with the unity of my friends, weak in body, yet under a solid covering of truth, accompanied by my father-in-law, Isaac Zane, and taking meetings in the way, reached the quarterly meeting at Salem, which was very large, and attended by some well concerned Friends; though a more general godly zeal and true religious concern are much lacking. Notwithstanding we have experienced the rod, and much affliction has attended our land, yet greater purity and refinement, and more redemption from the spirit of the world, are still needed. We went from there to Greenwich, Cape May and Egg-harbour, and reached home on the 31st. In this journey I was sustained through abundant mercy, and favoured with a steady mind. We had to observe the pernicious effects of war and strife, by which many are involved in great calamity. On the coast of Cape May and Egg-harbour, several vessels have lately been cast ashore, and become a prey to the people, many of whom, by the booty of spirituous liquors, corrupt themselves, and are led further distant from God and the teachings of his Spirit; which,

if regarded, would lead to compassion, meekness and purity, and would destroy the spirit in man which delights in another's overthrow. Friends appeared to keep clear of being defiled with the spoils of war, either by purchasing the goods or otherwise.

"Eleventh month 4th; At our meeting for sufferings, after weighty consideration, a memorial was agreed upon to the assembly of Pennsylvania, to express our sense of the grievous laws they have passed, oppressive to tender consciences; particularly respecting our schoolmasters in this city being discouraged from continuing their schools, in consequence of a further supplement to the test law. Friends were received favourably, and such a weight and solemnity attended, that an awe prevailed over the members during the reading of the memorial, and on the observations made by some of the Friends.

"Twelfth month 7th; At Wilmington I heard of the death of a colonel in the American army, who had been a schoolmaster in that town, and very active in distressing Friends. On the 27th ultimo, being at the house of a Friend, he used, as it is said, some endeavours to ensnare him; and at length queried of the Friend, what he thought of General Washington? He replied that he had heard he was a good soldier. This raised the colonel, who compared him to Christ Jesus our Lord; and mounting soon after, rode a little distance; but his horse threw him and broke his scull, and presently he died. He had, but a few days before, taken possession of a confiscated estate; and it is said, obliged the man's wife to leave the place. His sudden death, after such blasphemous expressions, was very affecting.

"30th; Hearing that a master of a vessel, Jonathan Esthill, a Friend, had lain in prison about three weeks, I went and had an opportunity to see him, and obtained liberty to bring him to my house. He was owner as well as master, and had been taken between Augustine and Antigua, by an armed ship, called "The Jay," fitted out from this place; and thus lost nearly all for which he had been working hard for many years. He is a steady, sober Friend, of the north of England.

"First month 28th, 1780; Our friends John Parrish and Samuel Hopkins, returned from a religious visit in North Carolina; they gave an account of a Friend who has suffered greatly for his religious testimony against war. Being drafted to stand guard over part of Burgoyne's army, prisoners in Virginia, he could not comply, and was therefore tried at a court martial, composed of young officers; who sentenced him to have thirty-nine lashes, which was executed in the presence of some hundred spectators. Forty stripes were very heavily laid on, by three different persons, with a whip having nine cords; but the Friend, though much torn, was supported; and persuasions and threats were afterwards offered in vain, to prevail on him to yield to service. It was thought that the faithfulness of this Friend and the severe suffering he underwent, spread the testimony of truth. The procedure gave great disgust, and one captain, it was said, laid down his commission, declaring that if innocent conscientious men were thus treated, he would not

serve any longer.

“Seventh month 20th; At the meeting for sufferings this day, a number of Friends were appointed to labour for the bringing back of Benjamin Gilbert and family, taken captive among the Indians. We met in the evening to confer on the subject, and concluded to apply to the president and council for liberty to send a person by land to Niagara, or to obtain conveyance of a letter from New-York to Canada, round by Quebec. The next morning we applied to the president, but he put difficulties in the way. At length, after saying that it would look partial, to send for one family, and not for others who were captives, he promised to lay our statement of their case before the council. In the afternoon he referred us to a committee of council, on whom we waited. They represented the partiality of the proposal. We reminded them, that these were our brethren, that if every religious society were to exercise the same care, the thing would be general; that it was our wish that all captives might be released, and it was well known that we had ever manifested a benevolent disposition to those under trials, and had in former wars been at much expense and used great endeavours to relieve many who were in captivity, and obtained their release. After we left them we conferred together, and the next day represented the matter to council, who concluded not to allow of our sending. On the 28th we obtained the endorsement of a letter, by Timothy Matlack, to send to New York, to forward some supplies to this afflicted family, and the letter containing an anxious desire for their relief, we hope it may open some way for them.

“Eighth month 12th; The several testimonies and epistles issued by Friends, which were published by our persecutors in 1777, to justify the proceedings of the congress and council, against those Friends who were then sent into banishment, now appeared again in the newspapers, having a little piece prefixed to them, to excite fresh enmity against Friends. May the Lord disappoint the evil machinations of the wicked, and afford faith and patience to his people to bear reviling and reproach, for the name of Christ and his truth.

“On the 24th, Friends published ‘A short vindication of the religious Society called Quakers, against the aspersions of a nameless writer,’ in the Pennsylvania Packet, of the 12th instant.<sup>1</sup>

“Ninth month 23rd; Our yearly meeting began and continued until the 29th. It was a season of favour, and held in solemn quiet, great peace and brotherly love. The city, during this time was quiet; but the last day there was a stir made, and it appeared as though evil was designed against Friends. The effigy of Arnold was carted about with men on horseback, and a great rabble following. They advanced towards Friends' meeting house in Pine street; but on the way, it is said, hearing that the meeting was broken up, they turned down Spruce street. Having occasion after meeting, to pass along Front street and by the coffee-house, where a number of people

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<sup>1</sup> This Vindication was published in the Pennsylvania Packet, “September 2nd, 1780.”

were collected, some of them appeared very wrathful, and cursed us as we passed, Henry Drinker being with me. But the Lord, whose interpositions in many instances have been marvelous, disappointed the evil designs of bad men, which might have been manifested, had not the meeting concluded.

"Having felt of late an increasing concern to cross the great deep on a visit to my friends in Europe, though I had been tor some days very poor and low in mind, and did not know that I should have life and strength to open it to Friends, yet at our monthly meeting on the 29th of twelfth month, some time after the business was entered upon, I felt as though it would be safest for me to make the attempt, and was strengthened to do it in a solid manner; beginning with the words of Christ; 'He that seeks to save his life, shall lose it; but he that lays down his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it.' A solemnity spread over the meeting, and after a time of solid waiting, several expressed their unity, and a committee was appointed to prepare a certificate. This was what I scarcely looked for, considering the smallness of my gift, but the Lord is able to prepare the way for his own work.

"Second month 3rd, 1781; Jacob Lindley, who lately returned from Carolina, relates that some Friends, about ten in number, were forced by the soldiery along with them, when about to combat the British army in that country; and when they approached, and were likely to fire at each other, these Friends, who refused to bear arms, were put in the front, both parties being near, with their guns presented. One of the Friends desired his brethren to do as he should, and he fell flat to the ground, as did the rest. A fire immediately ensued, and the Americans were routed and many slain near these Friends, yet they escaped. I thought this worthy of notice.

"5th; At our quarterly meeting I had to remark to Friends the necessity there was to labour to have the eye single, and to be truly devoted in heart. I spread my concern before the meeting; much sympathy with me was expressed, and my certificate endorsed. My mind was favoured with a solid covering, and I was very desirous that the meeting might not give way through a regard for me, but that a single eye might be kept, as the matter was deeply interesting to Friends, as well as to myself.

"21st; Having been thoughtful about some Friends at Deer creek, accompanied by David Sands, Samuel Emlen, jr., and some others, I set out; and on fifth-day attended the meeting there, which was an exercising, suffering time. Here are several valuable Friends, but much oppressed with a wrong spirit, which is prevalent in some there.

"Third month 15th; Feeling some engagement of mind to attend the quarterly meeting at Warrington, on the west side of the Susquehanna, I set out; and on the 16th called at Lancaster, to see our friends Moses Roberts and John Hughes, who have been prisoners upwards of eleven

months, without conviction or trial. They were supported in patience.

“On the 17th I crossed the river Susquehanna, and attended the quarterly meeting at Warrington on second-day; where William Mathews laid before his brethren, his concern for visiting Friends in Europe. I reached home on fifth-day evening, having cause to be humbly thankful to the Father of mercies.”

## CHAPTER II.

### *Second visit to Europe—Travels in England and Ireland.*

“Having had the concurrence and unity of the monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings of Friends, to which I belonged, in the religious exercise of mind, which the Lord, as I apprehended, begot in me, to resign to his will in visiting my friends in Europe; I used diligent endeavours to settle my worldly concerns; in which I reverently acknowledge the Lord made way for me; and in the fourth month, 1782, it appeared to me best to join our dear friend William Mathews, under a like religious engagement. At our quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, held on the 4th of fifth month, I was free to let my dear friends know, that the time for me to leave them appeared near; which quickened my attention to do everything that appeared necessary, previous thereto. This kept me busily engaged, visiting several Friends; with some of whom I had seasonable opportunities, in which the softening virtue of Truth prevailed, and I hope, made profitable impressions.

“Second-day, sixth month 10th, 1782; Many Friends came to take their leave of me in much affection, and we had some solid opportunities in retirement that evening and next morning. My heart was humbled under a sense of the love, sympathy and concern for me, begotten in the hearts of my dear friends and some others. Having parted with them and my tenderly beloved wife, accompanied by my dear brother James, etc., I set out to overtake William Mathews, who was then visiting meetings in Bucks county. Previous to his leaving the city, on the 23rd of fifth month, I went with him, my brother James, and some other Friends, to William Moore, president, whom we acquainted with our religious prospect. He appeared tender and concerned for us, and particularly so for me, as we had been acquainted from school boys, and the penalty of the laws was great, for departing without consent. We informed him that we did not mean purposely to displease, but apprehended that to those who had nothing in view but an honest discharge of duty in the sight of God, and the promotion of piety and virtue, no difficulties should be given. After this we sent something of like import to the council; as follows:

To the president and council:

Having, by the constraining power of God's love influencing my spirit, been at times engaged to call sinners to repentance and amendment of life, and to publish the glad tidings of peace, life and salvation, through Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour; and finding my mind drawn by the same Divine power and love, to visit my brethren in religious profession in Europe, as the Lord may open my way; I have, agreeable to the regular, decent, and orderly way, used in our religious Society, solidly opened my concern to Friends here, who, after deliberate and weighty consideration, have signified their sympathy, unity and concurrence with this religious engagement, by their certificates; leaving me to the Lord and the guidance of his holy Spirit.

And believing the time to be come for me to move forward, and leave my native country, my near connexions, and whatever is dear to me in this life, I inform you hereof: and do declare, that I have no sinister view or worldly concern to promote; but singly the honest and upright discharge of a duty, laid and enjoined on me, as I believe, by that Almighty and holy Being who formed us for his glory, and has a right to our service, to be obeyed and followed in all things; for therein consists our peace and happiness here and forever. And believing the gospel of Christ to be free, the true ministers hereof ought to be free also, and not interrupted in their religious endeavours for the promotion of piety, virtue and godly living. Under this consideration, and not from a disposition to give offence, I dare not make the consent of human authority a condition of my obedience to Divine requiring; yet am willing, by thus making my case known to you, to remove all occasion of misapprehension or misrepresentation. And recommending you with myself to God, and to the word of his grace nigh in the heart, that by attention and obedience thereto, we may experience peace in our minds here, and happiness hereafter,

I remain your real friend,

John Pemberton.

Philadelphia, Fifth month 30th, 1782.

“Sixth month 12th; I desire to be kept humble, patient and resigned. Poverty attends me, yet as we passed from house to house in our journey, I had to break bread spiritually.

“13th; I overtook William Mathews at Hardwick, in New-Jersey, and was most easy to continue there until first-day. On seventh-day we joined Friends in drawing up a representation of the sufferings to which they were liable, by an oppressive law made some years before. The meeting at Hardwick was large, and several appeared hopeful; yet, alas! the life of religion is

low; but Truth helped to labour in the honest discharge of duty. We went from there to Paulin's kiln, and had a meeting there.

"18th; Very hot weather. We were much spent in riding about forty miles to New-Cornwall, in New-York. On the 20th we reached New-Marlborough, and the next day attended monthly meeting there. From there we took meetings at Crum Elbow and the Creek, meetings settled within a few years, and large.

"Second-day, 24th; We had a large meeting at the Nine-partners; from there to Oswego, Apoughquaque, Oblong and Amawalk; many professors and a plain people, but the life of religion at a low ebb. At Oblong we met with J. Eldridge, who appeared to be in a very ranting spirit, and seemed to value himself upon a certificate he had from New-England. I told him I hoped he would not represent that he had one from Friends in unity. It is right to be tender towards the man, yet necessary to set him in his proper place. I urged his speedy return home, and not to impose upon Friends in his way, by appearing in meetings, which he did at Oblong the day before we reached there.

"While we were at Amawalk, five young men came boldly into the room in which we were sitting at a Friend's house, three of them armed. I thought as I quietly sat, I felt the perturbation of mind they were in; and apprehended, as I afterwards understood was the case, that they were going out to seek prey, being such who made a spoil of all they could take or meet with, without respect to party. I was affected under a consideration of their situation and evil life. They were going towards the part we intended for next day.

"First-day, sixth month 30th; We set out early, and passed through a country formerly well settled, but now much deserted; so that rubbish was growing over fields cultivated in past years, and grass in them and along the way side, which would have afforded much hay; the sight of which was affecting. We passed through without hindrance, though we saw some military men on the way, who had just returned from lying in the woods through fear of their enemies. Alas! how are some who profess the Christian name misled, and how will they risk health and life for false honour!

"On first-day we were at Shappaqua meeting; then to Purchase, Mamaroneck and Westchester. These meetings were low exercising seasons; and my mind was greatly stripped, not being able to see my way clearly; yet I was engaged in some labour, in each meeting. After this we proceeded to New-York; the country from Amawalk here, the way we came, being much deserted, except by Friends, who mostly kept their habitations. Though many of them were robbed and spoiled, and some had met with much personal abuse, yet the Lord had been gracious; and none appeared to lack the necessities of life, though they lived and fared differ-

ently from what they once had done. It would have been comfortable to find that these sufferings had had a more profitable effect, and that the professors of the blessed truth had become more truly alive in their profession. There is, however, a precious seed in most places, and some promising youth; but in the general, life is much lacking.

“In New-York, accompanied by dear David Sands, I visited several families; and on first-day we were at two meetings, both large. But, alas! a worldly spirit is prevalent, and the desire of gain has captivated many.

“I have abundant need of the prayers of the faithful, for I am proved, and expect to be ‘in deaths oft;’ but I labour to keep the word of the Lord’s patience, and however simple, to be faithful; and my mind has been mostly quiet, and steadily desirous to move as Divine Wisdom may direct. As we have passed along, the state of religion has been very low, yet in every place the Lord has a precious seed, a concerned few. And indeed, ‘had not the Lord left unto us a seed, we might have been as Sodom and like unto Gomorrah.’ But many are at ease, and an inward fervent labour is much lacking.

“Seventh month 9th; We crossed to Long island, and the next day were at a large meeting at Westbury.

“28th; We have attended several meetings on the island, and yesterday the quarterly meeting ended here. There are many valuable Friends, but it has been a baptizing time to me and my companion. Yet, through favour, my mind has been preserved quiet, and in a good degree resigned, knowing that those who are admitted to be glorified, must be willing to suffer where the great Master suffers. I cannot forget my dear friends in Philadelphia, whose labour is great. So will the reward of the truly diligent and faithful be, who care more to be exercised in the Lord’s work and service, than in their own, and to have their eye in their Head, and to be preserved single. This will give us to see things, which by many may be overlooked. Indeed it is a great attainment to keep self under, and a steady watchfulness is necessary.

“The yearly meeting here appointed thirty-seven Friends, and directed the two quarterly meetings to appoint so many in each, that the number altogether might not be less than fifty, to compose a meeting for sufferings.

“Third-day, the 31st; My mind being drawn to attend the quarterly meeting at the Purchase, on the main, I crossed the ferry at Whitestone, and next morning went to the quarterly meeting for ministers and elders, where many solid valuable Friends met. The meeting was owned, and my spirit measurably comforted.

“Sixth-day, the meeting for sufferings met; that part appointed by the quarterly meeting, and

those of the yearly meeting, who reside on the main; and during our sitting, a number of armed men rode up to the meeting house. They appeared noisy and rough, so that there was room to think they designed mischief; but finding the quarterly meeting had ended, they seemed disappointed. They came, as was supposed, with intent to take Friends' horses; but few being there, and these mostly mean, after some time they rode off. Several Friends, in coming to this meeting, were much beaten and abused, and upwards of twenty horses were taken, some by the British, some by the continental party, and others by persons who live between the lines, under no rule. My mare was stolen in the night. Friends appeared very patient under their trials, though some were a great distance from their homes. The losing of my mare I blame myself for, a secret uneasiness attended my mind, and a gentle hint to keep her up that night, which I spoke of, but did not sufficiently urge.

"Third-day, I came by water to New-York. On fourth-day was the monthly meeting there, which did not end till the next day. Here, as well as in other places, there is need of the revival of more deep religious concern, for a qualification to labour rightly in the cause of Truth.

"Eighth month 25th; We have spent about a week with our dear friend David Sands, who is seeking opportunities among the people of Long island, not in religious society with us; and has had eight meetings among such. There was an openness to promote meetings, and to receive the doctrine of truth.

"30th; We parted with him yesterday, about fifty miles eastward of this place. Westbury. He appears better fitted than most I have known for this weighty engagement. His open, easy, and innocent way, has great place, as well as his ministry. It was with much reluctance he parted with us, and a trial to me to leave him. But considering the season advanced, I thought prudence directed our drawing nearer to the place of embarkation, if the way should open.

"31st; There does not appear a likelihood of a passage soon offering. We went to look at several vessels, previous to the 14th instant, but the way did not seem open to me. In the right time it may; which I desire to be helped patiently to wait for, and to move, or not to move, as the Lord shall see fit. It is a great thing to be enabled truly to say, 'Not my will, but yours, O Lord, be done.' My strength and experience are far less than they might have been, had the early visitation of Divine love been faithfully attended to, a willingness wrought to become a fool for Christ's sake, and fleshly reasonings not suffered so much to prevail as they did for many years. I am concerned that the youth of the present day may bow under the Divine yoke, and willingly learn of Him who is meek and low of heart.

"First-day, ninth month 1st; Went to Westbury meeting, and in the afternoon had a large meeting with the black people, held in said meeting house. They behaved well.

“11th; It remains uncertain when a fleet may sail; though some men-of-war, it is said, are likely to depart hence, when private ships also may sail; but these are either prizes, or fitted in a warlike manner, neither of which would be easy to me.

“Tenth month 2nd; At Westbury, met with our friend David Sands, on his return from a laborious visit to the people in the east part of Long island; where he had above seventy meetings, and met with an open reception. My mind has been much with my friends in Philadelphia, in deep sympathy, and humble inward prayer that the Lord's arm might be revealed, and that the machinations of seducers and evil men may be frustrated.

“Fourth-day, eleventh month 6th, was the monthly meeting at New-York, at which David Sands and myself mentioned a desire to visit some of the families of Friends, and some who have dispersed in this season of difficulty; which being concurred with, we visited sixteen families this week, in which Truth favoured with counsel, to our own peace and the comfort of the visited.

“16th; This week we visited thirty families; four young men fled from their friends, in one of the families. The Lord continued to favour with wisdom and strength.

“23rd; Visited this week, twenty-seven families, spending a considerable time in one family, at two separate opportunities, where there is a painful division. Had a comfortable opportunity at Lindley Murray's: he and his wife are tender hopeful Friends.

“Twelfth month 5th; Went on board a boat and arrived at Staten island, in order to visit the dispersed of our religious Society there, and on the 10th returned to New-York again, having had seven appointed meetings on the island, besides private labours.

“There was great openness among the people. The meetings were solid and weighty, and such an awful silence prevailed, as is rarely felt in our religious meetings. Our dear friend David Sands, laboured much, and many hearts were tendered. No Friend, except our worthy deceased friend, Abraham Farrington, had before had a religious meeting there, that can be remembered. The people lived for some years without a priest, and having experienced many trials, and not being bound to any set form, appeared more open to receive the impressions and doctrine of truth. I believe we went in an acceptable time to those who were formerly members, and are now dispersed, and to the inhabitants generally.

“It looks likely I may soon leave my beloved native shore, and be tossed on the wide ocean, proceeding to new baptisms and trials. Oh, that I may be kept faithful. I find sorrowfully, that I have yet to struggle hard with a cowardly disposition, which at times prevails. I feel my own weakness and disqualification for so weighty an embassy; but the Lord has hitherto furnished,

and helped beyond my desert or expectation. I have him only to depend upon, and wish I may be kept simple, faithful, and resigned to be anything or nothing, as he may see fit. It is a great trial to nature, to become mean and little.

“21st; About two o'clock, taking a solemn leave, went on board the ship New-York, with my companion William Mathews: she is much crowded with passengers, who are respectful to us; but their company will be trying, as there appear few who have much sense of religion. The Lord has hitherto helped, and kept me in a state of resignation; and I can say, with one of old, I desire neither poverty nor riches, but that he may feed me with food convenient for me.

“24th; We are now under way, with a fair wind. I continue favoured with a quiet mind and humble trust.

“First month 12th and 13th, 1783; Wet and stormy; so that we went with bare poles and the dead lights all in.

“24th; Between six and seven o'clock, P. M., we saw a light, supposed to be the light-house on one of the Scilly islands. We have great cause to be humbly thankful to the Preserver of men, in thus far being gracious to us, though unworthy, and the time of many on board has been badly spent.

“First-day, 26th; This day we saw land, having had a fine run all night. Our passengers were much rejoiced; but my mind was attended with heaviness, having been impressed with a belief the night preceding, that we should be taken, but was willing to shake it off. Before night the joy of many was turned into sadness. We saw a vessel for some hours making towards us. While she was a considerable distance off, I did not like her; but the captain thought it was an English cutter, coming to impress men; when she came alongside, too late we were convinced to the contrary. The people on board her fired a number of small arms, and then hoisted their boat in order to come on board; which, in their return, was stove and lost, and several of our seamen narrowly escaped. They then demanded our boat, and were in much hurry for it, as we were within about two leagues of an English fleet of thirty-two sail. They crowded much sail through fear of being pursued, and it was a tossing, stormy night. But myself and William Mathews being in our apartment, kept quiet, and saw but little of the hurry when the men first entered the ship.

They were very furious, and it was a favour no lives were lost by violence, for some threatened much. Andrew Peterson, one of the best of our hands, was lost when the boat was stove, and one of their hands also, as they told us. Captain Grant and one of our passengers were sent on board the privateer, besides our seamen; and more were ordered, but secreted themselves. Indeed it

was running a great risk, to send them from the ship, as the sea was high. They left only two hands and a boy on board belonging to the vessel, and that night the ship and the privateer being separated, the people put on board to govern the ship, proved very unskilful: they appeared afraid most of the time. The passengers generally remained on board, but our captors were assured we would not attempt to hurt them. I may acknowledge, to the praise of the Lord's name, that my mind was preserved in great stillness and resignation. Indeed, good is the Lord and abundant is the advantage of a humble trust in him, who can create a calm in the midst of tumult. Many of our passengers were in great fear and agitation.

"Third-day, came in sight of Calais, and a boat coming on fourth-day morning, took some of our passengers and part of their goods, but they were long in getting to shore, and suffered much with cold and wet. The vessel was ordered to Dunkirk; and the captain of the privateer being now on board, we sailed towards this place. But it was difficult to keep a sufficient number on deck to work the vessel, they being very busy in plundering the passengers' trunks, etc.; so that before we reached Dunkirk, there was scarcely a box or trunk unopened, except mine and my companion's, which they promised should not be molested. On fifth-day the captain went ashore, and sent a vessel off for the remainder of the passengers, etc.; but the wind being high, after she got to the vessel the rope broke and she swung off, and did not again reach us till evening. We went on board her about seven o'clock, with our trunks, and most of the goods of the passengers who had landed at Calais, which the people took as plunder. We were in this boat, rolling all night, and had but little rest, which, with losing rest the two preceding nights, made it trying; but the Lord sustained us. We landed between eight and nine in the morning, and being hurried from the boat, were taken to the house of one of the privateer's men, where we were refreshed. I lost my bed, some clothing, and my saddle-bags.

This afternoon we were guided to a house to lodge; where we continued all the time we were in Dunkirk, much exercised with the filthy conduct of the privateer's men, who frequented the house. Several of them lodged in the room with us, which was exceedingly trying. A sorrowful event occurred on fourth-day evening, while on board, among this wicked crew, whose evil conversation we could not avoid, and on whom reproof made little impression; a jest being often made of every thing serious. A stout, hearty young man, one of the privateer's crew, who had been quarrelling and swearing much, called upon God to damn his soul! And though I used much entreaty with him and the other to cease, it was a considerable time before they could be prevailed with. This young man, within half an hour afterwards, fell from the fore-top-mast yard upon the bow of the vessel, and from there into the water, and was supposed to be killed by striking on the bow.

I endeavoured to impress them with seriousness after this sorrowful event; but so vain and

ungodly were these miserable people, that they only jested and made ridicule of this man's death. So much wickedness as we saw and heard while these men were on board, and since being in Dunkirk, I never knew. They appeared ripe for every evil act, and boasted in their impiety, I mourned on behalf of so many likely young men giving themselves up to so much baseness, and becoming so hardened in sin.

"Second month 3rd; I have endeavoured to look inward, and to wait for the directions of the great Master, but no service has yet been pointed out. We have been viewed by many, and I believe seriously. Last evening we spent some time acceptably with three sober persons, I did hope to find some religiously disposed people among the many English, etc., resident here; but the world is sought after, and the privateers being generally in port, the town is crowded with a set of the most profane men I ever was among; which grieved us much; but the Lord in mercy has supported hitherto, who can make hard things easy, and sweeten every bitter cup.

"4th; We left this wicked place, noted for privateers, who are now stopped from proceeding out of port, on account of preliminaries for peace being signed. We took coach, and reached Calais that evening.

"7th; Sailed about four o'clock in the morning, and after a boisterous passage, arrived before three o'clock at Dover, and went to the house of our friend Richard Low, where we were kindly received. In the evening we had a comfortable religious opportunity with several Friends at his house, in which my mind was much contrited, under a sense of the Lord's goodness in bringing us safe among our beloved friends.

"8th; My mind has been for some days attended with an anxious concern that my dear friends in America, and particularly in my beloved city, may be kept humble, steady and watchful. Notwithstanding there may be a prospect of an accommodation between the powers at war, yet some close exercises may attend our religious Society. The Lord has been with them in wisdom and counsel, in seasons of deep exercise made a way when there appeared no way, and directed their steps to the exaltation of his great name. I wish his mercies may be remembered, and his wisdom and counsel sought in future steps.

"9th; First-day was at the two meetings at Dover, which some Friends from Folkstone attended. The Lord's merciful regard was vouchsafed in both meetings, and the tender impressions of Truth had some place in the minds of many, both of the youth and more advanced.

"10th; I visited eight families of Friends, being the whole number in Dover; it appeared to me that a renewed visitation was extended to many, and I was comforted in this discharge of duty. In the afternoon set out for Folkstone, and in the evening had a large meeting with Friends and

the people of the town, who behaved with much solidity; and Truth favouring, it was very satisfactory, I had religious opportunities in three families this evening, my mind being concerned for the beloved youth, and engaged in much love to them. Many of them were tendered.

“11th; Visited two Friends under bodily infirmity, and then attended the monthly meeting at Folkstone. Afterwards parted with Friends under a sense of Divine love and favour, and proceeded to Ashford,”

After having meetings at Ashford, Canterbury, Margate, etc.,

“16th; Was at two meetings at Canterbury, both favoured opportunities. The people behaved solidly, and the doctrine of truth appeared to have place in many minds. Visited three families in the evening. My mind was thoughtful respecting Deal, and I proposed the matter to Friends; who encouraging a visit there, notice was agreed to be sent.

“17th; Set out early for Deal, accompanied by several Friends of Canterbury. Some of the town's people attended the meeting, who behaved soberly; counsel and doctrine were opened to them; and my mind was relieved and favoured with quiet for yielding to this duty. Then returned to Canterbury.

“18th; After a religious opportunity in a Friend's family, in which the tendering goodness of the Lord was felt, we took carriage and reached Rochester, and were kindly received by our friend William Horsenail, who, with many others, several of whom were formerly shipwrights, and laboured in the king's dock-yard, near this place, had been convinced of the truth. My heart could but commemorate and acknowledge the goodness of God, in preserving us to this day under his favourable notice.

“Fourth-day, 19th; Attended the meeting at Rochester; said to be the largest in this county, though thirty years past it was so reduced that there was but one Friend. It was a comfortable refreshing time. Feeling a draught still towards the people, I appointed a meeting to be held in the evening; and notice being sent to the dock-yard at Chatham, the house was filled, and it was a good meeting; praised be the Lord!

“Fifth-day, not finding my mind thoroughly easy, I staid the mid-week meeting this morning; and Friends being select, except one woman, it was a relieving comfortable time to me. Here William Dillwyn met us, and we set out for Gravesend, and went to the house of a Friend, a shipwright, who has much business. The honest labour exercised towards him on account of his business, yielded me peace, and I believe was not unkindly taken by him.

“Sixth-day, reached our friend Joseph Row's house, in London, between one and two o'clock.

My mind was covered with awfulness in entering this great city.

“First-day, 23rd; Attended the meeting at Grace-church street in the morning, and at Devonshire house in the afternoon, which were large and solid, though the latter was silent, except a few observations I had to make. Many Friends collecting at Joseph Row's, we had a weighty opportunity, though under a sense of poverty.

“Second-day, attended the morning meeting of ministers and elders; and I was enabled to be faithful, in plain dealing, which I believe was received in love. Many have need to come more into a right example of plainness and self-denial. Met with Christiana Hustler and Hannah Wigham, they being engaged in the weighty service of visiting families in part of this populous city; a laborious work indeed.

“First-day, third month 2nd; Attended the meeting at Devonshire house, which was large and divinely favoured; the goodness of God being manifested, in renewedly extending his gracious call, to awaken a people who have too generally lived in forgetfulness of the manifold mercies dispensed to them.

“Second-day, attended the morning meeting; where was a large appearance of men and women Friends. The Lord opened counsel through many concurrent testimonies, in plain dealing with ministers and elders, and it was an edifying time.

“Fourth-day, attended the meeting at Gracechurch street; small as usual on the men's side. The world takes up the time and attention of many, and diverts from better prospects. It was a solid meeting, and good flowed to the youth.

“24th; Attended the quarterly meeting at Hertford. The business was conducted under a good degree of solidity. Yet for the lack of a living zealous care to purge the camp, dimness and weakness prevail. There were some close remarks made, especially on the subject of tithes, many being permitted to remain members who pay them, and so trample upon the testimony of truth held forth by our worthy predecessors, who suffered deeply for conscientiously refusing to comply with such anti-christian demands. I had to express my belief, that truth and righteousness would not spread and flourish, until the Society was purged of such unfaithful members. Having experienced much poverty of spirit since I left London, and not being able to see my way until returning from meeting, and the path then appearing most clear to go towards Norwich, I parted with my dear friends, with whom I had travelled from family to family in London, in much unity, in visiting the seed there.

“First-day, third month 30th; At meeting at Norwich, I had to remark to Friends my concern of mind, at their negligence respecting the time appointed forgathering; meetings being often much

hurt by the late coming of many who live at a distance, and do not leave home until the time they should be at meeting.

“Fifth-day, at meeting at Wymondham, attended by Friends from several places, and some of the sober neighbours; yet it was heavy and laborious. Next day returned to Norwich; from there to Yarmouth, Long Stratton, Diss, Brandon, Bury and Bardwell; a small meeting, there being only two men, one woman, two boys and two girls, besides the Friend who went as guide to us. From there to Needham and Sudbury, and had a meeting there, to which came many people; and I hope some profitable impressions were made.

“26th; We are now in the county of Essex. The meetings in Suffolk and Norfolk are generally very small, and some not likely to be maintained long, unless there be a revival. The spirit of the world and an eager desire after its gains, pleasures and friendships, have been exceedingly baneful. The Lord having blessed in basket and in store, many who were useful in their day, their success in gaining much wealth, has been, for lack of due reflection, a means of raising the minds of many of their descendants above the pure witness; these have rejected the cross, and been carried away and lost to the Society; which is indeed sorrowful; for great favours call for great gratitude, and this is manifested by humility and faithfulness.

“First-day, attended two meetings at Saffron Walden, where the state of religion is at a low ebb. I hope I may be enabled to ‘keep the word of the Lord's patience;’ but it is a stripping time, and I am led into suffering with the seed.

“For some weeks after I landed in England, my mind was seldom free from a sense of good; but dry seasons have attended since; yet I believe I am in my place, and have no room to murmur, for the dispensations of Divine Providence are in unerring wisdom.

“Second-day, to Bishop Stortford, where the monthly meeting for Hertford was held, and in the evening I joined three Friends in a religious visit to four families. Seventh-day, I saw the house and residence of the wicked Bishop Bonner; a Friend has since lived in it, and the monthly meeting was sometime past held there.

“Fifth month 12th; This morning we set out towards Bristol; refreshed at Dunstable; and hearing there were a few under the name of Friends, I went to see them, and had a little counsel to drop at each house; then proceeded to Tring, and found some tender spirited Friends: from there to Aylesbury and Witney.

“14th; The meetings we have been at have been generally small, with respect to Friends; those not of our Society, in most places, manifest a willingness to attend; but their views and expectations are much outward. Were the professors of the blessed truth more generally redeemed from

the spirit and friendship of the world, and did they live and appear more conformable to their profession, light would spread and truth prosper more. But the eager pursuit after earthly treasure, and employing in schemes of trade and business, talents, which, if sanctified by a humble submission to the Truth, might be greatly useful in removing burdens and scattering the darkness which now prevails, is cause of sorrow. Much labour is needed in this land, and some mourn the fewness of rightly exercised servants. So much barrenness prevails, that I sometimes think it scarcely quits cost to travel.

“The consideration of what step will be advisable to take, to expose to the public, or those in power, the evils of the African slave trade, is likely to come before the yearly meeting from the meeting for sufferings. A shocking case lately appeared: William Dillwyn writes me, that one hundred and thirty-three poor creatures were lately thrown overboard alive, from a ship bound from Africa to the West Indies, more with a view to make a good voyage, as they term it, than from necessity.

The negroes were weakly, and not likely to sell for much, and so to recover insurance, they made a plea of necessity. The insurance, as I am informed, was recovered, but it makes some stir and noise, and may tend to open the eyes of some. It seems that but few know the iniquity of the trade.

“Fifth-day, proceeded to Cirencester, and had a meeting there; and on seventh-day arrived at Bristol.

“First-day, fifth month 18th; Was at three large meetings in Bristol, which were favoured. On second-day morning a meeting for ministers and elders; and in the afternoon one was held for those who usually frequent our religious meetings; in which our friend Robert Valentine, laboured zealously in much plain dealing. He and myself went to a widow Friend's house, where we had a favoured opportunity with some youth and others. Third and fourth-days, meetings were held; which many teachers of different societies attended. There were several appearances in the ministry, but our friend Catherine Philips had the most extensive service, in a clear line of doctrine, and the people were attentive. These meetings being well over, and favoured with the overshadowing wing of Divine love, is cause of thankfulness and reverent acknowledgment to the great Shepherd, who is still manifesting that he is willing to be gracious, and gather into his fold the scattered of the flock. There was a large appearance of the beloved youth, to whom a fresh visitation is extended; and some, I hope, will submit thereto and become useful. But it is very sorrowful to observe some meetings in this land wholly dropped, and others in a declining way. Many are willing to come to our meetings, but when they consider the doctrine preached, and look at the example of many of the professors of the truth, it is to be feared they stumble. But the foundation stands sure, and the Lord still knows who are his.

“Third-day was the quarterly meeting for Gloucestershire, held at Frenchay, and several Friends coming from Bristol, the house was crowded. The business being entered upon, it appeared that great weakness prevailed; but the use of a committee to visit the monthly meetings, to join in strengthening the hands of concerned Friends in the maintenance of our religious testimonies and discipline, being pointed out, the meeting went into a nomination. This meeting held upwards of seven hours. In the evening I had a pretty seasonable opportunity with some, who are wide from the simplicity which Truth leads into.

“28th; Feeling some exercise therefor to attend me, I thought it best, as the present time only is ours, to return to Bristol, to spend a few days more; though I was not idle when there. But I have private employ, which my companion, William Mathews, does not seem led into. So I returned with my kind friend John Lury, and two other Friends, and was openly received.” Sixth to second-day, visited several families, and attended several meetings.

“Sixth month 2nd; Went to the meeting of the overseers, and in the afternoon to the adjournment of the men's meeting, which held from three o'clock until half past eight. There are some well concerned Friends here; but they are kept under by a lofty overruling spirit, that is not properly baptized, but allows the will and wisdom of man to prevail and act in the church; and sorrowful it is, that a carnal worldly spirit, that is not subject to the Truth nor the cross, has spread and caused desolation. There are many tender youth in this city who might be brought forward, if there were more of the leading members who preferred the cause of Truth to all worldly considerations, and lived under the spiritual baptism. Third-day, I left Bristol and reached Melksham, and on sixth-day arrived in London.

“7th; Though absent in body, my heart yearns for my brethren at home, with desires for their preservation and advancement in the Truth. I am very sensible that a field of labour will open, to guard Friends and keep them from stepping into schemes of trade and unprofitable worldly cares. It will indeed be sorrowful, if any who have been brought to see the vanity of the world and its friendships, and had their prospects towards enduring good, should lose the sense thereof, and run with a giddy multitude into the pursuit of earthly treasure. In obtaining this they may be greatly disappointed, and may lose the enjoyment of that favour which is better than life.

“16th; The yearly meeting closed about nine o'clock, P. M., and I was thankful that it ended so well; being on the whole a good meeting. And though there were some who intruded by worldly wisdom, and gave uneasiness to the truly exercised, yet the strength of such is much broken, and truth and its testimony gain ground. There were at this meeting many well concerned Friends and hopeful youth. A petition to the parliament, to prevent, if possible, the poor negroes being brought from their country, was approved of and signed by about three hundred in the meeting. It was presented in parliament the next day, favourably received and read. The yearly meeting

appointed a committee to visit Norwich, Bristol, Northumberland, Staffordshire and Wiltshire, to promote their joining with adjacent counties, as quarterly meetings, some of them being reduced. Meetings in many places are small and weak, so that the prospect is gloomy; yet it is evident that the glory is not wholly departed from Israel; but a living concern is still maintained.

“17th; Rose early, took coach and came to Wellingborough, in company with our dear friends Esther Tuke and Benjamin Middleton.

“Sixth-day, the 20th; Was at the quarterly meeting at Leicester, in which it was evident that the life of religion was very low, few being livingly concerned for the exercise of our Christian discipline. Had a comfortable opportunity with some young people, and then proceeded for Nottingham, several Friends being in company.

“First-day, the 22nd; Went to the general meeting at Warnsworth, and sorrowful it was to find that religion is at a low ebb in a place where once it greatly flourished; many have inherited the estates, but not the virtues and godly zeal of their forefathers.

“Second-day, attended the monthly meeting at Leeds. The meeting for business was large and measurably favoured; and on third-day, coming to York, attended the meeting for ministers and elders, which was large and solid. On fourth-day was held the quarterly meeting, and in the evening a large favoured meeting for worship, to which came many of the town's people. On fifth-day, about eight o'clock, a committee met, appointed by the quarter, to visit the monthly and preparative meetings; in which several weighty matters were opened, tending to stir up and encourage Friends to labour for the good of the body.

“Friends at the quarterly meeting were reminded of the exercise of that pious man, John Woolman, who laid down his life in this place, respecting the poor black people; and they were desired, in the recess of parliament, to use their influence with such of its members as they were acquainted with, to induce them to think seriously on this subject, and labour to check the slave trade. There was a large appearance of solid, weighty Friends, and many promising young people, which tended to give a comfortable hope. There are some in most places who are preserved under a sense of truth, and concerned for its prosperity. With respect to the petition lately presented to parliament, against the slave trade, Edmund Burke told Richard Shackleton, he was sorry that he was not present, as he could have spoken his abhorrence of this detestable traffic. And another distinguished member called upon a Friend, and expressed his hearty willingness to afford any assistance he could in this matter. So that there is more encouragement than was expected. These accounts I expect, will be cordial to dear Anthony Benezet [of Philadelphia,] and many others. I much desire that my dear friends on that side, may keep steadily on their watch, and be truly faithful to the openings of Divine counsel. Many deep exercises

may be their portion.

“There is a ranting spirit in some in this land, who give Friends trouble. Thirteen persons have lately been disowned, who were concerned in ships carrying guns, which has alarmed many; some of whom manifest an Ishmaelitish spirit; so that such as are engaged for truth's testimony everywhere, meet with their trials.

“Seventh-day, sixth month 27th; This morning had a solid parting opportunity with our dear friends William Tuke and wife, at whose house we had been kindly entertained at York, and proceeded to Darlington.

“First-day, was at two meetings there, and on second-day went to Durham. In the evening was a meeting for ministers and elders, which was small and dull. Some religious service opened, upon hearing the answers to the queries; which, though close, appeared well accepted. Here we met with our friend John Stevenson, who some years past visited Friends in America. Third-day the quarterly meeting opened by a meeting for worship, which was large. It was sorrowful here, as well as at other places, to observe the deviation of some who make profession with us, from that plainness and simplicity which Truth leads into. Many have multiplied their outward store, and the youth have soared above the pure witness and despised the cross. In the meeting for business, many seasonable remarks were made, to excite to a more attentive care and concern to put the discipline in practice, and I believe some honest Friends were strengthened.

“Sixth-day was the quarterly meeting for Westmoreland; in the evening a public meeting for worship, both low and exercising seasons; neither of us had anything to offer.

“Seventh-day, went to see several Friends, and laboured to attend to the opening of truth, but I was so bound as in fetters, that I had little to communicate.

“First-day, seventh month 6th; I was at two meetings in Kendal; and on second-day at the general meeting at Preston Patrick, to which many came from Kendal and other places. It was a season of deep exercise to me. On third-day morning was a meeting for ministers and elders, for Lancaster monthly meeting; then the monthly meeting for business; and in the evening a meeting for ministers and elders for the quarter. And on fourth-day was the quarterly meeting. All these meetings were seasons of exercise; my mind, both in and out of meetings, being deeply proved, yet kept in a good degree of patience and resignation. On duly pondering my steppings, I was not accused of wilful omissions or commissions; and believed I was dipped into a sympathy with the pure seed, which lies oppressed in the hearts of many.

“Fifth-day, not being fully easy to leave Lancaster, I attended their mid-week meeting, in which I found my mind more at liberty. Spent part of the remainder of the day in visits, to my relief

and satisfaction, among some who had deviated widely from the simplicity of the truth.

“Sixth-day, my companion having set forward for Liverpool yesterday, I took coach this morning in company with Richard Shackleton, and arrived at Liverpool in the evening.

“First-day, the 13th; Was at two meetings there, in which counsel was opened to several states. This meeting is much increased since I was here, thirty years ago; but flocking to places of trade, and getting money, being the great objects of many, and the improvement of the spiritual gift not being properly attended to, it is not to be admired at, that the life of religion is low and the seed oppressed. However, there are some valuable hopeful Friends here. I believe a concern for better times grows, and a gracious visitation is renewed to many, which, if attended to, will qualify to bring forth acceptable fruits. It would grieve our dear friend Anthony Benezet, were he here, to see with what earnestness and diligence, numbers of vessels are fitting out for Africa. The great profits made last year, have stimulated many,

“Fourth-day, the 16th; I was yesterday at the monthly meeting of Hardshaw, held at Warrington, being that from which my grandfather went. I felt more interested in it, as having sprung out of it, from my forefathers; and was pleased to find that the discipline appeared to be conducted with more regularity and zeal, than in most I have been at in this nation.

“Sixth-day, 18th; About two o'clock set sail in the brig Dublin, captain Sergeson, and on second-day following, in the afternoon, we landed safe at Dublin; being mercifully preserved in our passage, though our vessel struck on a place called the Kish, on the evening of first-day, the weather being very foggy. On this sand bank, in the third month last, an East Indiaman struck and sunk, and all on board perished; so that we have cause to be humbly thankful we were guided safely. I went to the house where I formerly quartered, and was kindly received by William Taylor and his mother.

“Third-day, attended the meeting at Meath street, at which were mostly young people; good was felt therein. The rest of the week visited several families, in company with Friends appointed to that service. It is very affecting to walk the streets of this city; the crowd is nearly as great as in Cornhill or Cheapside, London, at noon; but the appearance very different. Such multitudes of miserable objects I never beheld in so short a space. The scarcity and dearness of grain, the decline of several branches of business, but most, the vast number of whiskey shops, create great misery and destitution.

“First-day, attended two meetings in Dublin, both measurably favoured; though the great neglect of assembling at the time appointed, particularly in the morning, hurt that meeting. At the close of the second meeting the women being desired to keep their seats, the queries were read and

solidly considered, and some seasonable remarks made.

“Third-day, was the day for holding the men's and women's meetings; the business was conducted well, but the number of rightly exercised Friends is few.

“Fourth-day, my friend William Mathews, appearing disposed to attend the quarterly meeting for Leinster, and I being easy also, though my prospect on first landing was northward, we set out, reached Ballitore in the evening, and lodged at Richard Shackleton's.

“Fifth-day, reached Enniscorthy in the evening, much wearied; and on sixth-day attended the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, which was a low season.

“Seventh-day, was a large and exercising meeting, the minds of many being outward, which increases the burden of the true travellers; and the Lord sees fit, in wisdom, to disappoint the expectation of those whose eye is more dependent upon man, than upon Him, from whom all that is truly good, whether immediately or instrumentally, proceeds. Little was said in this meeting, except some remarks I had to make; and then we proceeded upon the concerns of the church, which business was conducted well. This day I received a number of letters from my dear friends in America, which came by my dear friend Nicholas Wain, lately arrived at London, on a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain. I have great cause to be humbly thankful, that the Lord is moving upon the minds of my friends thus to salute me, and express their sympathy and unity with my religious engagements.

“First-day, eighth month 3rd, was a large meeting, attended by many sober people of the town. My companion, and my dear friend Mary Ridgway, had the public service. This Friend, by faithfulness, has become an able minister, devoted to the cause of Truth, and much exercised for the promotion of righteousness.

“Fourth-day, went to Edenderry, which was formerly a large lively meeting, but now much reduced, and few rightly labour for the experience of true religion and godliness.

“Sixth-day, a meeting at Oldcastle, at which were two Episcopal ministers, and many not professing with us. The meeting held nearly two hours in silence, after which I had a short testimony. One of these ministers spent some time with us in the afternoon, and appeared a solid, thoughtful man. Next morning he sent a kind letter and a short essay on the calamities prevalent, tending to excite proper considerations in the minds of the various ranks among the people.

“Fifth-day, 14th; Yesterday came to Dungannon to attend the quarterly meeting for Ulster, to be held near this place. It is dull travelling in this land. There is great decay from the life and substance of religion and godliness in many places. Many meetings, both here and in England,

are dropped, and more are likely to be so. Places for trade increase by removals, and that lessens meetings in the country.

“The account of many, in my native land, letting their minds out into the world, gives me much concern. It shows what poor weak mortals we are, that when from under the heavy hand of affliction, we soon forget the covenants made in the day of distress. If those who have seen, in the day of proving, the vanity and folly of grasping after the world, and whose spirits were measurably redeemed and purified, turn again to it, they may become more insensible than ever; and if trials return, which in some shape or other, they probably will, such may fail to find that confidence and Divine support they mercifully experienced in the late trials. Did not the Lord cast up a way for many, and cause the meal and the oil to sustain, beyond what they could expect? My heart yearns for my dear brethren, and abundantly desires that warning and counsel may not fail to be given. I have thought of the great concern and care of the worthy William Edmundson, when Friends in this land were in danger, as great prospects of worldly gain were opened to view; how he laboured to curb that inclination; and how his labour was blessed, by a submission on the part of his brethren. May the watchmen maintain their ground, and labour for the good of their brethren, not being discouraged if some require evil for good.

“There is a good prospect here of outward plenty; though during the last winter and spring, the poor suffered grievously, and had not much charity been extended, multitudes must have perished. It is true, they are idle, and increase their misery by a thirst for whiskey. But many that would labour, have not work, and there are swarms of beggars and miserable objects indeed.

“Sixth-day, went to the meeting for ministers and elders, held at the Grange, near Charlemont, which was small and a low season. Seventh-day was the quarterly meeting for Ulster province, which was large. There was a good appearance of Friends, the meeting was favoured, and the business carried on well. First-day was a large parting meeting, also favoured.

“Second-day, went to a meeting called Toberhead, which was large and solid, the people conducting well. There is but one Friend, Jarvis Johnson and his family, here, in unity with Friends, and few that make profession. So many attending on so short a notice, I thought gave a good testimony respecting our friend's conduct.

“Third-day, proceeded to Londonderry, and had a large meeting in the court-house. But there were many rude, giddy people, who took more liberty in that place than they might have done in some other; balls and other frivolous entertainments, being often held there; which rendered the meeting less satisfactory. My companion, nevertheless, had pretty large service, and several remarks were made on their conduct, and rebukes given. Though such rude behaviour was very discouraging, yet good was in the meeting, and some, I hope, were benefitted. We were satisfied

that we gave up to this prospect of duty.

“Fourth-day; early this morning we left the city, and after crossing the ferry, parted with three of the Friends who were with us, and the others went with us to Newtown Limavady. My spirit had been clothed with great heaviness before leaving the city, and I had expressed my feelings to the Friends; who encouraged my stay, and kindly offered to tarry with me. But my companion apprehending himself clear, I ventured to journey. The burden, however, increased so much, that I proposed to return, to seek another opportunity at Londonderry; to which my companion, with great reluctance, agreed. His backwardness increased my concern; but the minister of the Society called Methodists, being willing we should have his meeting house, notice was spread; and on fifth-day morning we had a large meeting, which was still and much favoured, many being tendered through the power and influence of Truth, under the seasoning virtue of which it ended. Now we concluded we might go; though I had felt some concern respecting the prisoners confined in jail here. I hoped, however, that I might go forward, but on the way my burden increased, so that I had little rest the night following. I gave up, much in the cross, to return again to Londonderry, and a Friend bore me company. After dining, we went to the jail and had the prisoners together; and it was sorrowfully affecting to see so many, mostly youth, and some quite young, who through a disregard of the Divine fear, had brought themselves into misery and disgrace. They behaved soberly and took the visit kindly, and some appeared affected. It did not yield me so much comfort as I had hoped for; but having endeavoured with sincere and honest intention to discharge myself of apprehended duty, I laboured to be still. There are none of our Society at Londonderry, nor within thirty English miles of it, or thereabout; but in the Lord's time there may be some gathered.

“In the afternoon I visited an elderly woman and her son, both religious people; and the conversation yielded some satisfaction. About the seventh hour I went again to the Methodist meeting house, notice of a meeting having been spread. There was a large gathering of people, many of them of the upper rank, and who had not been at the previous meetings. A greater solemnity seemed to spread than I had observed at either of the preceding opportunities; and I believe it might have been a profitable season, though spent mostly in silence; but the minister, who, I suppose, concluded he must be active, got up and had a formal, dry discourse, and afterwards went to prayers, as he called it. This I thought was in the will of the creature, not seasoned with the salt of the covenant, and rendered the opportunity burdensome. And my companion and myself keeping our seats with our hats on, it was noticed, though not in words, and I apprehend, gave some displeasure. We returned to our lodgings heavy; and when I awoke in the morning, my mind was clothed with sadness, and continued so. But I could not clearly see any duty pointed out; and having had my mind open to discharge what might be laid upon me in the meeting last evening, I feared staying, lest the cause of truth might suffer. I left the city a second

time, and had not only a very wet, but a sorrowful ride to Maghara, where we lodged at an inn.

“First-day, eighth month 24th; Last night was one of the most distressing I ever experienced, and I had little sleep. A fire seemed to be kindled within me; yet, fearing that by returning again, the appearance of instability might prejudice the good cause, more than anything I could do would advance it, after much trial of mind, I went on; but on the road I had no peace. At Ballymena I met William Mathews, and was with him at a crowded meeting. My mind was in a tried state, yet near the close of the meeting, feeling some engagement, I kneeled down to prayer, in a broken, contrite manner; and afterwards expressed a few words to the people. I soon took opportunity to open the distress of my mind to William Mathews, and informed him of my fear of bringing dishonour to the truth, adding, that I could not think of returning to Londonderry without some suitable help. He agreed to consider the matter. So after dining at a public house, we proceeded to Grange, where an afternoon meeting had been appointed; this was large, and the house more commodious than that at Ballymena. Much good counsel was communicated, and the people were generally solid. At the close of the meeting William Mathews informed me, that if I could be easy to proceed and take the meetings in Ulster, he would, if the weight dwelt with me, return to Londonderry. So we proceeded towards Antrim, and lodged at Shane castle.

“Fourth-day, notice being generally spread, we had a very large meeting at Lurgan, both of Friends and the town's people, who do not profess with us. It was a solemn meeting, the people behaving well. My mind continued much proved.

“Fifth-day, went to a meeting at Lisburn, which was for the most part, heavy and exercising; yet good revived, and it ended comfortably. After dinner I had a conference in a humble, broken spirit, with William Mathews.

“Seventh-day, having had Belfast often in mind, I was not willing to forego the opportunity of a meeting there; so we set out early, and readily obtained the room over the market place, where the sessions are usually held. Pretty many came, and though some were unsettled, yet upon the whole, the meeting was as satisfactory as could be expected. I was much stripped, and many fears attended my mind, both before and after the appointment of this meeting, feeling myself very weak. Yet I was thankful that I was favoured with stability, and that the meeting was in measure owned. Our dear friend John Gough, and several others from Lisburn, were at it and were satisfied, which rendered it more easy to me.

“First-day, eighth month 31st; Went to a large meeting at Ballinderry, held in a malt house; and towards evening were at a meeting at Hillsborough, which was dull. My spirits and bodily strength were much exhausted, not only by hard travelling, but by peculiar exercise of mind, that I was ready to give out; but was somewhat recruited next morning. Attended meetings at

Rathfriland and Moyallen, and a large one at Ballyhagan. Having passed through all the meetings this way, my mind was in much exercise, being proved with so much barrenness, that it was difficult to know what step to take that would end in peace.

“Seventh-day, went to Dungannon and had a meeting in the Presbyterian meeting house, the minister and many respectable people being present, who behaved well. The meeting was held to a good degree of satisfaction.

“First-day, ninth month 7th; Went to the Grange; the meeting was large, but it was a low season. We dined at the widow Greeves's, and then set out and had a wet ride to Moneymore. On second-day morning we set out in the rain, and reached Dungiven; where I had, when there before, felt the reaches of love towards the inhabitants; and these being somewhat renewed, I ventured to appoint a meeting. The inn-keeper being willing we should have one of his rooms, gave notice, and several good looking people came, who generally behaved well. Though I was weak, yet what was delivered was cordially received, and the people departed in a loving mind. Having some small tracts relating to our religious principles and testimonies, I handed them to the people, who appeared glad of the opportunity. No meeting of Friends, I suppose, had ever before been held here.

“Third-day, reached Londonderry about the ninth hour. I was under deep exercise of mind. My return to this city, for various reasons, was not an easy task, though the minds of the people are open, and we were received cordially; some Friends who went on before us, had provided a place and given notice of the meeting; so that about the eleventh hour we met again in the Methodist meeting house. Many came and behaved well, except that three or four young people, for awhile, appeared light. These were warned, and it seemed to have some place. Some expressed their satisfaction; and having laboured to fulfil what I believed right, I feel tolerably quiet. I have not had eighteen days of such deep proving, as of late, since I landed in Europe; but I came to be instructed in mortification and abasement, and desire to be kept single and resigned, and if my life is but given me for a prey, I hope to be content. I visited the prisoners again, and found their numbers had increased; tarried at Londonderry, and sent some books to the mayor.

“Fourth-day, my mind continuing in a very proved, exercised state, I was deeply engaged for divine direction, I visited three families, who received me kindly; and after dinner set out, and passing Strabane, reached Newtown Stewart; the next day went to Omagh, and on sixth-day to Cavan and Ballynacrig.

“Seventh-day, six weeks' meeting at Moata-Grenoge. There was a solemnity in the meeting which I was glad to feel. Our friend Richard Shackleton, was in a lively manner concerned in the ministry. Here we met our valued friends Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson. Third-day,

attended a crowded meeting at Ballymurry, many people of the upper rank being there; and it was to a good degree of satisfaction. My mind having been deeply exercised several days, and very heavy yesterday on the road, and in the evening after our journey ended, respecting a visit to the inhabitants of Sligo, I thought it best after this meeting, to inform William Mathews of my prospect, and leave it to him to go or not, though his company was very desirable. But as a meeting had been appointed to be held on fifth-day at Tullamoor, he thought it not right to omit attending it. So with two Friends I set out, but was so much tried on the way, with poverty and blindness, that I was almost ready to turn back; however, under deep exercise we reached Elfin, where we quartered at an inn. I had little sleep.

“Fourth-day, breakfasted at Boyle, and reached Sligo about the fifth hour. The session-house being procured for a meeting, notice was given for one tomorrow morning.

“Fifth-day, my mind was much bowed, with fervent cries that the Lord might be pleased to grant light and favour. In this humbled state I went to the session-house, to which many well looking people came, and appeared satisfied with what was delivered. I went to visit the prisoners confined in the jail, which they took kindly; and we distributed several small tracts relative to our religious principles. We reached Boyle to lodge, “Sixth-day, setting out early, we reached Ballymurry about the third hour; but I was very heavy and distressed, which I kept much to myself. In the evening, Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson on a religious visit, had a sitting with a family here; in which my mind was so covered with distress, that I concluded the cloud of suffering which prevailed, was altogether owing to me, and was ready to leave the room; but after near two hours spent in painful suffering, the Friends opened their mouths, the one after the other, in close searching doctrine. After this opportunity I took occasion to open the state of my mind to Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson, and Richard Shackleton, at which they were affected with tender sympathy, and expressed their satisfaction with my company and the frame and labour of my spirit, and told me they did not wonder that increasing distress had attended me since coming to that family, for some sorrowful things had happened therein. They uttered some suitable counsel to my present situation, which tended, in some degree, to my relief.

“Seventh-day, feeling it best to endeavour to get up with William Mathews, I parted affectionately with the above Friends on the road, and proceeded to Moat; had religious opportunities in two houses there, and reached Tullamoor in the evening.

“First-day, ninth month 21st; Reached Mount Mellick; found William Mathews well, and attended the monthly meeting, which was large, but exercising; a dull, easeful disposition prevailing, though there were in this place, some hopeful Friends.

“Second-day. Yesterday and this morning, I was favoured with letters from my dear wife and

brother James, which tended to revive my drooping mind, and excited thankfulness, in finding the Lord was rich in mercy to my wife in my absence. I have had for some weeks past, little leisure and less capacity to salute my dear friends. I have been led into a path, new and singularly proving; but at all the places we were respectfully received, and I believe an open door is left for further labour. I am so poor and weak, and so full of fear of overdoing, that pain attends me respecting some places, though I endeavoured to do my best.”

After this they attended meetings at Montrath, Knockballymagher, Roscrea, Kilconnermoor, Limerick, and some other places.

“Fourth-day, tenth month 1st; This morning we proceeded to Charleville; which place having been much in my thoughts, I was most easy to propose a meeting. The widow at whose house we put up, having a large room which she was willing to let us have, it was seated, and notice being spread through the town, the meeting was much crowded. Though for lack of better knowledge, some were unsettled, yet many behaved soberly. William Mathews had a large, seasonable opportunity, and truth impressed the minds of many.

“Fifth-day, rising early, we proceeded, and reached Samuel Neale's in the evening, where we were joyfully received.

“Sixth-day, attended the meeting at Cork, where there was a comfortable appearance of plain young people.

“First-day, the 5th; Attended two public meetings in Cork, the first of which was silent. Though there are many valuable Friends here, yet many others are superficial professors.

“Third-day, was at the mid-week meeting in course, and also the men's meeting for business.

“Fifth-day, had a comfortable opportunity at Samuel Neale's, and then took horse; and as I drew near to Middleton, where we proposed to refresh ourselves and horses, I felt some engagement of mind to hold a meeting; and notice being accordingly given, a pretty many gathered, and some counsel was imparted, which appeared to be well received. We passed on to Youghall, and were kindly entertained by our aged, valuable friend, the widow Elizabeth Richardson, who was my hostess at Limerick when here before. It was comfortable to find she was truly alive in spirit; as much so as most in this land.

“Sixth-day, the meeting at Youghall was favoured, my companion having a very open time. After dinner we had a comfortable opportunity with a young Friend, a daughter of a merchant in Cork, who is convinced and converted. She is much rejected by her parents, who do not approve her change. We then proceeded to Caperquin.

“Seventh-day, we had a large meeting in the market-place, which, I hope, did not lessen the reputation of truth; many expressed their satisfaction. We reached Clonmel in the evening and attended the meeting of ministers and elders; and first-day, two public meetings and an evening opportunity at Robert Dudley's, to which came many Friends. These meetings were exercising, yet some counsel opened in each. There was a large appearance of plain, hopeful youth, especially among the females. Attended the quarterly meeting for Munster, and then had a meeting at Garryrone. My mind was much exercised in the prospect of going back to Charleville; but labouring to be resigned, and gathering some elders, with a few other Friends, I laid my exercise before them. I was encouraged to pursue my prospects, however feeble I might feel; and as my companion was more disposed to attend the meeting at Clonmel, I resigned him in love; though on my part under discouraging thoughts.

“At Clonmel, the elders having a conference, deputed two Friends to take an opportunity with William Mathews and myself; being dipped into sympathy and concern for us and for our religious service, they thought it right to propose our parting, under an apprehension that our service might be more extensive. As our prospects at times varied, they feared our minds were more burdened and oppressed than perhaps was right. Their care and sympathy I could but acknowledge; but told them I did not see my way clear to part, and that I considered myself not fit to journey alone. They did not press it, but left the matter under our consideration until after the meeting at Garryrone; and if then our concerns led different ways, advised to attend thereto. It is a great blessing, that notwithstanding the low, languid state of things, a living, feeling sense, is still preserved in the church.

“Fifth-day, proceeded to Charleville and appointed a meeting. A number of people came, supposed to be of the more reputable inhabitants. Many of the lower class were deterred, as we were informed, by the Romish priest having reprimanded the widow who kept the inn we were at when here before, for allowing us to have a room for a meeting. He had made some do penance for attending it, by walking seven miles out, and back. This made the meeting smaller, though more came than our room could hold. Some favour was shown to us, and I had cause to be thankful that this day's work was so well over.

“Sixth-day, awaking very early, a fresh exercise attended me, in a prospect of going to Mallow. After rising, I got my companions together, and solidly laid the exercise before them; and they encouraging me, we reached Mallow about noon. I was much stripped of inward comfort, but I ventured to give notice of a meeting: a large number came, and I hope the reputation of truth was not lessened. One man, a soldier, came to me after meeting, and in a solid manner thanked me for the good advice given. On seventh-day, my mind having been again exercised in the night season, I feared to go away without attempting another meeting. After which I prepared to

leave Mallow, and reached Cork in the evening, more easy, I believe, than I should have been, had I come away without giving them the opportunity of another meeting.

“A sorrowful gloom attends this land, and it is to be feared that things are ripening for a scourge. A set of people are taking the same steps, or nearly so, that were taken in America; meetings and resolves are frequent, and there is a heavy cloud felt; as was at the beginning of our troubles. Ireland is a land in which I have been deeply proved, and the great Master keeps me poor; perhaps in this state I am more attentive to his voice, and the lack of spiritual bread makes me willing to yield to what is hard to the natural part.

“How I may now be led, I know not; I live from day to day, and hardly see, one day, how I may be led the next. But, however we may be proved and led in paths not heretofore known, yet if pure wisdom and strength be vouchsafed, there will be no lack.

“Fourth-day, having yesterday laid before several Friends in Cork, a concern that had for some days attended my mind, respecting a visit to the people of Kinsale, I set out this morning and had a very wet journey, my friend Edward Hatton, etc., accompanying me. Many came to the meeting, which was in measure owned, and counsel flowed to the people.

“Seventh-day, rising early, set out for Waterford and arrived there in the evening, much wearied with a long ride, the ways hilly and bad. We passed through Dungannon, and saw the rock where our dear friend Susanna Morris, was shipwrecked.

[This truly evangelical minister of Jesus Christ, as John Griffith calls her, suffered shipwreck three times; but the occurrence here alluded to, was about the year 1731, on her voyage to pay a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain and Ireland.

Joseph Taylor, from Raby, in England, was returning in the same vessel from a similar service in America. The following is condensed from her own account of this memorable occasion: “Soon after I got out to sea, I dreamed that our ship would be lost, and there remained on my mind a solid weight, for fear it should be so. But at times, I thought it had been as some other dreams; and yet I thought it safe to dwell humble and low before the Lord. I again dreamed the same; and yet was weak as to being fixed in a belief of the truth of it, until the Lord was pleased to favour me with his goodness, and in one of our meetings to make it known to me, that we should surely suffer shipwreck. And then, for a season, I was in trouble. But Oh! blessed forever be the name of our God; for I had soon a good answer returned into my bosom, of our preservation, and that if we would be faithful, we should have our lives for a prey. I hinted something of my mind to the captain, who seemed somewhat startled; and lest he should be too much discouraged, I

had it given me to tell him, that I should see him safe on shore. It was some time before it came to pass and when I hinted a little of what was made known to me, to Joseph Taylor, I found that it seemed like idle tales to him. So I forbore to go further in the relation of it to him; yet I was preserved so as not to stagger in my mind, or disregard the manifestations made known to me, from Him that is true. And as I endeavoured to dwell near Him who is faithful and true, my habitation was pleasant, until the sudden outcry was proclaimed, and nothing appeared but the destruction of all our lives. Then, for a time, my outward tabernacle greatly shook and trembled. But, blessed be the great Lord of all our mercies, the time of trembling was soon over, and what was made known to me was renewed, that the all-wise God would command the proud waves, that they should not come at his servants to hurt them; as it was said: ‘Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.’ And so it was, the great God did preserve us, I believe, for his own name's sake. It was the time called Christmas-eve, and very cold; and we had, for two days, little sustenance for our bodies; and many times our heads were under the great waves, which rolled over us after the ship sunk, by reason of the strokes she got on the dreadful rocks. Afterwards she drove, until she settled on a sand bank. In that distress I had no help of man, or counsellor but the Lord alone, and thereby thought it best for me to get to the upper side of the vessel, and fix my seat by the shrouds, where I was favoured so that I kept my hold, when the waves rolled over us; and we remained in that wet condition about nine hours, in a cold time of frost and snow, before any of us got relief. And yet I was not hurt—the Lord is pleased to favour his heritage—though many of the ship's company lost their lives; some perishing with the cold, and others were drowned.”

John Griffith mentions the following additional particulars of this event, narrated to him by Joseph Taylor: “The ship was driven on her broadside, yet did not soon break; but the sea running high, broke over her, and several of the crew were washed overboard and drowned. The captain, Susanna Morris, Joseph Taylor, and perhaps one more, scrambled up to the upper side of the ship, and held fast by the shrouds, the sea frequently breaking over them. Joseph Taylor told me, Susanna never discovered the least impatience, in word or countenance, all the time; but he confessed that he once, in a flutter, or impatience, did say to this effect; ‘We might as well have gone at first, for we shall be drowned.’ She looked upon him, and said nothing; but, he said, her looks were a sufficient rebuke for his impatience and distrust. After they had held a considerable time by the shrouds, this extraordinary woman had a sense given her, that they would not be safe on that side of the vessel much longer; and although it seemed very hazardous to move and fasten to the lower side of the ship, she urged them all to attempt it, believing it

would be the means of their preservation. She at length prevailed, and they moved, in the best manner they could, to the lower side of the ship; and soon after they had fixed themselves, there came a great swell of the sea, and threw the vessel quite flat on the other side; so that if they had not moved, they would all have been drowned. A priest being informed that there were some persons alive in great distress, came down to the beach and charged his people not to hurt them, but use all means to save their lives, threatening that if they refused to comply, they should never have their sins forgiven. And through the assistance of a merciful Providence, they brought them safe to land, and treated them with great hospitality.”

“And now,” says Susanna Morris, in concluding her account of this wonderful preservation, “I write not this relation because I would have any to think the better of me; no, that is not what I aim at; but that the poor in spirit, or weak in their own eyes, if willing to serve the Lord, may take a little courage to trust in the Lord, and be truly willing to serve him in all that he may require of them.”]

#### Returning to Journal:

“First-day, tenth month 26th; Was at three public meetings at Waterford this day; that in the evening was attended by a large number of the inhabitants not professing with Friends. All these were exercising meetings, the professors of the truth being involved in the spirit of the world. It is to be feared, that through a desire of gain, some have not been free from joining with a spirit that upholds war; for notwithstanding there may not be a taking up gun or sword, yet contracting for provisions and other matters, in the way of trade, for fleets, etc., tends to sully and bring dimness and reproach on our profession.

“Third-day, had a meeting at Ross, with the few Friends there, and some other inhabitants; and on sixth-day reached Dublin, where I met William Mathews. I attended the half-yearly meeting of ministers and elders for the nation; also two public meetings; and second-day was spent in transacting the affairs of the church; some former advices were agreed to be revived, to caution against too eager a pursuit of the world. There is a pretty large appearance of Friends now here; and although there is a general languor, many being involved in the world and its spirit, yet there is a concerned number who continue to have the cause of truth at heart.

“Fourth-day was a public parting meeting, which was solemn; and then the meeting for ministers and elders, in which I opened a prospect which had attended me for some days, of visiting several places where no Friends reside, which was united with. Mary Ridgway spoke in a prophetic way, of a day approaching, that would try the foundations of the professors of truth.

“First-day, at the meeting in the afternoon, our dear friend Samuel Neale, had to express in a lively, feeling manner, his sense of a day approaching, which would prove the faith and try the foundations of the professors of the truth. He had not only at that time, but at several others, been made deeply sensible thereof; whether by pestilence, or other means, he could not tell; but he exhorted Friends to prepare for trials. In the evening we had a religious opportunity at our quarters, Mary Ridgway and Samuel Neale, and several other Friends being there. Here also he had to speak to a state in danger, and mentioned the case of Jonah, whose gourd was taken away; which he believed might be the case with some present. May I, and may all watch and live in humility, in which is preservation.

“My mind is engaged to visit Newry and some other places, the prospect of which is deeply humiliating; but I came for peace, and must pursue the line that leads to it. The sympathy of many brethren has been manifested, indeed more love shown than I could expect; I desire to be preserved from wounding the cause, if I cannot advance it.

“Our dear friend Mary Ridgway, in much feeling sympathy, accompanied me on third-day to Drogheda, where the meeting was held in the session-house, and was attended by several hundred people. One person, after meeting, expressed his thankfulness that a renewed visitation had been extended to him, who through unfaithfulness to some former touches of good, had not made progress in religion. He was very tender; and if but one is brought forward, it is worth undergoing baptisms and trials for. The rain has prevented our going forward to Newry. My suffering is great, and the sense of my own weakness depresses me: however, I ought not to complain. Here our aged friend James Christy, met us.

“Sixth-day, proceeded to Newry, and had a meeting in the Presbyterian meeting house; the minister having offered it.

“First-day, attended the youths' meeting at Lurgan, where our friend John Gough had very acceptable service, in close and pertinent remarks to parents, and also to the youth. In the evening, several Friends being present, we had a religious opportunity at our quarters. My mind was deeply proved, under the prospect of visiting places where there are no Friends; and our friend John Gough, was dipped into sympathy with me, as he afterwards told me, though he knew not what rested on my mind.”

After this he visited Moyallen, and then returned to Dublin.

“Third-day, summoning the elders, overseers and ministering Friends, I laid before them the deep provings of my mind; and on solidly weighing the matter, they encouraged my return to the north. I was much stripped and proved, and remained so for many days: I have had many

trials of faith since I came into this island, and when they may terminate I know not. I have been particularly led to visit places where there are no Friends; and knowing my own unfitness, and how much the reputation of truth is concerned in such movements, it bows my mind greatly; however, I have no right to dictate, or say, what are you doing?

“Fourth-day, I went to Lisburn, to my dear friend John Gough's, where I had a kind reception, and conferred with him about the prospect I had of visiting some remote places; he was dipped into sympathy with me. At the close of the meeting next day, our friend opened his mind respecting joining me in my prospect, if way opened for his leaving home.

“First-day, twelfth month 7th; Attended a large meeting at Lurgan, and paid religious visits to three families.

“Second-day, being joined by William Pike, I left Lurgan, and on the road met with our friend John Gough, and two others; and we proceeded on our journey northward.”

He held meetings at Ballinacree and Coleraine, and from there went to Newtown Limavady; where, he says, no meeting of Friends to his knowledge, had been held since William Edmundson visited it. The people, he adds, behaved well, and the meeting was favoured.

“Sixth-day, rising early, we reached Strabane, and strove for a meeting; but the provost, to whom we were recommended, being from home, the burgesses, on conferring, refused us the town-hall. So in the afternoon we went to Lifford, about three quarters of a mile from Strabane, and readily obtained liberty of the court house: we had a pretty large meeting, but in general they were a light company; yet counsel opened, and we were satisfied with having laboured to do our duty. We returned to Strabane, and two of our friends waiting upon the provost, he excused himself from letting us have the townhall. So in the morning John Gough wrote a letter to the provost, burgesses, etc., which he and I signed, informing them that it was the only instance in the course of a long journey, that we had been refused being accommodated with a place for a religious meeting. However, having liberty of the court house at Lifford, the inhabitants of Strabane were invited, and some came; and the people behaved better than at the meeting yesterday.

“First-day, went to Newtown Stewart, and at the inn had a large room offered us. A large meeting it was, and very satisfactory. There never had been, as I know of, a meeting of Friends held here before, except that as our friend John Alderson, upwards of twenty years ago, passed through the town, he had an opportunity with a few of the people.

“Second-day, we reached Omagh, and applied for a place to hold a religious meeting, which was readily obtained. There was a large gathering of people in the jail and court house, who behaved

well, and some were very solid: the meeting was open and satisfactory; the curate of the parish was there. No meeting of Friends, that I can learn, was ever held here before; and though things looked at first dark and discouraging, yet light and favour prevailed when we met. After the public meeting was over, I had an opportunity with about twelve felons, men and women.

"Third-day, reached Dungannon, and the province meeting coming on, my companions left me, departing to their several homes. I went forth, in this journey, with scarcely any faith, and was kept low, yet was favoured with encouraging company, and got on better than I expected. May I be enabled to praise the Lord, though unworthy of the least of his mercies. My dear friend John Gough, was wonderfully opened and enlarged in doctrine, and if I am exercised in order for others to be in the way of doing good, I desire to be content. I believe the testimony of truth was exalted, and an openness left for others to follow. I now wait, not knowing how I may be led after the province meeting; though, as more labour of like sort opens to my view, it is uncertain when I may get away from these parts. But as dear John Woolman remarked, we have no just cause to murmur at the different paths which Infinite Wisdom sees fit to lead into. I think my trials are great, but I know I have increased them for lack of exercising the small portion of faith given. I take no step, but with the solid sense, sympathy and unity of the most feeling and judicious members; and, as a man, glad should I have been, had they put a negative on my concern. It is indeed strange that I should be thus exercised; but those who have accompanied me have been much favoured; and I am willing, if good is done, that others may not only have the greatest share of peace, but of praise; though truly there is no praise due to man."

In a letter written about this time to his brother, James Pemberton, he thus speaks respecting the interesting subject of the wrongs of the African race:

"I was anxious to hear how you fared at the yearly meeting. So agreeable an account is cause of thankfulness; and I was pleased with the step taken, to lay before congress the afflicted state of the injured Africans. They have said much about liberty, and I wish, in this affair, they may manifest their regard thereto. It is pleasing to find that the case of this people becomes more and more seriously considered, as this gives hope that good will arise, and deliverance come in time."

After this John Pemberton returned to Lurgan, taking meetings in his way; and John Gough and James Christy again joining him, they visited a number of places where no Friends resided. His short account of this tour, contained in the following extract from a letter to his wife, shows the earnest exercise of a humble mind, to be found in the path of duty.

Lisburn, First month 3rd, 1784.

My dearly beloved wife, "Desirous that you might hear from me as frequently as possible, I now again sit down to salute you in unabated love, desiring that the Divine Arm of strength that wrought a willingness in us to be separated, for the discharge of duty to Him and the promotion of piety and godliness, may continue to be mercifully near to preserve and sustain, inwardly and outwardly. I believe we may appeal to the great Searcher of hearts, that our eyes were truly single; and blessed be his name, we can testify to his goodness, that hard things have, through his gracious help, been made in measure easy, and bitter portions have been sweetened by his love. May we be still helped to trust in him, and by waiting upon him, receive strength to journey forward in the high and holy way cast up for the redeemed to walk in; that through his mercy, we may receive 'the white stone and the new name;' and in the solemn close, be admitted to join the heavenly host in the triumphant song.

Since my last, I have been another tour, accompanied by my dear friend John Gough, and other kind friends; had seven meetings in seven days, and rode one hundred and thirty miles, notwithstanding the days were short and the weather unusually cold. In these journeys we were often on horseback nearly two hours before sun-rise, yet were preserved in health. Three of these last meetings were held in Presbyterian meeting houses, two in a methodist meeting house, and one in a large chamber of a market house, all large, solid and quiet; and our friend John Gough, in this, as in the former journey, much favoured. I consider these journeys as making way for other servants. I was called to surrender all, in a time of difficulty and danger, and am now engaged in a trying path, to prepare the way, as I conceive, for others better fitted. When I may be released, I know not; I see no end at present. I find it very difficult to preserve peace to my mind; fears, doubts and diffidence, and too readily giving up my own feeling and judgment, bring stripes. Many drooping moments have I had in this land; though I believe few have met with more sympathy from truly concerned Friends.

By a letter received yesterday from Cork, I find William Mathews was there. He attempted to go twice for England, but was stopped in mind; yet I apprehend he will get away before me. But if we are enabled to fill up our respective duty, the reward will be sure.

Things seem ripening here for confusion and distress; and the Lord in mercy, may be awaking some to prepare a hiding place in the day of trouble.

Now, with the tenders of endeared affection, I bid you farewell; being your faithful husband,

John Pemberton.

He continued for some time in the northern parts of Ireland, visiting many places where no Friends resided, and having meetings at several towns, where no Friends' meeting had been before held. John Gough and James Christy were his constant and sympathizing companions. Ballymena, Ballinderry, Moix-a, Stramore, Moyallen, Lisburn, Shane castle, Castle Dawson, Toberhead, Bellackey, Portlanon, Ballamoney and Ballinacree, were among the places visited during the first month, and a part of the second. At Lisburn he attended the quarterly meeting for Ulster, and after this was over, remarks:

"I had an opportunity with the ministers and elders, who manifested much brotherly sympathy with me in the exercised path I have trodden, and yet am likely to tread; in which they were careful to avoid discouraging me. I also opened to them a desire prevailing in my mind to have another opportunity with the inhabitants of Lisburn; in which they acquiescing, in the evening we had a large meeting, solid, and I hope profitable.

"Second-day, second month 16th; This morning we set out for Londonderry; my mind never having been easy since I was last there.

"Third-day, endeavours were used last evening, to meet with the mayor of Londonderry, in order to obtain the town-hall to hold a meeting in; but he being gone to a play, which did not break up till midnight, it was about one o'clock this day, before we obtained leave. Notice being then given, the principal inhabitants attended; and the meeting issued full as well as could be expected, among a people much void of true religion; the pursuit of worldly gain and false pleasures, taking up the attention of the people of the upper rank. My spirit has been much burdened in this place, and is yet more particularly bound to it.

"Fourth-day; the sins of the people in this city lay so heavy upon me, that I had little rest after a day of great exercise. In the morning I arose and wrote to the mayor, and so left the place. In crossing the water, and on the road, my mind was taken up with thoughts respecting Strabane; but hoping it would wear off, I proceeded about nine miles. I then told the Friends with me, my situation; who kindly agreed to accompany me. So we turned towards Strabane, and arriving there between the fourth and fifth hours, we ventured to apply to the provost for the townhall, though it had been denied us when here before. He, consulting some others, informed us that we might make use of it.

"Fifth-day, the place being prepared, and notice given by the activity and diligence of my worthy, aged friend, James Christy, the meeting began soon after one o'clock, and was large; many, or most of the principal inhabitants, and many of the poorer sort also, being there. The

Lord was graciously near, to uphold me and open my way, so that I left the place pretty easy, and came to Claude.

“Sixth-day, the wind being high, and a sleet falling, it was with difficulty we could get along, or sit on horseback; and it blew so hard, that in riding a few miles we were very wet, and I feared we might be lost, as the roads were so filled that we could scarcely find the path; and were obliged to stop at a poor man's house, to dry ourselves and get some refreshment. We reached Dungiven, where we were obliged to stay the remainder of the day, which was as blustering and snowy, as I have known, and I fear many people and cattle will be lost.

“Seventh-day, I thought it best to turn my face towards Londonderry again; having, through weakness and hurrying away, omitted to visit the prisoners in that place; and reaching it soon after three o'clock, we had a religious opportunity in the jail, and the prisoners took our visit kindly. Greatly affecting was it to see so many fellow beings in such a situation, most of them having brought distress upon themselves through disregard of the Divine fear. I left a small sum with the jailer, to hand to the most necessitous. We then visited three families of sober people; and this making it late, we found some difficulty in procuring lodging; but after trying several inns, were at length admitted. Having eaten but little, and been much exercised all day, I was faint; yet after taking refreshment, had some sleep.

“First-day, 22nd; Awaking early, my mind was renewedly exercised, and I found it most easy to go to the meeting of the Methodists; and after their service was over, I requested liberty to speak a few words; which I did tenderly, expressing my persuasion that there were some tender people among them, who sought the favour of God; and yet a fear attended me, lest they might rest too much upon outward performances, in hearing preaching, praying, and singing of psalms; and that it was my belief they would make as great advances in the Christian path and life of religion, were they to study and practice silence more. As I expressed myself in soft language and much tenderness, I hope I did not hurt any; and one afterwards told me he believed none would take my observations amiss, being delivered in love. Now I thought I might leave this city, which had been a place of deep exercise to me. We crossed the ferry, and there I found some desire to have a meeting at the town on that side the water, and the people appeared satisfied with the opportunity.

“Second-day, reached Newtown Limavady, after a small meeting at Ballycally. In our way we called at a free-school for the education of the children of such Roman parents, as choose to send them to be brought up in the Protestant religion. My expectations were disappointed, finding the house very dirty, and a strict care respecting the poor children lacking. Our visit was received kindly by the master.

"Fourth-day to second-day, at Coleraine, and had two meetings. I also found some stop respecting proceeding; and a renewed exercise attended my mind respecting Londonderry, which remained with me, at times very heavy, while at Coleraine, I opened a little of my exercise to my worthy, aged friend James Christy, who was solidly impressed with it, but hoped it was only a trial of faith."

This concern, which was of a peculiarly trying nature, remained with him for several weeks, until his mind became at length resigned to it, under a conviction that peace was to be obtained only through faithfulness to the pointings of duty, however contrary to the natural feelings. In the mean time he continued for the most part, visiting many places in that part of Ireland, which he had previously had in prospect, having a number of meetings in places where there were no settlements of Friends. At Ballycastle, he says:

"We had a large and favoured meeting in the chamber over the market-place, the people generally coming. Several Episcopal ministers attended it, as also one Ezekiel Boyd, with his wife and children, the proprietor of the town and lands about it, who pressed us to take dinner with him; but after some friendly discourse, we excused ourselves and proceeded to Clough.

"Fifth-day, after a meeting at Clough, we passed on and reached our friend T. Irwin's, near Ballymena, where we dined and had a religious opportunity with his family; and then went to visit a sick man, confined to his bed by illness brought on through intemperance. He having, some days before, expressed a desire to see me, I visited him and dealt plainly with him.

"First-day, third month 7th; Attended the men's meeting at Lurgan, and received many letters, which had been lying some time for me.

"Second and third-day, at Stramore. It is sorrowful to hear that so many people are flocking to our city [Philadelphia,] for the sake of pursuing after earthly treasure. Our religious Society is brought into great disrepute in some parts of this land, by the failure of many under our name, for very large sums, through embarking in government contracts; some of whom now acknowledge that a blast has attended every Friend who engaged therein. I wish it may teach others more care; but the hands of some in Great Britain, as well as in this land, are deeply defiled, by entering into matters very opposite to the testimony of truth: so that the hearts of many are made sad; and some who are truly concerned that occasions of reproach should be removed, are looked upon as busy meddlers. For there are those who are in the spirit of Sanballat and Tobiah.

"Seventh-day, the 27th; I have had a slow fever and cough, by hard travelling in very severe weather and close exercise of mind, which rendered it needful to lay by awhile. I am now recruiting, and should have recruited faster, were it not for the weight of exercise that attends

my mind. I expect in a few days to leave this, to be led as the great Shepherd opens the way. If I am mercifully preserved upon the foundation, and in obedience to and reverent trust in the all-powerful Arm, all will be well. It is a great attainment to be wholly given up. It is only hereby that the mind becomes stable, and a happy calm is known. We are too apt to look at some requisitions as hard, which are so to the unregenerate, unmortified part. But to those who can unreservedly say, it is their meat and drink to do the Lord's will, hard things become easy, and mountains are removed; I find I am far from having already attained; the creaturely part is ready to shrink, and fears to prevail. But the Lord is merciful, and if I am but kept to the end, and favoured with an admittance into the gate of the holy city, it is all I look for. May the Lord be near, and preserve in a humble watchful state, and in a daily exercise to labour for daily bread. Trusting to former experience and sliding into a relaxed state, will assuredly bring loss. The nearer we are concerned to live to the Fountain, the more fresh will our spirits be, and the more ardent our concern to be fitted to fill up our allotment, both in the church and in life. My path is widely different from what I expected when I left home.

"First-day, fourth month 18th; Rising early, we went through Strabane to Raphe, and had a large meeting in a malt-kiln; and afterwards set out in the rain and had a very wet ride over the hills to Letterkenny, where we lodged; and on second-day, our landlady offering a large room, it was seated, and we had a pretty satisfactory meeting; though, as Friends were much unknown, some at first appeared shy. But they were afterwards pleased with the meeting, and some were for making a collection. The landlady said it was the only visit they had had at which there was not a collection. I told her and a friendly man who was speaking of this matter, that I had never received sixpence for preaching, and that none of our ministers were paid, believing in the words of Christ: 'Freely you have received, freely give.' We left the people favourably impressed. At several meetings besides this, persons were for promoting subscriptions, wondering how we sustained the expense of travelling, without pay. I was deeply exercised upon leaving this place, respecting my next proceeding; and having for many weeks borne my exercise, I became much resigned to follow the prospect, let the consequence be what it might.

"Third-day, fourth month 20th; Set out early this morning and reached Londonderry between seven and eight o'clock, and concluded to prepare to fulfil what appeared my duty. And my kind friend James Christy, having prepared some wrapper, had it made up in the form of a cloak; and thus I passed through two gates and the main street of the city. We walked slowly, and my mind was covered with much solemnity and awe. At some places I proclaimed repentance to the inhabitants. Some appeared struck with admiration, but not the least affront was offered, nor any mob followed. Coming at length near my quarters, my mind being very quiet, I was free to turn in, but soon found I was not fully released. The Lord has been merciful, and I trust, accepted a part of the service that engaged my mind. It was very humiliating; yet I was favoured with great

composure in the performance of it. My path is strait and not common in our day: but He that formed us has a right to direct. I could have given up my natural life, had the Lord been willing to accept it, rather than to return to this place and to fulfil the prospect. But with Him, obedience is better than sacrifice, and in a steady subjection, hard things become easy. May I be preserved not to wound the testimony.

“The next day, the exercise continuing with me, after much solid weighing, about the tenth hour I passed through two other gates of the city, and through two or three streets where I had not been before, as also the main street again; and several times had some little matter to express, warning the people to remember the mercies of God, and to turn to the Lord of hosts, lest his righteous judgments overtake them, as they had been poured forth in other countries. The people were very civil, and though it was their market day, and the time of the court sessions, and the streets about the market-place, in particular, pretty full of people, yet no taunt or insult was offered. As I had seen much rudeness among boys in this place, I had some reason to fear a mob might follow, and my life be in danger; but no such thing appeared; all was quiet. Finding my mind, as I thought, somewhat eased, we prepared to leave the place; and not being able to get over the ferry at Derry, we went by Strabane, and reached Omagh in the evening, where we lodged.”

The substance of what John Pemberton delivered to the people on this occasion, is thus stated in a memorandum in his own hand-writing, found among his papers: “Repent, repent, O! all you inhabitants of Londonderry and of this land, while the Lord's mercies are continued unto you!”

A number of people gathering about him at one of the gates, after repeating the above words, he expressed that it was a great cross to him, as a man, to appear as he did, but that he believed it was required of him to be as a sign to this people; and that if the highly favoured people of this land did not humble themselves and manifest greater gratitude to the Author of all blessings, it was easy with him to permit trials to overtake them, as he had permitted trials and chastisements to overtake the inhabitants of his native land, for their ingratitude for great favours conferred upon them.

“Sixth-day, returned to Stramore, and unexpectedly met with William Mathews, Patience Brayton and Rebecca Wright; and our meeting was mutually satisfactory. Though it was a great trial to give up to this journey, yet being favoured to return in safety, I had occasion to be humbly thankful to the great Preserver.

“Seventh-day, attended the quarterly meeting for Ulster, held at Moyallen; a low season.

“First-day, fourth month 25th; The meeting was large, many not professing with us attending.

William Mathews had, yesterday at the close of the meeting, to speak of a day of trial that in some way or manner would overtake, wherein the professors of the truth would be deeply proved; and therefore Friends were exhorted to be prepared for it.

“Second-day; this morning rising early, I set off for Armagh, accompanied by our dear women Friends from America, and some other Friends. The court-house being granted, we had a large meeting, and the people generally behaved well. This city is the residence of the archbishop; but though the resort of abundance of those who profess to be ministers of Christ, yet the life and virtue of godliness are not more prevalent here than in some other places. After dinner we went to the large new jail, and visited the prisoners, nearly forty, and three of them under sentence of death. Many of them were young men, and some grey-headed; and it was an affecting sight to see my fellow creatures loaded with heavy irons, and others also through a disregard to the Divine fear, brought into suffering and confinement. Much sympathy attended my mind for them, and I laboured, according to the measure given, to awaken in them proper reflections, and a regard in future, for the Divine fear. Some appeared tender.

“Fifth-day, had a meeting at Castle Bellingham, to which many people came; and among others, as it was said, four Romish priests. Two of these priests came into the meeting late, appearing as travellers. While our dear friend Rebecca Wright was speaking, one of them burst into laughter, and some young women and girls, and a few men, behaved lightly. After she sat down, I endeavoured to expose the inconsistency of such conduct with the solemnity of such an occasion, though that room was not built purposely for religious meetings; and I informed them that in my native land, it was considered as one mark of good breeding, to behave well in places of worship. Notwithstanding this inconsistent behaviour of some, much owing, I believe, to the novelty of a woman preaching, yet others were sober, and appeared solemnly impressed. I took an opportunity, after meeting, of speaking with these two disorderly priests, and told one of them that by his appearance, I took him to be one who professed to be a minister, and that such conduct disgraced him; to which he made no reply.

“At Drogheda my mind was deeply weighed down, as I apprehend, in sympathy with the Seed of the kingdom in suffering in many hearts.

“Sixth-day, reached Dublin in time to refresh ourselves before the quarterly meeting for Leinster; and there I was also refreshed by the company of many dear friends, after a toilsome journey of five months, in a very arduous employ, yet mercifully sustained beyond expectation. May the Lord be praised!

“Second-day, the half-yearly meeting for business was opened, and continued by adjournments.” After this he had meetings at Timahoe, Athy, Cooladine, Wexford, and several other

places, and then proceeded to Enniscorthy.

"Third-day, attended the meeting, which was favoured, many reputable sober people of the town being present. After their departure I had an opportunity with Friends, and pointed out the necessity of waiting for that wisdom and power which influenced our worthy ancients, and qualified them to maintain our religious testimonies with propriety, making such opportunities seasons of edification.

"Fourth-day, arrived at Kilkenny, and the room over the market-place being granted, we had a large meeting, which was pretty quiet. John Duke of Ormond, the mayor, the sheriff, some of the magistrates, and other principal inhabitants attended, and many of the lower rank also. At this place the meetings of Friends have been often disturbed, but this was peaceable. The duke, after meeting, said that Friends should at any time be accommodated with the same room. The sheriff also, at the departure of the people, joined in an endeavour that no disturbance should occur, for there were many rude boys who were prevented from getting into the meeting, and were very restless and bold. In the morning I found myself not easy to leave this place without an opportunity with the prisoners in the jails. In the county jail there were about twenty persons confined, several of whom appeared impressed with the advice given them. We left some money with the jailer, to be laid out in bread and milk for them; and then went to the city jail and visited the prisoners there. This opportunity was not so comfortable, though they acknowledged the kindness of our visit.

"Sixth-day to second-day, fifth month 24th, at Ballinclay. Notwithstanding my hurry, I am not yet loosened from this island. Great is the mercy of God toward her inhabitants, too few of whom properly lay it to heart; yet there is a seed that God will bless, and after a day of trial, may raise up to be testimony bearers of his truth. I am not my own, and find obedience alone produces true quiet; great enjoyment I cannot boast of; the Master keeps me low and poor; and I find I am not to live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from his mouth.

"Sixth month 24th; I continue to journey as heretofore, but my rides have not been very long at a time, having been for several weeks employed in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow. I was this day week on the sea-coast, visiting the descendants of those who came from England with Strongbow, in Henry the second's time. They differ from the general inhabitants of this island in their dialect, retaining much of the old English, or Saxon speech. The meetings were quiet, and we parted lovingly. I hope a solid care still dwells with me, to move under the guidance of Divine wisdom, and to watch when notice may be given to cease, and leave this island. I saw my way into it, but cannot yet see my way out. Friends continue their kindness, sympathy and love, but I wish to get away before any shall think I dwell long among them. It is satisfactory to hear that my dear friends are not uneasy with my singular steppings in this land; I feel my own

weakness, and consult my friends on every movement, and hope always to go along in the unity.

“I find that the yearly meeting of London, has yielded to the women Friends a regular yearly meeting; which was one, among other matters, that made me much desire to get to London, to join in promoting it.”

The reader will probably recollect, that this important subject had been brought forward thirty years previously, at the quarterly meeting of York, by William Brown, and that John Churchman and John Pemberton then took a deep interest in it. But the yearly meeting at that time did not see the way to unite in the proposal, referring it after solid deliberation to a future year.

“Sixth month 29th; Received letters from my brother, with the sorrowful tidings of the decease of our worthy friend, Anthony Benezet, who will be much missed in our city; being not only a pious example, but greatly devoted to serve mankind.

“Seventh month 3rd; Attended the quarterly meeting at Mount Mellick, which was large and pretty open.

“Second-day, set out for Tullamore, Thomas Cash now joining me as companion.”

He had a meeting in the barracks at Tullamore, and afterwards visited Athlone, Loughrea, Galway, Gort and Ennis, in the county Clare, having meetings among a people very much in bondage to the superstitions of the Romish church, and tyrannized over by their priests. At Loughrea, he says, that after the meeting, a Romish priest stood in the street and beat some of his people with a stick, threatening to excommunicate them for having attended the meeting. He adds:

“Trouble seems ripening in this land; my path remains to be very mortifying to me, and did I not experience the unity of the more solid part of Friends, I could not abide therein. It will be cause of rejoicing to be released, but the Lord has a right to direct. With respect to our religious Society, the state is very low in this land. The world and many of its customs prevail, to the great hurt of the church. Dear Anthony Benezet, in his letter, received the day before I had account of his death, mentioned one, which, he says, was increasing on that side of the water; and which, from my first landing in Europe, I have borne my testimony against: that is, furnishing the table after dinner and supper, with bottles of wine and glasses. Where this is practised, the life of truth, I am persuaded, will gradually decline. It lays snares in the way, and is a pomp that should be withheld. I believe it has hurt the professors of truth in this land much. Many live high among us, as well as others; whereas, multitudes appear almost famished; and it is greatly affecting to see the vast numbers of poor, and the multitudes confined in jails.

“First-day, seventh month 25th; Attended the meeting at Limerick, which was very exercising for a considerable time; a sleepy, unconcerned spirit prevailing; but Truth at length arose, and it ended more lively and comfortable. Great is the mercy of God to a forgetful people.

“Fourth-day, after meetings at several places we had a wet ride to Killarney, over a barren mountainous country, and on fifth-day had a large, quiet, and favoured meeting there, held in a room over the market-place. Among others, Lord Kenmore, a papist, attended; also a colonel and some soldiers. This Lord Kenmore kindly inquired how our friends now fared in America, and spoke very respectfully of William Penn.

“Sixth-day, we reached Cork in the evening, glad to get among Friends again, and were kindly received by my dear friends Samuel Neale and wife.

“First-day, eighth month 1st; Attended the meetings at Youghall, both large, and very suffering seasons, though there were many goodly looking Friends. In the evening was a full gathering at our quarters, where they usually hold an evening meeting on first-days; it was an exercising time, held in silence, except some little said by Joseph Poole.

“Second-day was a large meeting, mostly held in silence, and a suffering time. I had to make a few remarks at the close. Then the business for the province came on, and was a more lively season.

“Third-day, had a meeting appointed for the inhabitants, which was very large, quiet and favoured.”

Soon after this they returned to Cork and remained there and in the neighbourhood, for several weeks. On the 24th of eighth month, they went to a small village called Baltimore; “and notifying the people, had a large meeting, generally of Protestants, and very poor. These people live by fishing and boating, and some of them by plundering vessels in distress; they behaved with much sobriety, and parted with us affectionately, several expressing their thankfulness for the opportunity. This meeting was held in an open old castle, without a roof, but it accommodated us pretty well. Just as the meeting broke up, the parson of the parish rode up near the place, telling us that hearing of the meeting he came to see how his people conducted, and insisted much on our calling at his house to take refreshment. We parted affectionately, and proceeded to Bantry, over a wild country.

“Fourth-day, the parson, John Bemish, who descended from Friends, being willing we should hold a meeting in the Episcopal worship-house, the people were notified, and we had a large quiet meeting, more open than I expected; for in the morning we had been beset by three Romish priests, who appeared alarmed at our coming; and we had much reasoning with them at

the inn where we quartered. Many town's people were present. One of them, a dark ignorant man, asserted his disbelief of the Holy Scriptures. They insisted much on the necessity of baptism in their way, and on the traditions of the 'fathers,' etc. One of these afterwards expressed his concern at their conduct. I was fearful they might use endeavours to prevent their people from attending the meeting; but a large number were present, and I believe some were enlightened with the opportunity.

"Fifth-day, we set out early for Crookhaven, the extremity of the land. The people, and their employ, here, are much as at Baltimore, looking very rough, yet ready to admit a meeting; which was held in a field among the rocks, some sitting on seats, and others on the rocks and ground. They were very quiet, and the opportunity was favoured. Part of the road today being very rocky, and impassable for any carriage, it was tedious, and we returned much wearied.

"Seventh-day, a meeting being appointed at Kinmore, to be held under a shed on the premises of James Douglass, deputy agent to Lord Shelburne, many came, and it was a solid good meeting. James Douglass appeared astonished, saying there were double the number of Protestants that usually attended their place of worship, besides many Romans; adding that he did not expect half the number, and admired at their quiet behaviour. Some expressed their satisfaction with the meeting. We dined early, and set out for Belvorney, where we arrived in the evening, having several smart showers in passing the rough high mountains.

"First-day, arrived at Macroom, and notice was given of a meeting at 5 o'clock in the evening. It being a popish wicked town, the priest not only cautioned the people not to attend, but directed them to attend 'prayers' at the same hour that our meeting was to be held. Notwithstanding this, many came, and some Protestants of rank, but these came mostly late. The meeting was more favoured and quiet than could be expected, though some appeared at first to have envy and malice in their hearts.

"Second-day, went to Dunmanaway, both myself and Thomas Cash reduced to a state of weakness and poverty of spirit. I thought it safest, however poor and low, to propose a meeting; and many of the people being Protestants, they readily offered a school house. Many were much tendered by the power of Truth, my companion having a very open time, though I had but little to offer.

"Third-day, Thomas Cash inclining to stay at Bandon two or three days, I set out for Cork, and arrived at my dear friend Samuel Neale's about one o'clock.

"Fourth-day, ninth month 1st, continued at Samuel Neale's, poorly and much worn in body and mind, yet have cause to be humbly thankful that we were preserved from personal harm during

this journey, and that the Lord in mercy has favoured with counsel and strength to pass through much arduous labour. Blessed be his holy name!

“Fifth-day, 16th of ninth month; since the above I have been diligently employed, having had meetings at Passage, Glanmire, Cove of Cork, Cloyne, and Castle Martyr, all large and quiet, and the people appeared generally solid and satisfied, and parted in love; though at two of the places among seafaring people. From Castle Martyr we came pretty directly for Waterford, and attended the quarterly meeting for Munster, which was large, and many promising youth were there. Though I am long detained in this land, I have little rest, and when I may be released I know not, but strive to keep patient. I endure seasons of great stripping and poverty, yet the Lord's strength is made perfect in our weakness. The work is his, and the power is of him, for of myself I am the weakest of all the Lord's servants. Dear Thomas Ross and Samuel Neale are hinting to me, that I shall not get away until next year: it will be trying indeed if I am so kept; but the Lord has a right to direct. I wish not to stay longer than is right, and to attempt to flee would only multiply sorrow. I take the unity of Friends with me, having laid myself open both at Cork, at the late quarterly meeting, and this day, at Clonmel.

“Tenth month 4th, at Catherlough; I was so solicitous last week for a release, that I believe it was not well pleasing to the Lord; being left in a state of great weakness and stripping; so that I find I must submit, and beg for a renewal of patient resignation. I have, with my dear companion Thomas Cash, had large meetings at Mitchell's-town, Tipperary, Cashell, Thurles and Templemore, also at Birr, Kilconnormoor, Knockballymagher, Ballanakill, and this place; also a large meeting at Abbey Lix. Here I had to begin, after a longer space of silence than usual, with expressing the value of patience, and the necessity there was for our labouring to be clothed with a resigned disposition of mind, in our religious gatherings for the solemn act of worship; that by truly waiting on the Lord, the fountain of all our mercies, we might experience our minds seasoned by his love and grace, and be prepared to worship him aright.”

After being at Cooladine, KilConnor, Ross, and a number of other places, he returned to Dublin, to attend the half-yearly meeting there, and thus proceeds:

“I attended the meeting of ministers and elders for the nation of Ireland, in which there was instruction. In the evening spent about two hours with John Gough, on his essay of a History of Friends. On fourth-day, spent about two hours with him again, in hearing his essay read, and parted with several dear friends about to return to their homes.

“The half-yearly meeting was large and favoured. I think in many parts of Ireland there is an increase of zeal and devotedness, and a comfortable appearance of hopeful youth. There is a commendable concern spreading here, as well as in Great Britain, for the institution of schools

for the children of Friends; and subscriptions are promoted, to establish one or more in each province in Ireland; also one for girls at York, England, to be visited and inspected by female Friends; and however difficult it may be in our own country, I hope Friends will continue to revive the matter.

“Eleventh month 19th, went to Newtown Prosperous, accompanied by Thomas Ross and his companion, and several Friends met us there. We had a meeting with the inhabitants, to whom Thomas Ross was drawn forth largely. From there went to Edenderry.

“First-day, 21st, attended two large meetings at Edenderry. “The corpse of a young man was brought into the morning meeting, which induced many not professing with Friends, to give their company. The necessity of a timely preparation for death was enforced, and Mary Ridgway had a powerful testimony.

“Fifth-day, went to Phillipstown, accompanied by Thomas Ross, and had a meeting with the inhabitants; visited the prisoners; and on seventh-day we made a stop at Clara, and had a quiet favoured meeting. Third-day, to Rosscommon; where the priest, as we were informed, intimidated the people; notwithstanding which, there was a pretty large meeting; considering the place, it was quiet, and many appeared satisfied. Visited the prisoners here also; and on sixth-day went to Athlone, and had a large, solid, good meeting with some of the inhabitants. Afterwards returning to Moate-a-grenoge, we were openly received by Barclay Clibborn and family.”

About this time John Pemberton was affected with a disease in his right hand, which assumed a threatening appearance, and rendered it necessary for him to submit, for several weeks, to medical treatment. He continued however, to get out to meetings at Moate.

“I continued,” he says, “at Moate throughout the first month, 1785, and endured much pain most of the time, as I had done the preceding month, but was favoured to get to all the meetings as they came in course. Poverty of spirit, however, and much stripping, was my allotment. But the Lord in great mercy preserved in patience and resignation; blessed be his holy name! During my stay here, I was favoured with many acceptable letters from my dear wife and brother in America, and from many friends in this land and in England, expressive of sympathy with me in my close provings; which were cause of humble gratitude. The wound now began to heal fast, but the inflammation having continued so long, and the pain so great, I had little use of my hand for a long time.

“Second month 8th, my dear friend Richard Shackleton came to visit me, and staid until the 11th. I was under a very close exercise at this time. On the 10th, my beloved aged friend Thomas Ross, came to Moate from a sense of religious duty to join me in my travels; and on the

14th we visited three families of Friends; and the next day went to Ballymore, and held a religious meeting there in the Episcopal worship-house. The minister attended and was respectful, and the meeting was large and favoured. On the 16th, we went to Ballymahon, and had a meeting there. The popish priest used endeavours to prevent the people from coming; nevertheless, the meeting was pretty large, and owned, considering the darkness of the people, it being a popish town.

“First-day, 20th, attended the meeting at KilConnor-moor, and in the afternoon visited a Friend who had been long confined with a paralytic stroke. The next day, after two meetings at Shenstone and Brusnea, proceeded to Rosscrea, and were kindly received and entertained by our friend John Pim. Next day we went to Burros, in Ossory, and had a large and very comfortable meeting with the inhabitants. Many Protestants live here, and among these the meetings are generally more lively than among the poor dark Romans; and yet the Lord is looking towards these, and some become tenderly impressed with the virtue of truth. As there are a few under our name in this place, we had them together, before we left it, and counsel was delivered to them.

“On the 24th, we set out for Ballyragget, with intent for a meeting there. But the priest (it being a popish town) used endeavours to prevent it, though the inhabitants pretty generally manifested some desire for such an opportunity. I sent for the priest, and many people came also, and we had much discourse. He seemed to assent to the truths, but said the people, even the children, knew all we advanced, and they did not need to be instructed. He was very full of talk, so that it was difficult to find room to speak. There was another priest, a dark, ignorant, rash young man, who denied the Scriptures, and often went in and out of the room, much disturbed. He was several times reproved, and I believe many present were ashamed of his conduct. As many people attended, and our faith and principles were opened, as far as we had opportunity, we concluded it might suffice. Some were very attentive and sober. The priest asked us to dine with him, though he so opposed us. He was crafty, and was uneasy at so many attending, and sent some away. He wanted to get us to his house, that we might converse more privately; but this did not answer our end, for we wanted the people informed. After he left us, several sober soldiers came into the room, with whom we had a solid opportunity. They offered a room in the barracks, that we might have a meeting; but after dining at the inn, we proceeded to Kilkenny.

“Rising early on second-day we set out in a thick fog for Waterford, and there met with our dear friends Mehetabel Jenkins, Hannah Bevington, Sarah Stephenson, Samuel Neale, and many others, and were with them at the meeting for ministers and elders; a time of instruction and seasonable counsel. Second-day was the quarterly meeting, large and favoured; the business conducted well, and many suitable remarks made in considering the state of the several meet-

ings.

Third month 1st, attended the meeting at Waterford, and a very large one in the evening, appointed for the town's people. It was thought that several hundred went away, as they could not get in.

“6th; Bonds and afflictions are my daily portion; for when one day's labour is over, the weight of another is upon me; and the Lord, who knows best how to deal with his children, keeps me poor and low, “The burden, in every part where I have been, lies on a few; but the Lord is as able to save by few as by many; and the more singly-devoted, the more will these be exalted; and these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for those who keep the word of his patience, and hold out to the end, a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

“22nd; The weather yesterday being cold and stormy, it was not thought prudent to cross the water at Passage, a village below Waterford, as we had proposed. So this morning, being the fourth-day of the week, we returned to Passage, and the custom-house officer having provided the king's boat, with six oars-men and three officers, we rowed to Duncannon, and had a meeting in the yard of the castle, a strong fort. Many who attended were soldiers, with some of the inhabitants of the village. Much counsel, in gospel love, flowed towards them. My companion, after meeting, had some satisfactory conversation with an officer who had been in America during the troubles. From there we proceeded in the same boat, to Ballyhae, and had a comfortable good meeting, the boatmen attending both these opportunities. On our landing, we were met by Rudolphus Green, the custom-house officer, who insisted on our going to his house. We complied, and after taking refreshment, returned to Waterford, much wearied.

“Seventh-day, accompanied by Isaac Jacobs, I went about three miles, to visit a chartered school, where about forty children are educated, being brought up to industry as well as learning, until fit to place as apprentices, when a fee is given with them. It was better conducted than one I before visited. I had some counsel to drop to the children.

“First-day, the meeting this morning at Waterford was large and solid, I had some thing to say towards the conclusion, respecting the great value and necessity of attaining to a true inward waiting upon Almighty God. But a forward woman, in a ranting deluded spirit, stepped from the lower part of the meeting to the gallery, and there told a dream, which created uneasiness, and in part took off the solemnity that had prevailed. Friends, afterwards had a solid opportunity with her, but she was in a self-confident spirit.

“Sixth-day, being the day of their men's and women's meetings, it was a favoured season. During the consideration of the state of the meeting, a concern was begotten in my mind to

testify against the evil and pernicious effects of stage plays, and how ensnaring they were to youth; and Friends were urged to think whether something was not due from them to represent to those in power the hurtfulness of this evil. The concern spread over the meeting, and a committee was appointed to consider what mode to pursue. Some extracts were made from several authors, the Prince of Conti, William Penn, Robert Barclay, S. Hume, etc., which Friends agreed to have printed, testifying against the evil effects of stage plays, and other vain diversions; and a letter was also written, and signed by Thomas Ross and myself, directed to the mayor and other magistrates of Materford, expressing our concern in finding so much encouragement given to plays, and urging them to labour to suppress these, and other evil pastimes, and to exercise their authority against profane swearing and other evils. I visited the jail, and on second-day morning, the poor in the poor-house, being upwards of one hundred. They were thankful for the visit. I then set out with dear Thomas Ross for Kilmacthomas, about twelve Irish miles, and had a large favoured meeting; proceeded to Dungarven; and on third-day had a large meeting in the court-house. Friends apprehended we should have a disturbed time, but He whose power subjected evil spirits formerly, preserved us, so that the meeting was quiet, weighty and solemn. An aged man, a magistrate, attended, and expressed his satisfaction with the meeting, saying that he never heard such doctrine before. I observed a man near me, as soon as I stood up, take out his paper and pencil, to make notes; but I was favoured not to be intimidated. From there we went to Youghall, and on fourth-day to Ardmore, and had a quiet good meeting.

On fifth-day afternoon, I went to Clashmore, and had a large open meeting, all except a very few being Romans; yet the meeting was as quiet and solemn as most of those among Friends. I was much worn and fatigued this evening, so staid at Youghall on sixth-day, and in the evening had a very large meeting with the inhabitants, which was open and satisfactory, some being under the humbling impression of Truth, and looking towards Friends. The Lord favoured with his gracious help, and his name was praised. Before I left Youghall, I visited the hospital, or infirmary, and had some advice for the few there. On seventh-day we came to Cork. The week before this was not much less laborious than this has been; and indeed little else but great toil has been my allotment in this land, I am kept low and abased, and am engaged to beg my daily bread, and each day to crave to be helped this once. May the Lord be magnified; for I am a poor creature to be thus led: his own works praise him. I labour to keep my eye single, and to lean to the Lord for wisdom, strength and utterance, and to keep within the limits of my small gift. May all live near that source which nourishes and keeps alive, and preserves in a holy zeal.

“Fifth-day, fourth month 14th; Went to a village called Blarney, and held a meeting, which was large, and owned by the prevalence of gospel love, and the doctrine of Christ Jesus was preached.

"Sixth-day afternoon, had four religious opportunities in the jails; the felons and debtors in each jail being separated, we took them so. It was indeed greatly affecting to see so many fellow mortals crowded in dirty, stinking prisons. They were glad of the visit, and some assented to the truth of what was delivered. One of the jailers told Samuel Neale afterwards, that the jails never had such a visit paid them before, and he wanted liberty to say something about it in the public papers; but this I forbade.

"First-day, between the afternoon and evening meetings, I visited the Bridewell, and found a young hearty black man, who knew me, and said he was born in Philadelphia. It appeared as if he had been much imposed on. I compounded with his creditors, and got him released from confinement; and he being without shirt, or shoe, or stockings, I provided him some clothing, and he promises to repay as speedily as he can, after his arrival. I have engaged also for his passage, that if he does not pay the captain, or his friends for him, I am to be accountable. Samuel Neale accompanied me to Bridewell, and we released here also a young man detained for his fees.

"Fifth-day, we proposed to leave Cork; but I was not clear without attempting a religious opportunity with the soldiery; and application being made, had a meeting of some hundreds of them in Friends' meeting house. Two colonels and some other officers attended, one of whom was called a lord. The meeting was in a good measure satisfactory, through the Lord's gracious help. After this we speedily set out.

"Second-day, we went to Ballyporeen, and obtaining a place, the people generally gave their attendance, though it is a dark popish place; and it was said the priest of this parish had warned the people not to go to hear the Quakers. Hence we went direct to Clonmel, and the next day had a large, open, good meeting with the inhabitants, Friends and others. Several Episcopal ministers were there, and many soldiers. This was a weighty meeting, and strength was given to publish the glad tidings of the gospel, and way of life and salvation to the people, to our ease and their satisfaction, as many expressed. One Episcopal minister, before he left the meeting, came up to me and expressed thanks. I told him, if any good was done, thanks were due to God, and not to man; for we were only instruments. Towards evening I went to the jail and had the prisoners arranged in the yard, and gave them some advice, which they acknowledged. Most of them were young men in their prime, and many loaded with heavy irons, a sorrowful sight indeed; two men and one woman were under sentence of death.

"Sixth-day, reached Dublin; and on seventh-day the national meeting of ministers and elders was held. It was, however, a very cloudy, proving time. Little was said in the line of ministry; but what was delivered tended to promote a serious examination and inquiry for the cause of such prevailing heaviness.

“The general meeting, on the second, third and fourth-days, was large, and a great appearance of hopeful youth of both sexes. It was a solid quiet meeting. I have had a slow fever for several weeks, with a cough and pain in my breast, owing to constant exercise.

Being likely soon to leave the island, I can say that I have laboured to avoid doing harm, if I have not been instrumental of much good; and though my path has been singular and arduous, yet the Lord has helped and borne up under many deep exercises, and made way for me among a people much strangers to our religious principles. To these I believe a gracious visitation is extended. May the Lord prosper his work in his own way and time, and bring forward the beloved youth of our religious Society, many of whom are under the virtue of Truth.<sup>2</sup>

“On sixth-day morning I embarked for Liverpool, in company with my beloved aged friend Thomas Ross, also Edward Hatton, James Christy, jr., and Thomas Taverner, of this nation, going to attend the yearly meeting in London. We landed about eleven o'clock the next day, at our destined port.

“Next day being the first-day of the week, invitation was given for the afternoon, and many inhabitants came. The meeting was more open and favoured than could be expected in a place where such a wicked trade is promoted; there being some hundred vessels fitted out in a year, from this place, for the coast of Africa, to make slaves of the inhabitants of that country.”

### CHAPTER III.

#### *Travels in England and Scotland.*

“Fifth month 13th, 1785; We left Liverpool on second-day morning and arrived in London yesterday afternoon, after calling at Coventry and attending their meeting on fourth-day; a close searching time, but the Lord gave utterance. We travelled two hundred and three miles in little more than three days.

“Seventh-day, attended the yearly meeting for ministers and elders, which was instructive; and on first-day, 15th, two meetings at Grace-church street, both large, many not professing with us being present, who looked for words; but there was not much preaching in either meeting.

“Second-day in the morning, the meeting for ministers and elders again sat, and was a large

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2 Samuel Neale thus speaks of the religious services of John Pemberton in Ireland: “Dear John Pemberton is a most dedicated vessel in the Master's house. He seems to leave no stone unturned, to perform what he believes to be his duty, and has remarkable openness amongst the Catholics, who are in general, the most ignorant of our inhabitants. Amongst this class of people our dear friend labours much, and I believe his service is successful.”

solid meeting. Our dear friends John Storer, John Townsend and Thomas Colley, spread before the meeting their concern for visiting their brethren in America; and our friends Nicholas Wain and Samuel Emlen, expressed their expectation of liberty soon to return home. In the afternoon the business of the yearly meeting opened. At the first sitting down, our friend Nicholas Wain, had some very close hints to give respecting worldly wisdom and riches usurping, showing that these ought not to govern in the church; but the seasoning virtue of Truth; and that under this, all, even the weakest and poorest, had the same right to speak. I believe it was a profitable hint.

“Third-day, both meetings were solid, and that forward spirit, which by worldly wisdom had often interrupted the service and hurt meetings, was much kept under. On second-day afternoon, the 22nd, the meeting concluded very solemnly in supplication by George Dillwyn.

“This yearly meeting was very large; and perhaps in few which have been held in London for these fifty years past, had there been less of the floating worldly wisdom manifest; and there was much less interruption than usual by wise harangues; Friends maintaining a solid exercise, kept down that spirit. It is cause of great thankfulness that there are many weighty brethren and sisters still preserved, and I believe that a concern increases for the promotion of righteousness. A large number of hopeful young people, both male and female, attended the meeting, and the mouths of several were opened in public testimony. A good account was given of Ackworth school. There are a number of valuable Friends in Yorkshire, who have much of the weight of it upon them, and seem to exert their best endeavours for the benefit of the institution. It requires close attention and great wisdom to guide such an affair. The women's yearly meeting ended on seventh-day evening. Dear Thomas Ross and myself, accompanied by John Storer and Richard Shackleton, made a visit among them just before they closed, and it was comfortable to find the Lord was with them.

“Third-day, went to Tottenham and spent about a week there, for the sake of rest, and with a hope of recruiting in health after long and constant exercise of mind and body.

“Fifth-day, sixth month, 2nd. This morning I took leave of my dear friends George Dillwyn, Samuel Emlen, etc., and in company with dear Thomas Ross, and some other Friends, reached Chelmsford in the evening.

“Sixth-day, proceeded to Colchester, and lodged at John Kendall's; and on second-day attended the quarterly meeting at Ipswich.

12th, went to Norwich quarterly meeting and the next day was at two large meetings, attended by many of the inhabitants not professing with Friends. The testimony ran close against the liberties that prevail among the professors of truth; and Nicholas Wain was led exceeding

closely in the afternoon meeting. On fourth and fifth-days, visited the prisoners in the Castle and the city jail.

“Third-day, the 28th, reached York, and attended the quarterly meeting for ministers and elders. It was large, and many valuable Friends were present; my dear and aged companion was led in very close service among them. We lodged at William Tuke's.

“Fourth and fifth-days, the quarterly meeting for business. Daniel Snowden, aged about ninety years, walked twenty-four miles to this quarterly meeting, and sat four or five hours in it, having his hearing and faculties admirably.

“Sixth-day, visited the prisoners in three jails. In one there was a very large number of felons and debtors; some were tenderly impressed.

“First-day, at Darlington. At the close of the afternoon sitting, Friends were desired to stop, and counsel was communicated, tending to excite to a steady circumspect conduct, that their light might shine among their neighbours.

“Fifth-day, a meeting for the inhabitants of Sunderland was held in the evening, large and much favoured; many minds being tendered with the pure influence of truth.

“First-day, attended a general meeting at Benfieldside, to which resorted many hundreds of people, so that we were obliged to hold the meeting in a field. The meeting house, though larger than many, would not contain half the people. The day of the Lord was proclaimed, and the way of life and salvation opened to them. Though they behaved soberly, and many were tenderly impressed, yet there was not that openness to receive the word with joy, as was the case when dear George Fox entered that part in 1653, (called in his journal Derwentwater.) The fields then appeared white unto harvest, and the Lord by judgments had prepared the minds of the people to embrace his love, and to be open to instruction. On second-day we came over the hills to Newcastle, and next morning attended the monthly meeting at Shields, which held about five hours. My companion had a favoured opportunity, chiefly directed to Friends, beginning with George Fox's exhortation, ‘Friends, keep all your meetings in the power of God.’ Patience Brayton and her companion were also here, and had good service. Except this week, we have had nine, ten, and eleven meetings a week, since we left London, which is greatly exercising to body and mind. But I want to fulfil my mission, and if it please the Lord, to return to my native land; the time for which, I do not see, though I often think of my dear friends there, with desires that He may be with them, and strengthen them for the arduous work of their day. The ways of the Lord are a great deep, and he has a right to employ where and how he pleases; may his name be reverenced.

“We had many large meetings in and about Sunderland, and North and South Shields, and much openness; also at Morpeth, Alnwick, Felton, Kelso, in Scotland, Berwick, Eymouth, Dunbar, and Haddington, and two at Edinburgh, yesterday, the 7th of eighth month. But we find at some places in Scotland, that though the meetings have been large, the people are so bound to forms, and the prejudices of education, that we have not experienced so much openness as in England. Esther Tuke, Elizabeth Hoyland, Philip Madin, John Abbot and Henry Taylor, with dear Thomas Ross, and myself, are our company.

“At Haddington we found some difficulty to obtain a place for a meeting; the provost refusing the Town Hall. But a large house, built for training and exercising horses, being applied for, was readily granted; and though it was out of town, and the morning; having been rainy, made it rather dirty walking, yet a large number of people gathered, the priest among the rest, and were quiet, and I believe many parted satisfied.

“At Edinburgh we had the few professors together, with some of the students under the character of Friends; and on third-day had a large meeting at Leith; the next day at Kirkcaldy; from there to Cupar, Dundee, Aberbrothwick, Montrose, and Inverbervie. Thomas Ross had to speak particularly to the people, to wean them from the teachings of men. From there to Stonehaven, and so to Aberdeen, where we had four meetings, all large and satisfactory. On fifth-day we designed Friends to be select; but the people seeing us go to meeting, many came; nevertheless the testimony ran much to Friends, showing what it was that gathered us to be a people, and that it is the same power that must now preserve us. The way was pointed out, by which our first friends were led into a denial of the world's ways and practices, both in speech and other things, and that although it brought grievous sufferings and persecutions, yet their faithful upright walking at length gained them esteem, and discerning men now despise those who deviate from our known testimonies and principles.

“From there to Inverary, Old Meldrum, and Kinmuck. Some Friends live at the five last places. Here we parted with dear Esther Tuke, Elizabeth Hoyland, and Henry Taylor, who steered for England; and with Thomas Ross, Philip Madin and John Abbot, we set out further north, and had meetings at Elton, Petershead, Frazersburg, Bamff, Portsay, Cullen, and Fochabers, where the duke of Gordon, his wife, and many others from his family, came to the meeting. From there to Forres, Nairn, and Inverness; and here dear Thomas Ross was poorly and spent; my mind continued much exercised in further prospect of duty, yet as he was not fit to go into a more desolate country, I attempted to set my face with him towards England; but became so distressed, that on the 4th of the ninth month, he urged my leaving him, and pursuing my prospect; and our Friend Philip Madin, promising to take care of him, I reluctantly parted with him; and with John Abbot, of Huntingdonshire, and Alexander Cruickshank, of Old Meldrum,

returned to Inverness. We had two very large and satisfactory meetings there, and crossing into the highland shires of Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, had meetings at Boulie, Dingwall, Milltown and Tain. Three Presbyterian ministers, also Lord Ankerviile, so called, and Sir Hector Monroe, attended the meeting at Tain; the latter expressed their satisfaction, and Ankerviile pressed us to his house. This meeting was a season of favour; and the way of life and salvation was pointed out, under the seasoning virtue of truth. May the Lord, the great helper, have the praise! We distributed some books, as we usually do after meetings, and then hastened on our journey, and crossed a water with one of the ministers, who with his wife and daughter, was at meeting at Tain, and pressed us on our return to call at his house in Sutherlandshire, and tarry a night; and if we inclined to have a meeting we should have his ‘kirk,’ and he would notify the people. We were afterwards very openly, and without affectation, kindly received and entertained, and though a very stormy, snowy day, had a gathering of reputable people, and the Lord condescended to favour us. This man was so civil and sincere, that he offered to suspend his morning and evening prayers, if they were offensive to us.

“From Tain we went directly for Wick, where we had three large meetings.

“Ninth month, 11th; This day is three years and three months since I parted with my dear wife and comfortable habitation; in which time many and deep have been my probations, but the Lord has helped hitherto.

“13th; Proceeded to the northernmost part of Scotland, and crossed to South Ronaldsay, one of the Orkney islands, having about three hours passage.

“We continued on these islands five weeks, in which time we rode about three hundred miles by land, and went about seventy-four miles by water, not allowing myself one day's rest, and had forty-four meetings, mostly large. Sixteen were held in their kirks, so called, which being offered by their ministers for the accommodation of the people, I was free to accept them, and we were kindly entertained at several of their houses. When I considered their openness to offer their worship-houses, and some of them to send their servants to notify the people, appearing sincere, I was free to accept their invitations. And indeed, in some places there were no other suitable houses to accommodate us; for the country, as well as the people, is generally poor, and few inns. We met with much civility, and were accommodated at some of the best houses. The provost of Kirkwall, William Lindsay, had his house always open to receive us, as we passed backward and forward; he was a feeling, sympathizing, sensible and considerate man. We visited six of the islands, namely: South Ronoldsay, Burra, Flota, Wass, Grimsa and Pomona. This last is about thirty-six miles long and ten broad, and we spent most of the time on it. The poor people on Grimsa, where there is a worship-house, told me there had not been a sermon there before, for more than seven years. Though there is no great real hunger and thirst after

righteousness, yet the people seem free from some of the vices that prevail in many places. They live in harmony, and would come from one to five miles to a meeting. I believe there were from two to three hundred people at some meetings, and at others five hundred and upwards. I look upon my proceedings as only paving the way for others, and believe, though a poor creature, I have left love in every place, and an open door. My mind was deeply proved throughout the journey, and I was not clear in leaving the islands, there being many more; but the weather was very boisterous, and snow came on; and the thoughts of being detained in a cold country, where we must be beholden to strangers, and perhaps confined all winter, I could not reconcile, and hoped my gracious Master would have compassion."

This anxiety to get away occasioned him much mental conflict. He thus mentions one attempt which they made to escape from the field of apprehended duty, and what it cost him.

"Ninth month 27th; The weather very stormy, with frequent showers of rain and hail; yet we had a full meeting, much spent in silence; and having laboured to be resigned to return to Pomona, I sat the meeting with more satisfaction. The opportunity was favoured, and some were tender. On fourth-day, looking again towards crossing the Firth, renewed the unsettlement of my mind, but strong were my desires to be released from these islands; and so we proceeded to Burwick ferry, on the south side of South Ronaldsay. When we came there, the boatmen refused to cross. Though I did not feel myself clear of these islands, yet both myself and companions were disposed to go, as the season was advanced, and we were far north and had a very difficult passage to cross.

On fifth-day, the wind being lower, and it appearing likely for us to cross, we placed our horses on board a boat and put out to sea. But showers of rain coming on, and high tempestuous winds, after passing one third part over, it was judged prudent to return; one of the men saying he did not know what sort of people they had in the boat, having never been obliged to return before. I thought of Jonah, for my mind continued heavy and not peaceful. On getting ashore we set out, and at Carra ferry had a meeting held in a barn, to which many poor people came, to whom advice was given in innocent simplicity. Dined on potatoes this day, which led me into a deep feeling with the poor.

"Tenth month 19th; Went to Burwick and crossed the Pentland Firth with a fair wind, and through favour got safely over.

"23rd; Went to Thurso, the largest town in Caithness, where we provided a spacious room in a ware-house; but when the people were assembling, it was thought it would not contain a fourth part of them; so the chief magistrate proposed our going to the 'kirk,' which being opened, it was supposed seven hundred people assembled, to whom the gospel was preached in a good

degree of the demonstration of the Spirit; though it was a trying time to me for many hours before the meeting, and my mind had been much stripped and tossed. But blessed be God, he owned the meeting, as also another large meeting in the same place the next day, through the condescending goodness of the Lord, the great helper of his depending children.

“We left Thurso in the rain, and proceeding about nine miles, a man of good appearance stood near his house looking at us, and kindly invited us to take up our quarters; which we accepted, and had a meeting that evening at his house, with his servants and neighbours. Setting off early next morning, we had a long rough ride through much snow, and over bad roads; and had meetings at Golspie and Dornoch, Tain, Cromartie, and Fort Ross. Here were many raw people, yet they generally behaved well, and the meeting was full as well as could be expected. A person who was at it, told me that he believed there were only himself and one other person, called Sir Alexander McKenzie, that were ever at a meeting of our religious Society before.

“Sixth-day, awoke this morning under great exercise of mind, and crossed the ferry to Nairn; where there was a market, and my companion having a concern to go into it, I accompanied him. He stood at the market-cross, and spoke to the people, many of whom stood amazed, yet they were sober, and some solid. We then proceeded to Forres, Elgin, Fochabers and Keith, and afterwards had a large satisfactory meeting at Huntley. At Montrose I parted with my dear friend Alexander Cruickshank, who had been a kind companion and fellow-helper, though not in the ministerial line. He returned home, and John Abbot and myself crossed the ferry and proceeded to Dundee.

“Third-day, eleventh month 14th, crossed the water, and passed on to Cupar, where we refreshed ourselves, and found our visit to that place as we passed northward, had left a profitable impression. The people would have been pleased with another religious opportunity.

“Fifth-day, rode to Edinburgh, and the next third-day reached Newcastle. I was enabled to bear the fatigue of riding better than I expected. The meetings in these remote parts have been generally large, the people behaved well; and I have laboured by watchful attention, to keep in the meekness and simplicity, so that I hope the reputation of the blessed truth has not suffered. Since I left London, that is, from the 2nd of sixth month, to eleventh month 23rd, I have travelled about two thousand miles, and been at about two hundred and seven meetings, besides visits to prisons, schools, families, etc.

“I was detained at Newcastle, in visiting families. On second-day, twelfth month 12th, the business of the monthly meeting was entered upon; in which my mind was engaged to urge Friends to a proper care over their members; and a committee was appointed to visit those who deviate from our religious testimony, in complying with the priests' demands, and who have launched

into the world's customs, in dress, etc. From there I reached York on the 24th, coming there to see my dear aged friend Thomas Ross, who has been poorly several months.

“Fourth-day, 28th, at Leeds. The quarterly meeting for Yorkshire opened with a meeting for worship, in which Rebecca Jones, lately returned from Ireland, had good service, and had to proclaim a time in which that quarterly meeting would be thinned of elders and active members, and that the burden must rest on the youth, who were encouraged to come forward. It was a solid weighty time. On fifth-day the business of the meeting was resumed, and Rebecca Jones spoke of a time coming when the foundations of Friends would be proved; and exhorted to labour to be prepared for it, when the blast of the terrible might be as a storm against the wall. The minds of many appeared tenderly affected.

“Third-day, the affairs of the church were transacted, and in the evening was a public meeting. I was silent, as I have been much of late, it being a stripping purging season.

“Fourth-day was the meeting for ministers and elders, in which several testimonies were borne, but I inherited barrenness.

“Third-day, attended the monthly meeting at Stockton, and on fifth-day went to Yarm.

“First month 19th, at Crawthorne. I have indeed great cause to bless the Lord, in that he has inclined the minds of many in near sympathy with me in the singular path I have had to tread; and it ought to have engaged me to more resignedness of mind and unreserved dedication than has sometimes been the case. The flesh is weak, and we often suffer loss by parleying and looking out too much, and allowing our own fears, or thoughts of what others may say or think, to prevail. I have been hitherto, through great mercy, preserved in the unity, and I wish ever to dwell in such abasedness as to be kept in it; but my own natural will, joined to the desires of some, hastened me out of Scotland sooner than was prudent. I know that some, out of near sympathy, have wished my line was turned; and having striven for it, I have brought on much inward proving; and indeed outward too; for I have been poorly ever since I left Scotland, though wonderfully preserved for the most part while there, I have not attempted a meeting for those of other societies since I entered England from the north, until last first-day. I have since had two meetings, large and open, which have relieved me a little. However mortifying or singular, I must go the way I am led, or I may go home; for I seem to have little to do among Friends. I live but from day to day.

“The general state of our religious Society here is low; yet there is a remnant preserved, and in most places some who labour to keep their habitations in the truth. The attention of Friends has been lately much taken up respecting a small society formed in France, called by our name.

Friends in London have had much satisfaction in conversing with a person who brought a copy of an epistle from them. He was brought up to the law, but left it from religious scruples, and has since followed weaving. He is a man of substance, of a sweet disposition and sensibility, and is concerned that some who profess the light of Christ, are in the practice of powdering their hair and wearing large silver buckles, etc., which truth led him out of There are several in their little society who speak in their meetings at times, particularly a woman, who speaks with power, tendering the hearts of the people, not only of their society, but strangers who come out of curiosity. It is evident the light is spreading, but these poor people will probably be brought under great sufferings, as they have not withstood the priests' demands, nor the hiring of substitutes on account of war; though they have had scruples, and lacked advice.

"In the last month, I received a letter from William Lindsay, provost, or chief magistrate of Kirkwall, in the Orkneys, who was very kind to me and companions when there, part of which follows."

Dear sir,

It was with great satisfaction that I received and read your letter of the 14th of last month, from Dundee. The warm and kindly expressions which you make use of, proceed, I am fully convinced, from a feeling, sincere and benevolent heart. I have long had the highest admiration of the manners and sentiments of your society in general, though I never had a personal acquaintance with any of them before I saw you and your two companions, who have not by any means lessened the esteem which I formerly entertained of it. It is much easier, however, heartily to approve, than sincerely to imitate. Many in this country remember you with unaffected good will and kindness, and have been frequently enquiring whether any word has been got from you. We have daily instances of the instability of human life and affairs. I wish we may all make that application of it which you recommend. And now I wish, that that goodness which has guided and protected you through a journey so perilous and fatiguing, may continue to attend you, and at length restore you to your friends and country, in the enjoyment of that peace and tranquillity of mind, which can be experienced by those only, who have discharged the duties to which they have been called, faithfully and with a good conscience. Whether I shall ever see you again or not, I hope I shall long remember those persons who were the first to give me a palpable evidence of that innocence, simplicity and benevolence of manners, for which their Society has been so much celebrated. I am with great regard, dear sir,

Your friend, etc., William Lindsay,

Caldwell, near Kirkwall, 3rd Dec. 1785.

“Fourth-day, first month 25th, 1786, at Ayton. I have had five public meetings lately, some of them very large and open. I find the Lord owns me in this path. I continue poorly, but healing virtue enables to fulfil each day's duty.

“Sixth-day, attended the monthly meeting at Castleton, which was a seasonable good meeting, though the testimony ran closely against a lukewarm spirit and formal profession without life, and also against a worldly spirit.

“Seventh-day, went to Moorsom, and the neighbours being notified, many came. Some were tender, but too many careless professors of Christianity. I laboured as well as I could under the strength afforded. A sergeant of the army came, with some other people, from Gisborough to this meeting, he having attended the meetings at Gisborough and at Ayton; and two women, one of them far advanced in years, who live at Ormsby, walked about seven miles to Ayton meeting, being some time under convincement.

“Second month 7th, at Lindley Murray's, near York. I came to this place on second-day of last week, hearing that my worthy aged friend Thomas Ross, was reduced to a weak state. I found liberty to come and abide with him, and have since attended on him with diligence. He is gradually wearing away; but preserved in a happy state of mind, and full of good matter.

“Though many are regardless of the Divine fear, and are treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath, yet the glorious gospel light spreads, and many we find, are believing in it. Surely the Lord intends to gather, or he would not engage some to go amongst a dark superstitious people, to shake them from their false dependence, and turn their minds to the teachings of the good Spirit in their own hearts, and also to open the way for such labour. Indeed, though I am such a weak instrument, yet way has been wonderfully opened for me; so that, as I have formerly mentioned, ministers and great men of the earth, have countenanced the doctrine of the gospel and acknowledged the truths delivered. For many weeks I laboured to turn from this path, but found it produced perplexity and barrenness; so that I returned to it, and latterly have had several open comfortable meetings in the upper part of this county. I seem likely to continue here a while for the sake of this worthy ancient. He has been very solicitous for my company, and I desire to discharge the care of a faithful friend to him in his last moments.

“So much snow has fallen, that some of the oldest people do not remember the like. I have rode through heaps that were as high as my head when on horseback.

“Second month 15th, I attended upon my aged friend and comfortable companion, Thomas Ross, with all the care I well could, until I closed his eyes on second-day morning, the 13th

instant, about ten o'clock, at the house of our dear, and T may say, worthy friend, Lindley Murray. He removed there from William Tuke's, on the 26th of twelfth month, being open, airy and retired. For a week before his departure, he needed great attendance, being rendered very helpless; yet his understanding was preserved until just at the close, though he lost his speech about three hours before. He often begged he might have an easy passage, which was granted to him, though for several days he endured a good deal of pain. He drew his last breath with apparent ease, and I doubt not is gone to the general assembly of the just, to reap the reward of a devoted well spent life, saying the day before he died, that he had been fighting the good fight above fifty years, and hoped he should have the reward. A very comfortable evidence of this often attended him; that it may be justly said, 'the righteous has hope in his death.' I wish his descendants may be concerned to know the God of their father, and serve him with a perfect heart; that so their end may be alike glorious.

"His remains were deposited in the silent grave, on fifth-day the 16th, next to the remains of dear John Woolman. Rebecca Jones was much favoured at the grave, and our dear friend George Dillwyn, at the meeting house, where a large company gathered."

Thomas Ross was born in Ireland, in the county of Tyrone, and educated a member of the Episcopcal church. He came to America about the twentieth year of his age, and settling in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, was convinced of the Truth as professed by Friends, and received into membership by Buckingham monthly meeting; and in the year 1753, became a member of Wright's town monthly meeting. Not long after his convincement it pleased the Lord to bestow upon him a gift in the ministry of the gospel, in which he experienced a growth, and was exercised to the edification of his brethren. He frequently visited meetings in these and the adjacent parts, and in company with John Griffith paid a religious visit to the northern and southern colonies.

Towards the close of the 3rear 1783, after being raised from an attack of severe illness, his mind was renewedly drawn to visit, in the love of the gospel, the churches in Great Britain and Ireland, of which he had had some prospect for several years; and spreading his concern before Friends, he received testimonials of their sympathy and unity from the monthly, quarterly, and general spring meeting, and prosecuted the concern as set forth in the following memorial respecting him, which will doubtless be acceptable to the reader:

*Testimony of York monthly meeting, Great Britain, concerning Thomas Ross, late of Wrights town meeting in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, a minister, who departed this life at Holdgate, near the city of York, the 13th of the second month, 1786, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.*

“To perpetuate the memory of the just, by endeavouring to render their examples and precepts beneficial to others, is a debt due to posterity as well as to the praise of His name, by whom they have been made more than conquerors, and become pillars in his house, which go no more out.

“Having the unity and near sympathy of his friends and brethren at home, as appears by sundry certificates, he embarked in the fourth month, 1784, with several other Friends, under the like religious engagements, and arrived in London just before the yearly meeting, which, though under bodily infirmities, he attended.

“He was detained by indisposition in and near that city for some time after. When a little recovered he travelled towards Bristol, and after some religious labour there and in that neighbourhood, sailed for Ireland and arrived at Cork; visited the meetings of Friends in that nation, which when he had nearly gone through, he found his mind engaged to join our friend John Pemberton, of Philadelphia, in religious labour, principally amongst those who do not make profession with us. After the national meeting in Dublin he returned to England, attended the yearly meeting in London, those at Woodbridge and Norwich, the quarterly meetings of Lincoln and Durham, and various other meetings, and then proceeded in this religious service to Scotland.

“His bodily indisposition increasing, he was under the necessity of resting at Old Meldrum, Edinburgh and Newcastle; from which last place, taking a few meetings in his way, he reached York the 2nd of eleventh month, and was at our monthly meeting the day following, which was the last meeting he was able to attend.

“During the course of his travels we have abundant cause to believe his religious services were truly acceptable to Friends, and well received by others; for, having an especial eye to the puttings forth of the Divine hand, his ministry was attended with living virtue and deep instruction; though ‘not in the words which man's wisdom teaches,’ yet in godly simplicity, and with a zeal according to true knowledge. He was wise in detecting the snares of the enemy; faithfully, and without partiality, warning those who were in danger of falling therein; and, as in the course of his own sanctification, he had been made deeply acquainted with the necessary baptisms peculiar to that important work, so he was furnished by living experience and the renewings of holy help, with qualifications to administer in tender sympathy, pertinent and wholesome counsel to the true Christian travellers; and so to dip in the present state of the church, as profitably to ‘declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin.’

“In meetings for business he was particularly serviceable, his remarks being mostly short, pertinent, and very instructive; exciting to a steady attention to divine counsel in the transacting of our Christian discipline, and therein to exercise true judgment, without partiality and respect of persons.

“During the course of his illness he was preserved in a heavenly frame of mind; on almost every occasion dropping instructive counsel and advice to Friends who attended on and visited him, of which the following collection is but a small part. He frequently said, that he knew not why he was continued in such an exercised state of bodily weakness, yet doubted not, but that it was all in wisdom, and for some good end; adding, ‘It was not for the clay to say to the Potter, why have you made me thus?’

“Sitting in the family where he was during the fore part of his illness, he expressed himself thus: ‘Dear young people, keep to your first love. The Bridegroom of souls will not be unmindful of the bride, while she remains chaste: some of you, I believe, are espoused to Him. O, the ardent desire which I feel for the youth! Your name is as ointment poured forth, therefore do the virgins love you.’

“The same day:—‘I have not sought mine own honour, but the honour of Him who first drew me from my habitation, and have great reason to praise his name. One thing which inclines me to think my work may be nearly done, is this, that it never appeared to be laid upon me to pay a general visit to England.’

“At another time said, ‘O, the harmony there is in the Lord's family! Ephraim shall not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim; nothing shall hurt or destroy in all your holy mountain.’

“Again, under bodily oppression, ‘I find no relief but when I feel a revival of that which is the healer of breaches; but that is not at my own command. My mind was last night much drawn out to my fellow labourers. O, that they may keep little!—I have remembered that saying. There are a few names even in Sardis, who have not defiled their garments; and I hope there are a few in York. Dear friends, what a people we should be, did we dig deep enough; our lights would shine before men; we should be as the salt of the earth. How many, who have begun well, have had their garments defiled with the world, and are become like the salt that has lost its savour; they are as dead weights in our assemblies, so that the living are scarcely able to bear the dead. O, Friends, keep to the Truth, for it shall rise above the heads of gainsayers.’

“At another time, ‘I could not be more at home anywhere, it revives me to see the chil-

dren about me. I tell you, young people, the hardest thing I ever found in my passage was, when I was right to keep so. O, the desire I felt to get here! the love I feel for you is like the love of Jonathan and David, it extends over sea and land. It is like the precious ointment, so that some can say with one formerly. Neither heights nor depths, principalities nor powers, things present or to come, shall ever separate us from it.

“The least star casts a lustre, as the glorious luminaries in the outward creation; so that we may say. Great and marvellous are your works. Lord, God Almighty, just and true are all your ways, you King of saints.’

“Again; ‘Commune with your own heart, and be still; this is doing business:—O, how precious Truth is! it may employ us on the highway, and in our outward engagements — dear friends, let us prize it.’

“To the physician; ‘The outward man grows weaker, yet inward support waxes stronger and stronger.’

“The same day he said, ‘It is a great favour to have a brook by the way—O, I see my way over all! it is like a foretaste of what is to come: blessed are the dead who die in the Lord; when he breaks in upon us, it is like balm—there is balm in Gilead—there are many not willing to go to the house of mourning, but there is occasion for it; it being high time to repair the breaches.

“I have thought for many weeks past, the curtain was nearly drawn; there seemed but few sands left in the glass; and yet I sometimes feel such a travail for Zion's prosperity, and the enlargement of her borders, that I am ready to think the day's work is not yet done; and at other times I feel so feeble and weak, that all seems nearly over: the event I cannot tell, but am favoured to be resigned.’

“At another time; ‘Think nothing too near or too dear to part with, dear young people, to purchase the truth: your parents cannot give it you, though they may give you all they can; it is the Lord's prerogative. I have thought it was a great favour to have an education in the truth; but I have been grieved to see many born in the Society, like Esau, selling their birth-right. Be not ashamed of the cross, dear friends, deny Him not before men.’

“Again; ‘Beware of lawful things; these lawful things are the strongest baits satan ever laid for our Society. O, these lawful things, they have hurt many. What a testimony would it be, if Friends were to shut up their shops on week-days, to go to meeting; which ought to be the main concern; though many consider worldly things as such. When we

have done all we can, we are but as unprofitable servants; we can add nothing to Him, who is the fountain of goodness! O, that ocean of ancient goodness, I seem at times, as if I was swallowed up in it—I have cause to be thankful that I am favoured with a resigned mind, and have no will, either to live or to die—O Father, receive me into your bosom.'

"At another time; 'O, my heart is knit to you, my friends, and to the seed which is in bondage in many hearts; and though you may have to go with it into the wilderness, yet be not discouraged.'

"Feeling himself easier and his mind favoured, he said, 'O, when He puts in his hand as at the hole of the door, how does it smell of sweet myrrh—I hope I am not insensible from where my help comes. He sometimes hides himself as behind the curtain; yet we must not awake or disturb our beloved, until he please.'

"To a Friend; 'Keep to your gift, and look to the Giver, and have no confidence in the flesh.' On the general state of mankind, he said thus; 'O how has my mind been oppressed in observing that profaneness which abounds amongst the people, many of whom draw iniquity as with cords of vanity, and sin as with a cart rope. Yet I have this satisfaction, that I have not failed to reprove many of those I have seen in this state, and have often advised inn-keepers and others, to discourage all kinds of wickedness in their houses: my advice has been generally received without gainsaying, and I have comfort in the discharge of this duty,' Sympathizing with faithful Friends, he remarked, 'Where there are a few faithful labourers, the work falls heavy upon them; we cannot expect to rise high when the seed lies low.'

"Under much bodily affliction, he said, 'How can one die better than in the Lord's service? for he has been indeed, a wonderful counsellor. He has many times opened a way, when I could see no way; he will never leave nor forsake those who trust in him.' Again; 'It is a trying time, and yet I believe I have a well grounded hope of having done my duty. I feel no condemnation. O, dear friends, what a favour indeed, that we have an unction from above! keep to the truth and its testimonies.'

"At another time; 'It will not do for any to rest contented with having known the Lord in days past, and years that are over and gone; we must follow on to know him; a supply of daily food is requisite; and if there is not a hunger and thirst after righteousness, we may be sure the mind is distempered; but O, how have I been pained to see and feel many of the professors of the truth going after the world and its spirit; who instead of being way-marks, are as stumbling-blocks to honest inquirers—the state of these is lamentable. I

have been comforted in the prospect of a rising generation, if they are not hurt by those who ought to be helpers, loving the present world.

“I have in my time met with many cross winds and boisterous waves, but have been preserved in a care to keep near to the point that guides to the harbour of rest. For these fifty years I have been endeavouring to fight the good fight of faith. O, dearest Father, not my will, but yours be done—O, when will the curtain be drawn? that this mortal may put on immortality and eternal life, which will, I do believe, be my happy portion.’ To some Friends about to take leave of him, ‘let your lights shine wherever you are—I have not much to say, but there is a great deal comprised in this.’

“To some young people; ‘You are in health; prize it, and make a good use of time; for to the most diligent, such a time as this will prove very trying.’

“He would often, in thankful commemoration of the goodness of God to him, break forth in these words: ‘What shall I render unto you, O Lord, for all your benefits!’

“A few days before his decease, on a Friend returning from meeting, he said he had been favoured with such a calm, that he hoped he should have passed away. And a day or two before he died, he broke forth in these words: ‘O joy! joy! joy!’ Again; ‘O death where is your sting? O grave! where is your victory? the sting of death is sin. I see no cloud in my way, I die in peace with all men.’ “

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John Pemberton thus proceeds:

“28th; Attended the monthly meeting at Thirsk, which was pretty large, and there I mentioned to Friends my thoughts of a meeting with the inhabitants of Burroughbridge; and my dear friend Robert Proud offering to accompany me, we returned in the evening to his house at Carleton-miniot.

“Fourth-day, went to Burroughbridge and Boswell Middleton, and having procured the town-hall, we had a large meeting, and upon the whole tolerably favoured. Sixth-day, to Burrowby, from there to North Allerton, and on seventh-day, to Osmotherly, and had a meeting in Friends' meeting house. My dear friend Robert Proud was favoured, but to me it was a poor low time. This has been my state for some time past, being much proved in mind. Here I parted with Robert Proud, and with Isaac Taylor proceeded to Bilsdale, over a hilly road, the weather cold, and considerable snow on the ground.

“First-day, third month 5th, went to Bilsdale meeting under great lowness and discouragement. The meeting was full, many not in profession with us attending. The people were directed not to place their dependence on man, but upon the teachings of God's spirit.

“Third-day, attended the monthly meeting at Scarborough. The meeting for worship was low, yet some instruction opened, in the complaint uttered respecting Ephraim and Judah, that their goodness was like unto the morning cloud and early dew, which soon passes away; and those not in profession with us were exhorted to put their trust in God, and not in man.

“Fourth month 2nd, at Ayton. I have been diligently engaged in Yorkshire, having had many large meetings, and also visited about seventy families at Scarborough and Whitby. It is wonderful that so much openness should be in many places, where there are few right examples. At the last mentioned place there is a very sorrowful departure. Almost throughout this land there appears a willingness to hear the testimony of truth declared; and I hope a gathering day will come; though a day of trial may first take place, to shake the earthly hearts of the people, and discover the rottenness of others. Many lamentable things happen among us—sorrowful failures, by grasping after the world, and not being limited by the pure truth. One lately, which makes and will make as great a noise as any that of later time has happened amongst us. I was uneasy when at the Friend's house, and took several opportunities to speak to him, but did not expect things were as they now appear.

“I evidently see that in the path I tread, great watchfulness is needful, among a people accustomed to be fed with words. I endeavour to keep in the simplicity, and am mostly clothed with deep poverty,—a poor creature, and often ready to be dismayed.”

During the remainder of this month he was diligently occupied in various parts of the counties of Durham and Northumberland, being deeply proved in mind under an apprehension of not being clear of Scotland. He re-entered that nation near Kelso, on the 29th of fourth month, and reached Edinburgh two days afterwards.

About this time, having heard with much sorrow of the disreputable failure of one, at whose house he had formerly been entertained, he wrote to a friend of that neighbourhood; and his feelings on the occasion may be gathered from the following extract:

Sunderland, Fourth month 22nd, 1786.

Dear friend, D. S.,

The disreputable and unjust conduct of \_\_\_\_\_, I am persuaded, must give you and every sensible judicious Friend much pain. ....; not only unjust in betraying the

confidence placed in him, and making use of the property of others without their knowledge or consent; but very inconsistent with the holy, pure principle we profess, which leads to self-denial; and those whose minds are bounded by this principle, do experience it to limit, respecting worldly pursuits: though, lamentable it is, that many among us are burying their talents in the earth, and eagerly grasping after worldly treasure. The Lord, in great wisdom, sometimes sees fit to blast the expectation of these, that others may be warned to guard against the snares of the world and an ambitious craving mind. Religion leads to a proper industry; but it teaches to avoid surfeiting cares, and that our chief concern be to lay up treasure in heaven—to seek above all, the peace and favour of God; which must be by loving him with all our heart, and being faithful to the manifestations of his light, grace and truth.

When I was at N\_\_\_\_\_, and lodged at \_\_\_\_\_'s, I was often uneasy, and at several times spoke to him respecting the multiplicity of his engagements, urging him to bring his affairs into a narrower compass: though I did not apprehend he was so variously engaged, or in so deplorable a condition. But, as it proves, that while at his house, both before I entered Scotland, and since my return, I was entertained at the cost of others, and not eating his bread; I am most free, to calculate, as nearly as I well can, what it might amount to, and request you would present the sum to the assignee, to be joined to what may otherwise arise towards paying his creditors. You know that we, as a religious society, have always pleaded for just dealing, equity, and truth. And as I came from my native land under a sense of duty to Almighty God, and from love to mankind, to promote, as the Lord might see fit to enable me, righteousness and truth in the earth, so I wish to manifest, by my conduct, in all respects, that I am sincere. If this is not thought sufficient, please to add, and I will repay you.

Your affectionate friend,

John Pemberton.

The amount thus directed to be paid to the assignee, was seven pounds ten shillings.

"Fifth month 10th; What is called a yearly meeting was held here [Edinburgh] last week, which however is no meeting of record, though they have long corresponded with the yearly meeting in London. The few Friends in Scotland, being now convinced that they are incapable of maintaining a yearly meeting with propriety, have agreed to request the yearly meeting of London to take their circumstances into close consideration; and have proposed that the whole Society in that part might be considered as one quarterly meeting, to be held, however, half-yearly.

"31st; at Old Meldrum. I came yesterday from Aberdeen, where we had been to attend their meetings on first-day, and meeting for discipline, at which there were two notifications of marriage, which I suppose has not been the case at any meeting there for a long time. I am through mercy pretty well, considering the trial of mind that has attended on thinking of again going to remote places. Alexander Cruickshank of this place, who was with me last year, is going, and Isaac Taylor of Yorkshire, besides Thomas Cash. I desire to do no more than may be evidently required, and if I move under right direction, the great Master is able to support and preserve.

"I left Old Meldrum, and went to Chapel Siggot, and finding most ease in appointing a meeting, notice was spread and we had a pretty satisfactory meeting in a barn.

"First-day, sixth month 4th, at Auch Medden. Notice having been spread yesterday, and the Methodist meeting house being procured, we had two very large favoured meetings, particularly the last, in which the testimony of truth was in a good degree exalted, and the hearts of many tendered. A gaily dressed young woman, who was at the meetings here, wrote a letter to us expressive of her gratitude and satisfaction with those opportunities. I afterwards had some of her company. She was solid, and her mind tender. When I passed this place before, I was under deep exercise of mind on account of the people in that neighbourhood; but for lack of proper resolution passed away, and suffered much, and met with discouragements, when I proposed returning. The meetings now being large and favoured gave me ease."

After this they had meetings at Gordontown, Banff, Campbell-town, Fort George, Cromartie, Golspie, etc., and on the 16th of eighth month, being at Caldwell near Kirkwall, he thus writes:

"I have entered the Orkneys, and have been much employed since, in passing from from isle to isle. Since the last of the fifth month, I have been exposed to many provings inwardly and outwardly; but have been hitherto mercifully supported, and have experienced much kindness, particularly in the Orkney Islands. I have visited eleven called the Northern islands, and an island called Stroma, in Pentland Firth; also two others which I was at last year. It is very evident that visit left profitable impressions, and made the way much more easy for us now. The meetings have been generally very large and quiet, and most of them favoured seasons, in which the minds of many were much tendered; often from two to five hundred were present.

On those eleven islands we had twenty-six meetings. It was mostly rough weather, through the seventh month, and we were detained on Westra about a week. How soon I may be released I know not, but desire to be favoured to see clearly the right season to depart. It is a great favour, under religious concerns, to see the time for moving from home, and to attend to it; and I believe it is equally important to determine the right time for leaving the countries visited. There

may be danger through fear to overstay, as well as through fear to return too soon. May the Lord guide by his counsel, and direct my steps aright. To dwell in a state of deep humility and watchfulness, as well as faithfulness, is abundantly needful. I dwell under the daily cross, and little but conflict and provings are allotted me; yet the Lord has condescended to furnish for his own work beyond expectation.

“On first-day evening, the 13th instant, we had a large meeting at Kirkwall, held in their cathedral. My kind landlord, William Lindsay, thinks there were more than fifteen hundred present. Many say they have seldom seen it so crowded. They are generally a moral sober people. Though I have passed over many waters, I have rarely heard an oath or ill expression from any. The books spread, I believe have been useful, and have removed prejudices. The winters being long and the days short, many read much; the writings of Mosheim and others respecting Friends, had hurt some; but what they have seen since has set many to rights.

“The next day went to a parish called St. Andrews, and had a large meeting, which was measurably favoured. The minister, John Scolley, an aged man, who had offered his worship-house, stood up before the breaking up of the meeting and recommended the counsel that had been delivered, to the notice and practice of the people, saying it was gospel truth.

“On third-day, the 15th, I was most easy, though in a low state of mind from various causes, to appoint a meeting at Orphir; we went, and many assembled in the kirk, so called; but the meeting was mostly dull. After this meeting Thomas Cash concluded to go to some of the other islands which I had visited last year, so we parted for a season, Joseph Taylor and myself returning to Caldwell.

“Ninth month 30th; Set out for Graemeshall, where I was kindly received by P. Graeme, and as it was very stormy during this and the next day, we continued at Graemeshall. The wind was so high, accompanied at times with rain, that much corn was damaged, being cut off at the ears by the violence of the wind. Being desirous of proceeding for England, on second-day, a sloop being just ready to sail for Stronsay, with a fair wind, we were prevailed upon to embark in her, and sailed several hours; but the wind proving high and contrary, we were obliged to return to Holm sound, having been on board from half past eight, A. M., to near ten o'clock at night. Next morning we hired horses for Kirkwall, and there took boat for Shapinshay, and were received kindly by Alexander Pitcairn.

“Fifth-day, had a meeting at Lapniss, held in a barn, or store-house, and though the morning was rainy, it was large; but the life and comfortable spring of religion were much lacking. Spent the evening with some satisfaction in opening the order of our discipline.

“Third-day, the 12th; The wind was high and the water rough—a boat arrived at Burwick from Caithness; but the skipper expressing doubts of his being able to get over, we declined embarking, and staid at the ferry all night. A Methodist minister came over in this boat, the first of these people that has visited Orkney.

“Fourth-day, the wind still boisterous; continuing so the two following days, for the most part, so that we could not cross the Firth. On seventh-day, the morning proved more favourable, and a boat coming from Caithness, we embraced the opportunity of returning with her, and were about two hours and a half on our passage. We soon after took horse and reached the widow Sinclair's, at Brabster Dorner, in the evening.

“First-day, ninth month 17th; Through fear of offence, by travelling on this day, we continued at the widow Sinclair's, and had a little sitting with her and her children after breakfast. In the afternoon I was visited by Alexander Sangstre, a man who seems convinced of our religious principles.

“Sixth-day, proceeded to Tain, and in crossing the ferry near Lord Ankerville's, we met him; and he pressing us to dine with him, we complied, and our visit was taken kindly.

“Third-day, 26th; This morning we crossed to Fort George. It snowed much last night, and the hills were very white this morning. After dinner we had to ride in a heavy storm of sleet and snow to Billeward, where we were well entertained at a good inn.

“We came the Highland road, through a rough country; but great pains having been taken, this road is better and shorter than the coast road, with good entertainment. We had a meeting on seventh-day at Dunkeld, held in a large loft or drying room, belonging to a manufactory. Many people attended, and it was a more favoured time than I expected. It is likely no Friend ever attempted a meeting here before. The meeting was at first fixed to be held in a large room not fully finished, in the inn where we lodged; the bailie of the town, the landlady and others, approving thereof. But after notice had been given to several of the inhabitants, one Captain Dick, a military officer, came into the town and forbade the use of the room. On which I had discourse with him; but he said he did not want it consecrated, and that it was built to dance in and accommodate genteel company. I told him I was sorry that anyone who professed the Christian name should prefer vanity to seriousness and religion; and that I had been through much of Scotland and England, and scarcely met with the like; and was sorry that on my going out of Scotland, where we had met with great civility, I should have such an account to give respecting his conduct. And in another opportunity after meeting, I told him that it was the sentiment of the ancient reformers, that as many paces as a man took in a dance, so many paces he took towards hell, remarking that he might think this harsh, but it was their sentiment. He said, he then had

taken many steps towards hell. He was a vain man, but I spoke pretty closely to him.

“After dinner we proceeded to Perth, and on first-day afternoon had a large, crowded meeting in the council, or court-house, which was in a good degree favoured. When I saw the crowd and considered my own feebleness, my mind was much sunk; but I was graciously helped, and hope no dishonour arose to the good cause.

“Second-day, reached Edinburgh in the evening much wearied. If the Lord sees fit to employ me now among Friends, or grant a release to return home, I shall esteem it a favour, for it remains a great trial to tread the path in which I have been so long exercised. I have at times been too resolute to turn aside, for which I have suffered; but rich in mercy is the great ‘I AM,’ with whom we have to do; or my portion would have been among the miserable. It requires great watchfulness, humility and abasedness, to keep duly under the subjecting power and at all times faithful. I often fail and am brought weeping to the cross, and to beg the great Master’s mercy. He has indeed been long suffering, but I often fear I shall never learn wisdom. May my friends be helped to pray for my preservation and steady perseverance in the straight and mortifying path.

“First-day, tenth month 8th; Had a large satisfactory meeting in the town-hall at Jedburgh, and had very different treatment from what dear Samuel Bownas met with when he visited that place. Several magistrates attended the meeting, and one of the bailies sent for me in the evening, and I went and spent some time at his house. He and his wife seemed to have a regard for Friends.

“Third-day, we heard of Ann Jessup and her companion Hannah Stephenson, having appointed a meeting at Solport, to which we went. The meeting was low, and these two Friends wholly silent. We dined and proceeded to Sikeside, and had a meeting at Kirk Levington, which was wholly silent. A young man afterwards remarked, that they had not been used to silent meetings, a person then present preaching at all their meetings. We were glad we kept our places.

“Seventh-day, rising early we had a religious opportunity in a family, and then went to Kirkbride. By the time we got there we were wet. The meeting was small, and religion here is very low. Some few of the neighbours not professing with us came in, and one afterwards said, “if they had had a candle and could see the inside of those called Quakers, they could not have more plainly told their state.” We dined at J. S. \_\_\_\_\_’s, but he was too busy, as he thought, to get to meeting.

We then proceeded to Wigton, and on entering the town, there was a great uproar, and the streets were much crowded with people, who had been spectators to the wicked and inhuman practice

of baiting a bull. The poor creature seemed much abused, which sorrowfully affected my mind, in considering how opposite such cruelty is to the disposition which the gospel of Christ inculcates.

"Fourth-day, went to Gilfoot, and attended the monthly meeting. The season of retirement and public worship was one of much poverty and deep exercise; but the Lord favoured with some strength towards the close. I had to remark the difference between such who were commissioned of man, and had their tuition and education for the trade of preaching, as it is termed, and those commissioned of God; the one could, and it was feared too often did, move in his own will; the other must wait for the great Master to put forth, of whom it is said, 'he puts forth his own sheep, and goes before them;' pointing out that it was not the expression of words, but words seasoned by the grace of God, that could profit the people. I understood after the meeting, that a priest was there, who sat quiet and well. The meeting for discipline was an exercising time. Many observations were made, to stir up Friends to honesty in religious care, but to little effect. It appeared that the discipline was very little supported; but I did believe there was great cause for attention to it, were a proper concern exercised.

"I attended fourteen meetings in Cumberland in company with our dear friend Ann Jessup, and her valuable companion H. Stephenson, but was not easy without returning into some parts of Scotland. I parted from them on sixth-day with reluctance, but they were sensible it was in best counsel, which was some strength to my mind. Isaac Taylor and myself went to Carlisle, and attended the monthly meeting there. Truth opened counsel in the meeting for worship, and many observations were made in the meeting for business, to stir up Friends to a proper search. I had to remark the low state of our religious Society in Cumberland, and that if the discipline, which was established in the wisdom of truth, was neglected, and those who were remiss in attendance of religious meetings, or in other branches of our testimonies, were overlooked, that death and barrenness, which now sorrowfully prevailed, would increase. I also told them, that if they had honestly discharged their duty, and there was no cause for religious care, they were better off than Friends in other places, who were much exercised in their meetings for discipline. They seemed more open to receive counsel than two other meetings we had attended.

"I left Carlisle in the evening, and on first-day, in company with our friend David Ducat of Carlisle, and my kind young friend Isaac Taylor, had two large meetings in the townhall at Hawick, a flourishing manufacturing town in Scotland. They were open and satisfactory. Being invited to take tea with Thomas Usher, an attorney, we had some seasonable conversation with him and others on several branches of our religious testimonies, particularly respecting tithes, to their satisfaction. Retiring to our quarters, my mind was much exercised respecting the line I was to pursue, and continued so much of the night.

“Second-day, after breakfast, when ready to mount, I felt most easy to proceed towards Edinburgh, Glasgow, etc., and set out. Passing through Selkirk, my mind grew very uneasy, yet I went on for about four miles, when we stopped to refresh ourselves and horses. I had some seasonable conversation with the family to mutual satisfaction; the man of the house censuring their ministers for being more concerned for the fleece than for the flock. Many things were opened to them, and we parted in love. My mind continuing much exercised, I returned to Selkirk; and the town-hall being granted, we had a very crowded meeting. Though many were very raw and ignorant of true religion, yet numbers were tenderly affected.

“Third-day, visited the English school. The master, who had been at meeting last evening, received me very courteously, and expressed that he had attended the meeting under prejudice, but found he was mistaken in his apprehensions respecting us, and was glad he was at the meeting. He made inquiry respecting several things, particularly baptism and the supper, so called; and we parted in love.

“The weather this month has been mild and favourable, which is a mercy, as much oats and barley is not yet reaped. I am favoured with better health than usual, and able to endure fatigue beyond expectation; riding sometimes nearly forty miles in a day, on horseback.

“Seventh-day, twelfth month 30th; Returned to Wigton, in Cumberland, having been absent in this last journey to Scotland, forty-six days; in which time we were at upwards of fifty meetings —six at Glasgow, at different times, several of which were much crowded and open; also at Port Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Dumbarton, etc., generally two meetings in a place. The people in the south of Scotland being much divided respecting what they call religion, were not at first so open as in the more northern parts; but the first meeting softening them, the second was generally large and favoured; and we left them in love and favourably impressed, some acknowledging they had been misinformed respecting us and our principles. The magistrates were generally respectful, particularly at Dumbarton, where, I believe in much sincerity, we were offered the freedom of their town. But they were informed that we came not to seek honour of men, but in love to visit the people, and to be found in the discharge of a religious duty. They said we deserved respect, and that this was the only testimony they could give. We acknowledged their civility, but told them that their granting the town-hall to accommodate a meeting, and attending it themselves, was a sufficient testimony of their respect. The deputy sheriff insisted that we should spend the evening at his house; which we did, and were treated with as much openness and freedom from unnecessary compliment, as though we had been at a Friend's house. Many acknowledge the principle, but are not brought to a willingness to submit to the cross.

“At Moffat, the chief bailie, David Gregg, refused the town-hall, and was very wide in conduct

and disposition from the provost and sheriff at Dumbarton, and from those in almost every place in Scotland. We could scarcely obtain liberty to speak to this man, he soon turning his back upon us. Neither could we obtain the school room, which was also under his direction. But at length we obtained a carpenter's shop, and had a crowded meeting. Some serious people attended, but generally they were a very raw ignorant company. John Johnson, a magistrate, attended the meeting, and afterwards sat awhile with us at the inn, and expressed his concern at the bailie's conduct.

"At Gillfoot, on our return from Scotland, we attended the monthly meeting. We had but a poor, cold meeting, few there being deeply concerned for themselves, and so not rightly exercised for the cause and testimony of Truth. Many valiants were formerly raised up among these hills, who were engaged to proclaim the day of the Lord, and were instrumental in gathering many to Christ. We passed that morning through Udale and near Langlands, mentioned by dear George Fox.

"Second month 7th, 1787, at Eglesfield, Cumberland. I have been two months in this county among Friends, in great stripping and leanness, especially for some weeks past. I compare myself to one whose gift is sealed up, and left without succour, but I strive to keep quiet and patient. Friends are kind, and wish me to consider it as a time of rest; which I should do, could I experience the great Master's presence near, and the sustaining bread dispensed. I look home-wards, but light does not spring.

"Third month 30th; Attended the quarterly meeting at Carlisle, where I met with my dear friend George Dillwyn. I have been long in this county, and ceased from appointing meetings, though I have had but little real rest. This is what we cannot come at when we please. It has been a stripping and cloudy season with me, and I have had to search and review my steps. Omissions more than commissions, are marked against me, for which I have great occasion to be deeply humbled.

During the last six weeks I have attended many meetings in the west part of this county, in seaports and other towns, large and satisfactory, being united with our dear friends John Hall, Jane Pearson and Barbara Drewry, three valuable ministers. An open door is left.

This week I have attended six meetings belonging to Northumberland; and expect to go into Scotland again. This may appear singular to many of my dear friends, but the reduced state to which I have been brought, has wrought a willingness to go anywhere, or to be any how employed, for the light of the great Master's countenance, and a return of life. The prospect is humbling, but I am not my own, and I seek not honour from man; many trials have attended me among that people; and it is not desirable to the creaturely part to enter there again.

"Fourth month 2nd; This morning George Dillwyn parted with me, he proceeding towards Kendall; and after dinner David Ducat and myself left Carlisle also, and proceeded to Longtown, where we had a large meeting, held in the inn."

From there to Langholm, Annan, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Gatehouse.

"Some Englishmen have at Gatehouse a large cotton factory, worked by water, the wheel being fifty-two feet in diameter, and six feet wide. Several hundred people are employed.

"Third-day, 17th; This morning we went for Wigton, and obtained the court house. The Lord was gracious, and owned the meeting with his good presence, to my humbling admiration. Blessed be his name!

"Seventh-day, we turned for Newton Stewart, in order to obtain a meeting among the miners again, and arrived at Crea-bridge-end.

"First-day, about noon, David Ducat and myself sat down, and the landlord, his wife and daughter, and another person came and sat with us in a religious opportunity. In the afternoon we went to Blackrock, and had a meeting in the school house. Second-day, had a wet ride to Glenluce; the meeting was much crowded, and through the Lord's goodness and help, was a favoured opportunity. An aged man at the conclusion acknowledged in a solid manner, that 'the Spirit had helped.'

"Fifth-day, at Port Patrick. Many gospel truths were delivered. Those who attended behaved well, and several wished they could recompense us, being sensible our motive was their good. We took horse and proceeded to Stranrawn; where, with some exertion we obtained the town-hall. The magistrates and a large number of people met, and the Lord condescended to favour, so that it was a profitable meeting. A man aged about seventy-one, requested after meeting some opportunity with us. He came to our inn, and we found him a serious person. Having once had an opportunity to see Robert Barclay's Apology, he acknowledged that the doctrine contained therein was consistent with his judgment, and expressed his great satisfaction with the meeting. The next day he dined with us and parted in tenderness, seeming convinced of the truth.

"I proceeded with my companion, David Ducat, along the west coast of Scotland, to many large towns and populous places, until the 15th of fifth month, having attended in six weeks and two days, sixty-three meetings, mostly large, the Lord in abundant condescension and mercy having made way beyond expectation, and opened the minds of the people, magistrates, ministers, etc.; though it is a part where the people are much divided and embittered, one sect against another; there being, many 'lo heres' and 'lo theres,' labouring to draw disciples after them. What they call preaching, is chiefly railing one against another; which made our way in some places more

difficult; but the first opportunity set the people to thinking, and caused a second opportunity to be more solid, open and satisfactory, they being evidently convinced that our motives were disinterested, and that our labour was to turn the mind from man and all human trust, to God. Thus we left every place with the good wishes of the people.

“At Irwin, several Presbyterian ministers, who met there on account of a Presbytery, attended the meetings, and the Lord in his mercy and goodness was pleased to favour, so that the gospel was preached in the authority thereof, to the awakening of many minds. We spent some time after dinner, with these Presbyterians, being sixteen persons, fourteen of whom I took to be ministers, to mutual satisfaction. They inquired respecting various matters, which were in simplicity answered. I showed them my certificate, which was read, and they commended our order and care over our members. On parting, as they had wine before them, I was free to revive the care of holy Paul, who kept his body under, lest, while preaching to others, he himself should become a cast away; and I told them that this care was needful for all who professed to be gospel ministers. They acknowledged it, and we parted with their good wishes. Two young men came into our inn and desired an opportunity of conversing with us; but we found they had been led away with the airy notions of a people called Buchanites.

“At Kilmarnock we had a meeting in the grammar school, which was very large, the room being exceedingly crowded, and many without. The Lord condescended to favour, and the free grace of God offered unto all, was testified of, and the way of life and salvation opened, which seemed to have place with many.

“At Renfrew we applied as usual to the magistrates, but could not obtain the townhall, nor did they seem open to our having a meeting in the place. The provost being a young man, it appeared to be more out of fear than moroseness. However, we obtained a large school room and had a full meeting. The people behaved well beyond expectation, and my companion had a clear good time, pointing out the mistake of many, in imagining that faith is imputed to them for righteousness, without a ceasing from sin and self-righteousness, and coming to learn of Christ and to be subject to his rule.

“I was often very solicitous during this journey, to be permitted to attend the yearly meeting in London; and at length I did break loose from Hamilton, near Glasgow, and reached London the 23rd of the fifth month. The yearly meeting for ministers and elders, began on seventh-day, the 26th, a large number of solid Friends attending. Eight of us Americans remaining here,” namely: George Dillwyn, William Mathews, John Pemberton, Zachariah Dicks, Rebecca Jones, Patience Brayton, Rebecca Wright and Ann Jessup, “attended this yearly meeting, which was the largest I have known here, and the largest body of plain and solid Friends, men and women, that I think I have ever seen together. There was a very hopeful appearance of beloved youth, clothed with

innocence, and under the baptizing power of Truth. May the Lord preserve them in his pure fear, and cause them to grow ‘as calves of the stall.’ A concern for the support of the discipline and gospel order increases, and there is a prospect that the number of quarterly meetings will be lessened by several counties uniting, so as to increase their strength. The women's yearly meeting has been the means of many solid women attending from various parts, and of bringing them more under the weight of the service. There was much harmony in this yearly meeting. The strength of the worldly wise was much brought under, so that there was little display.

“To go back to the north is to me no pleasing prospect. I spread my case before Friends at the yearly meeting for ministers and elders, and laid myself open to counsel. Much sympathy was expressed, and the result was, to leave me to the Lord and the guidance of his good Spirit. I hastened from Scotland in order to throw myself open to Friends, and it would have been pleasing to me, as a man, had they told me I had been long enough from home. I expect to attend the general meeting at Colchester, and if after that I do not feel a release from the north, I must submit. My dearly beloved wife appears full of expectation of soon seeing me; but crosses and disappointments are our lot in this probationary state; and may she be sustained in patience and humble acquiescence, for herein alone is true peace experienced.

“Sixth-day, sixth month 8th; Attended the meeting at Grace-church street, held mostly in silence. I had a little matter at the close, being the first testimony I have delivered in a public meeting since I came this time to London.

“Seventh-day, took coach and arrived at Colchester about two o'clock; and about five o'clock the meeting for ministers and elders for Essex quarterly meeting began. Our friends Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, from Shropshire, and George Follows and wife, from Warwickshire, attended it. I lodged at my old acquaintance John Kendall's.

“Second-day was the quarterly meeting; a profitable season. “The business was conducted commendably, and many useful remarks were made through the influence of gospel love and concern, to stir up Friends to an honest discharge of religious duty.

“Second-day, 18th; To Woodbridge, and attended the quarterly meeting. The Lord opened counsel, in the reading of the queries and answers, and my companion, Zachariah Dicks, had to bear testimony against several things which appear inconsistent for the professors of Truth to be found in, as falling capes, powdered hair and wigs, etc. On the use of powder, I had here, as well as at Colchester, to remark that when I was in the Orkney islands last summer, many families had not meal for themselves and children, for many days, and some for weeks; and that the waste thus made would feed many—that although some might reason that what they used was but little, yet when all that was so used was summed up, it would supply the needs of many.

“Fifth-day, rising early, we took chaise and went to Leiston, where we had a meeting, many of the inhabitants of the village coming in. The meeting was favoured, and Friends being desired to continue their seats after others separated, we had an opportunity with them, to excite to a diligent care in attending their meetings, and to circumspection in all respects consistent with our holy profession.

We dined at the widow Jessup's, at the Abbey, whose ruins we viewed; and after some religious communication with some young people, we proceeded to Beeclerc.

“Sixth-day, notice being given, many gay people attended, and some play-actors, who were to exhibit their evil and vanity in the evening. A close testimony went forth against such scenes of dissipation. The people behaved well, and the Lord in mercy owned us in our exercise. Friends keeping their seats after others left the meeting, my mind was drawn towards a state that had long lived in a neglect of religious duty, and in a disregard to the Lord's call and visitation; and yet at times felt desires enkindled for a return, but concluded it was too late, and therefore might continue to indulge in wrong courses. I pointed out this to be the suggestion of the enemy, and pressed this state to look to Him who is mighty to save, and whose mercies are yet continued, believing that by humbling the heart and knowing the gift of sincere repentance, remission of sins might be experienced. Friends were incited to diligence in the attendance of meetings, and circumspection in all parts of their conduct, that they might be lights in their neighbourhood, holding forth an inviting language to serious inquirers. Soon after the conclusion of the meeting, our kind friend, Edmund Peckover of Norwich, came with his chaise to conduct us there.

“First-day, attended two meetings at Yarmouth. The minds of Friends being much outward, and too much accustomed to words, the meeting was mostly spent in silence. My companion, Zachariah Dicks, had nothing to offer; I had some remarks to make to excite Friends to look to the Lord, and wait upon Him, for supplies of wisdom and strength.

“Second-day; The quarterly meeting at Norwich, which was favoured. Third-day, attended two public meetings for worship. In the morning our aged worthy friend Ruth Follows, had deep searching service. In the afternoon many not of our religious Society attended, and my friend Z. Dicks, had a good time in searching labour. Fourth-day, the remaining business of the quarterly meeting was entered upon. It was an instructive time, and Friends were open to receive help. Some close remarks were made respecting the cause of the obstructions to the growth of truth.

“Sixth-day; this morning early, we had a religious opportunity at Edmund Peckover's, and then set out with him for Edmundsbury, where we arrived about four o'clock. A meeting was held in the evening, some of the principal inhabitants attending, with a Presbyterian minister, and many of that people. It continued in silence about two hours; then both Z. Dicks and myself had some-

thing to offer, part of which pointed out the necessity of waiting for the influence of the spirit, to minister profitably, and that it was such ministry, proceeding from disinterested motives, and real desire for the people's good, that could reach the witness and build up in the pure faith which works by love. It was an exercising meeting, but I hope ended well.

"Seventh-day, arrived in London in the afternoon, and spent the evening with our exercised friends Patience Brayton and Rebecca Wright. There is no Friend here, I believe, on a religious visit, who has left greater impressions than Patience Brayton has done, and a sweet savour in all places. Though she may not be of the wise, as to this world, she is greatly honoured of her Master, and has been deeply led into the state of meetings and particulars. It is the Lord's doings and marvellous in our eyes."

While in London, he wrote a letter to his niece, Hannah Morton, of Philadelphia, from which the following is extracted.

London, seventh month 7th, 1787.

Beloved niece,

Your lines came speedily to hand by our friends John Storer and Thomas Colley, who landed safe, and favoured with health, and soon after posted to their respective habitations. It was comfortable to find they were strengthened inwardly and outwardly to fulfil their religious duty, and to return with the evidence of peace. This is what I have with diligence laboured for, but when I may be released, I know not. I much long for the time. The dispensations you have experienced are proving; I wish they may be sanctified to you. It is a favour to be brought to see the emptiness and vanity of the world, and its glitter, and to have the mind turned to aspire after that which is permanent. I desire your preservation in humbly seeking after and following the counsel and direction of the Prince of peace, that by following on to know the Lord, you may experience your heart enlarged and your mind strengthened, and become a burden-bearer and partaker in the arduous labour of the day. The harvest is great, and the strength of the burden-bearers at times ready to fail; but the number of the faithful may multiply, if the divine call is regarded. As you are favoured with talents, may they be rendered truly useful, by seeking unto the Lord, who can strengthen to every good word and work, and render them double. Our time here is short, and wise are such who work while it is yet day, taking up the cross, and being willing to become fools for Christ's sake.

There are indeed many of our relatives and dear friends removed since I left home; and we are journeying also to the same period. May we so run as to obtain. Your present situ-

ation requires great circumspection, and I desire you to be guarded, that if any solicitation offer, to change your situation in life, you may seek counsel and attend to the secret intimations of truth, which may be your preservation.

I am with near affection, your loving uncle,

John Pemberton.

“Seventh month 18th; I have been waiting to take my leave of our dear friends about to embark, expecting tomorrow to bid them farewell. I laboured for liberty to depart with them, but could not with peace; and the thought of steering north again, when the season is so far advanced, is deeply proving. But to force myself, contrary to conviction, is not safe, nor would my return be comfortable to my dear friends, unless in the counsel of pure wisdom. The Lord has hitherto marvellously helped; blessed be His name.

“Spent the after part of the day with my dear friends Rebecca Wright, etc., who were at my quarters; and Rebecca Wright said she had clearly seen the propriety of my return into the north.

“Sixth-day, I took my leave of my dear country folks and several other Friends, and taking coach for Nottingham, rode all night, and arrived safely there about seven o'clock in the evening of seventh day.

“First-day, attended two meetings at Nottingham, both dull and exercising; and my mind being low. I was not faithful in attending to a gentle motion to appoint a meeting for the evening; which brought condemnation and distress for some days.

“Second-day, reached Ackworth in the evening, and on third-day morning went into the several schools, where much decorum is observed. The children appeared improving in the several branches of learning. There are one hundred and eighty-three boys and one hundred and fourteen girls. They are instructed to observe a time of solid waiting before and after meals, when a great solemnity attended. The house is exceedingly well calculated for the purpose, and stands in a fine open fertile country. So many children being trained up in a sober religious education, as well as with suitable learning, seems likely to prove a blessing to religious society, as well as to themselves as individuals, and I hope will afford solid satisfaction to those who have the care of this institution.

“Fifth-day, the children were examined, and two public meetings for worship held. Lord Sidney was at the meeting this day and yesterday, and his wife at the second meeting, as well as many others not making profession with us. It was a solid meeting, and our friend John Storer was favoured in his public testimony.

“Sixth-day, in company with Solomon Chapman, proceeded to Undercliffe, and seventh-day to Settle, where I arrived much wearied. I received a letter from my valued friend, Patience Brayton, and a small addition by dear Rebecca Jones, which were very consolatory. Five dear friends: William Mathews, Zachariah Dicks, Patience Brayton, Rebecca Wright and Ann Jessup, embarked on fifth-day evening from Gravesend, in the ship Pigou, bound for Philadelphia. May the Lord guide them in peace and safety to their native shore.

“First-day, attended the meeting at Settle, which was a low suffering time to me: it being their preparative meeting, the queries were read, and several observations made thereon, to excite Friends to an attention to duty. A public meeting in the afternoon was rendered, through best help, in a good degree satisfactory.

“Fourth-day, proceeded through rain to Penrith, attended their monthly meeting, and on fifth-day went to Carlisle. Sixth-day I spent at Carlisle, preparing for my journey, and towards evening went to the jail, and had some counsel to impart to the felons, etc.”

At the above mentioned monthly meeting at Penrith, he laid before Friends a proposal for Thomas Wilkinson, of Yanwath, in the neighbourhood of that town, to accompany him in his contemplated arduous journey in Scotland, having no other companion than David Ducat, who was considerably advanced in years. The meeting agreed to the proposal, and Thomas Wilkinson soon after joined him at Conheath, on the sea-shore, arriving just in time to sit down with them in meeting. As Thomas Wilkinson kept a diary of this journey, which in some particulars is more full than that of his meek spirited and diffident companion, we shall diversify the narrative by extracts from it, adding what may appear important from John Pemberton's own account.

Eighth month 7th; John Pemberton says: “My mind being very heavy all this forenoon and drawn to the village called Bridge-end, near Dumfries, we concluded to return; and on our way we rode about six miles or more, with one Stuart, a sensible, thoughtful man, who yielded to the truths we conversed upon, respecting our religious principles, and of calling the days of the week and the months according to Scripture, saying that he had never before considered the propriety of it, but acknowledged that it was most consistent.

“Sixth-day, 10th; The provost of Dumfries having yesterday granted the town-hall, a meeting was held this morning; in which my companion, David Ducat, had lively service, though it did not please some formal, earthly, bigoted spirits, old in profession, but not acquainted with the virtue, life and power of truth.”

From Dumfries they proceeded to Ruthwell parish, and had a meeting; in which John

Pemberton says: "Much counsel in gospel love flowed to the people," from there to Mousewald parish, where they were refused a barn to hold a meeting in, but at length procuring another, the owner of the first, after the meeting, came and expressed regret for having, through prejudice, denied it; after this they went to Bank-end, where, he says, they could get no one to take them in, and consequently had to go back to Ruthwell to lodge; but returning the next day, they held a meeting, which "was much crowded, and favoured with the flowings of gospel love, which so opened the hearts of the people, that they were desirous of our stay, and offered to provide us with lodging.

"Fifth-day, went to Kiltown, but could not get entertainment, the inn being taken up with visitors come to bathe in the salt water. As it rained very hard we were obliged to go to the house of the tide surveyor, where we were kindly received, and he granted his barn; where, notwithstanding the rain, we had a pretty large meeting. Before the meeting began, our friend Thomas Wilkinson, of Yanwath, Westmoreland, came to us and brought me letters, with comfortable news of the welfare of my dear wife."

First-day, had a meeting in the barn of a respectable widow at Lantonside; "where," says Thomas Wilkinson, "perhaps between two and, three hundred people collected, and behaved with becoming stillness. Silence, which to them might be a new thing, appeared neither tiresome nor difficult, and the meeting seemed to be a much favoured one."

John Pemberton says of it, that "the Lord favoured, and several expressed their satisfaction, and that if we continued in these parts, we should gather all the country; little considering that two or three meetings held wholly in silence, would weary them." Thomas Wilkinson adds; "Another meeting was held in the evening; after which John Pemberton took me with him to visit a person of some distinction, who lived near, having a religious concern to speak to him; but he avoided giving an opportunity, and went off; his wife, however, seemed respectful.

"20th; Passed on through Dumfries, and had a meeting in the evening in the parish of Glossburn; but it was with the utmost difficulty that any place could be had to meet in; and after some hours of fruitless application, all that could be obtained was an old barn, of which part of the roof had fallen in. It was trying to the natural disposition, not only to go from door to door soliciting accommodation, but afterwards to sit down amidst broken timber and the ruins of a mouldering building, as spectacles to a wondering people. But after humbly waiting for some time, encouragement and peace seemed to spring up amidst these disheartening circumstances. Jacob worshipped the Almighty while leaning on his staff, and I believe worshipped him as acceptably as did Solomon amid the splendour of his temple at Jerusalem. My aged friends both appeared in testimony, and John Pemberton seemed to be particularly favoured.

"From Glossburn, on the 21st, we proceeded to Sanquhar, where the people appeared to be settled in a suspicious ignorance, and where, notwithstanding the mild exertions of John Pemberton, we were refused the townhall, the school house, etc.; and it was with some difficulty we even obtained a barn of our landlord, though himself had come of Friends' families. John Pemberton felt sensibly such unkindness, but his love to the people was still greater than his discouragements. We gave notice of a meeting, which was attended by a tolerable number; and wishing to soften the minds of the people, John Pemberton appointed another next day. The people were still shy and unfriendly, though one young man of the medical profession, showed some kindness.

"23rd; Went to New Cumnock, where again we took much pains to obtain a place to hold a meeting in, but all seemed shut against us. John Pemberton observed that he had never known it so difficult before. We then went to a school a little way from the town; the master said he would grant the use of the house, but should like to have the minister's consent; to him we applied, and found him rather a venerable looking old man. John Pemberton informed him, that from a sense of duty and a love to mankind, he had left his native country of America, and was come to see the people of this land, and that if he pleased to consent to the schoolmaster's granting his school house, we proposed to have a religious meeting there in the evening. He replied, 'The people here are well informed, and we have no need of you.' John Pemberton said he had met with very kind and liberal conduct from many persons of his profession in different parts of Scotland, mentioning the names of several; that he, at this advanced age, had come some thousands of miles to see the people, and that he hoped he would consent to the request. He then asked, 'What do you think of the sacrament? What do you think of baptism?' John Pemberton replied, 'We think, with the Scriptures, that it is not the putting away the filth of the body, but the answer of a good conscience, that is essential; and we are not concerned to turn men from form to form, but to turn them to God.' He answered, 'It will not do; it will not do: I have read your Barclay, and do not like him;' with other remarks, that were such a violation of good manners, that I forbear to insert them. After some more fruitless efforts, I returned to the schoolmaster, and sitting down by him, began to converse on other subjects, when he presently said we should have the school house; and being told the time we proposed to hold the meeting, he directed his scholars to spread information through their families. A tolerable number assembled, who behaved well, and the meeting was in degree satisfactory. A young man, the old minister's son, and the schoolmaster, came afterwards and spent the evening with us.

"Went to Old Cumnock. Similar difficulties continued in procuring a place to meet in. At length some liberal minded women accommodated us with a pretty large house, where we had a crowded and satisfactory meeting; in which John Pemberton was favoured in proclaiming many gospel truths. He was often concerned to explain, that true religion and substantial happiness

consist not in speculative opinions, but in purity, and in living under the cross of Christ, in knowing our peace made with God, and feeling his love prevailing in our hearts; and he generally enforced these truths by pertinent texts of Scripture.

It sometimes happened that we met with individuals, who started objections to the principles of Christianity; on these occasions, John Pemberton with serious firmness, assigned the reasons of his belief, in the appearance in the flesh, of our Saviour upon earth, and what he then did and suffered for mankind, and his spiritual appearance in the soul; both which are not only to be sincerely believed, but his refining power is to be felt and co-operated with, that the corruptions of our nature may be done away, and that we may be made followers of the holy pattern that was set before us, when ‘the Word became flesh, and dwelt amongst us;’ and finally be made fit inhabitants for that pure and heavenly kingdom, where no evil can be admitted, but the presence of the Father and of the Son will be enjoyed forever.

“25th; Proceeded through Kilmarnock to Kilmarnock, where we found it easy to obtain convenience for holding a meeting, perhaps owing to John Pemberton's acquaintance with Alexander Munro, who had served as a major in the British army during the war. He procured the council house for us; where, on the 26th, we had two meetings, Alexander Munro, his wife and family attending. We spent the evening agreeably with him and his family. John Pemberton's conduct was truly edifying, opening our principles and the order subsisting in our Society, which were much approved.

“28th; Passed through Glasgow to Kilpatrick. Here we found a great change in the minds of the people: we easily obtained a commodious room; the people seemed cordially disposed; flocked round us, invited us to their houses, and treated us with much kindness and respect. A meeting was held on the 29th, which several hundreds attended and generally behaved soberly. It seemed to me the most favoured meeting we had held since I joined them. The next day John Pemberton proposed holding one in the evening at Dunglass, a village a little further.

Here we met with nothing but openness, civility and kindness. A large body of people assembled in the evening, and were still and attentive; many of them sat as solidly as if they had professed with us. Both our friends were much favoured in public labour, John Pemberton remarkably so. Towards the close of his testimony he drew an affecting description of his own situation, and his motives for leaving his own country, saying that his beloved wife, his native country and dear connexions, were as near to him as those of other men to them; but the love of mankind and his sense of duty to the Almighty, prevailed over all. He described this island as a highly favoured land, whose received mercies call loudly for our gratitude; for while surrounding nations had been visited with the sword, with pestilence, with earthquakes, inundations and other calamities, this had been spared. After meeting the people crowded round us; many were desirous of

conversing with us, requesting John Pemberton's company; with which he complied, opening our principles among them, and exhorting them to a sober and godly life.

'We entered the Highlands on the 31st, after travelling through a mountainous and thinly peopled country, where we met with many of the poor inhabitants coming down to the lowlands against harvest. We reached Inverary, from Carindow, at the head of Loch Fyne, on the 1st of the ninth month, and were received with great openness. On firstday, the 2nd, many of the Highlanders came from the mountains to their place of worship at Inverary. There are, as I was told, two sermons commonly preached on first-days, the one in English, the other in Erse or Gaelic, which is the language of the Highlanders. While walking round, I was pleased and affected at the solid deportment of the Gaelic assembly, which had collected to the amount of several hundreds, and stood generally silent without doors, till the English sermon was finished. We had our meeting appointed in a large room at the inn, at the time the last might be supposed to conclude; the room was soon filled, and many hundreds stood without. The duchess of Argyle, with her son and daughters, and several other persons of distinction attended; the duchess sat very solidly, and her mind seenTed to be thoughtfully exercised. John Pemberton appeared with power and authority, both in testimony and prayer; and though what he had to offer was in no way flattering to elevated stations, when the meeting closed, the duchess came up and shook hands with him, expressing her satisfaction, and making some friendly inquiries. Another meeting was appointed at five o'clock in the afternoon, in a shed belonging to the duke. I think nearly a thousand attended, and behaved with becoming stillness."

John Pemberton remarks, that "it was a pretty open time; some expressed their satisfaction, and one man said he never knew his Saviour until this day. The necessity of a regard to the grace of God that brings reproof for sin, being the mercy and favour of the Almighty, was pointed out, and that such who disregard its instructions, are slighting the means offered for salvation, and thus rejecting their Saviour. The people attended mostly in the Highland dress, and many appeared with innocent countenances. Taking a walk, after meeting, in the grounds of the duke, I met with him and his three children, and two other persons. He entered into familiar conversation, and spoke respectfully of our friends, adding, that he had heard so well of the meeting, he was sorry he was not with us. I gave him William Penn's 'Rise and Progress,' to present to his wife. He said he had read the small piece I had sent him, (Randall's Account.) I told him I had also sent him a piece respecting the slave trade, and wished him to join his influence for the suppression of so iniquitous a traffic. He acknowledged it to be a bad-trade."

Thomas Wilkinson's account proceeds: "3rd; John Pemberton felt concerned to have another meeting, which, in order to accommodate the poor labouring people, was appointed at six o'clock. The duke and duchess, with their family and visitors, attended, and sat solidly amongst

us. I thought the meeting was very satisfactory." John Pemberton says, "The Lord in mercy favoured the opportunity; for which may our minds bow in reverence." "David Ducat appeared," adds Thomas Wilkinson, "with a convincing testimony, and John Pemberton with great life and power. The witness in several seemed to be reached; the duchess in particular appearing to be much affected.

"4th; Passed on to Lochgillphead; had an evening meeting there, and another at eleven o'clock next day. After meeting we set off for Ormsay, and had a sample, for perhaps ten miles, of ancient Highland road, which admits the travelling of but one person at a time; we however arrived safely, and were received with true hospitality.

"6th; Had a meeting in one of the barns of our kind host, captain Mac Laughlane, of which he and his servants spread information round the neighbourhood; but as in these parts not many understand English, no great numbers attended. After meeting John Pemberton collected the captain's sisters, four agreeable young women, and after a little space of silence, had some affectionate exhortation for them. On the 7th, captain Mac Laughlane's younger brother, also an officer, accompanied us some miles on foot; and we had a meeting at Tarbet, by Loch Fyne, in the evening.

"8th; Went to Campbell-town, where the provost granted the town-hall, and we gave notice of a meeting to be held the next day. When it drew near the time, we received a few lines from the provost, expressing his fears that the crowd that might be expected would endanger the floor. We had not time to provide another place, so we concluded to offer ourselves at the public market-cross; it was a tall stone, surrounded with steps; we went and sat down thereon in silence by ourselves. In a little time the people began to gather round us, looking on one another and on us, perhaps wondering what it meant, as I believe no meeting was ever before held by any of our Society in these parts; yet no scoffing or insult was offered us, nor any light behaviour observable. Our minds were turned inward, and I believe, experienced something of the promise made to those whose hearts are stayed on the Lord, and who trust in him.

Though it was long before anything was said, refreshment and peace were experienced. John Pemberton then in a lively manner exhorted the people to become acquainted with their Maker, and be at peace with him. The day was very hot, and John Pemberton was ready to faint, from being exposed bare-headed to the sun. Another meeting was appointed for the afternoon, and a green that lay before the 'kirk' was recommended as a suitable place. I went to place some chairs, and the crowd that surrounded and followed me was very great. I believe that in a few minutes after my friends took their seats, nearly fifteen hundred assembled. Many were on the walls and on the neighbouring trees; a general stillness prevailed, and it was not long before way opened with John Pemberton for religious communication. Though I am fearful that what

was delivered could not be distinctly heard by the most distant of the assembly, yet no disorder ensued; and I trust we were thankful to the Father of mercies and Fountain of good, for preservation and peace amidst such a host of strangers."

12th; John Pemberton remarks: "Several came to the inn, and we parted solidly, having their wishes for our preservation. After dinner, finding our way open to the southward, we proceeded to Southend, near the Mull of Kintire; and there not being accommodation for us at the small inn, we were kindly received by the minister, David Campbell, an aged man, and blind. He expressed much regard for our religious Society, believing them to come nearer to the primitive Christians than any people on earth. We lodged at his house, being introduced to him by his son-in-law, major Archibald Campbell, of Campbell-town, who met us on the road. He had been in America during the troubles, and had a favourable opinion of Friends."

13th and 14th; They had two meetings there and one at Nockney hall, in a mill. They lodged on the 15th at the house of a poor farmer, whose family was religiously disposed, and entertained them kindly. It was the practice of this family to assemble together, both morning and evening, at which times they sang a psalm, read a chapter in the New Testament, and afterwards kneeled down to prayers. When these were concluded, on this occasion, the master of the family said, that if our friends had anything to communicate, they were ready to hear it; on which John Pemberton remarked, "that he was concerned to caution them, lest such religious practices, if unattended by correspondent feelings, might degenerate into a form." On the 17th they had a meeting at Tynelane, and on the 18th another at Southend, John Pemberton not having been able to feel his mind quite clear of that parish. In the evening, being at David Campbell's, his daughter said to John Pemberton, "You see, Mr, Pemberton, father has given you his 'kirk' and attended you several times; suppose you go to church on Sunday, and hear father: we have some elegant preachers in the Highlands." To which John Pemberton gravely replied, "We have a testimony to bear against a hired ministry." Thomas Wilkinson remarks, that when they came to take leave of this hospitable family, it was "with some tenderness on both sides. Margaret Campbell, the daughter, observed that it was hard to have such guests, and never to see them more."

21st; Thomas Wilkinson's account proceeds: "Rode to Lochgillphead. About noon a terrible hurricane arose; two vessels from Loch Fyne were riding at anchor in sight; one of them broke loose, struck on a sand bank and filled. The seamen belonging to the other, except a little boy, were on shore.

To go to their own vessel seemed impracticable: they often attempted to fetch the men from the other, but the waves as often heaved the boat on shore again. Many people were on the beach; and the lamentations of the women were pitiable. We exerted ourselves; and after dragging the

boat along the shore to another point, the seamen were able to bring off the hands from the nearest vessel: all our concern was now for the boy. I proposed dragging the boat along the shore, perhaps almost a mile, to a situation where it might be driven by the waves to the other vessel; the seamen however did not adopt the proposal, and the dark shades of the tempestuous night closed on the poor boy. The reflections arising from this circumstance spread a sadness over our minds, and when day broke in the morning it was perceived that the vessel had gone down.'

"22nd; Proceeded to Goatfield, and were kindly entertained by Joseph Latham, superintendent of the Argyle iron works. We had two meetings next day at this place. On the 24th we proceeded to Aroquhar, where on the 25th we had a meeting, a solid and favoured opportunity; and after dinner we travelled a few miles to Luss, where we had a meeting in the evening, attended by a considerable number of people.

"26th; We had now rode a hundred miles on our return towards England, partly on account of David Ducat's poor state of health; he, however, now seemed recruiting; and John Pemberton's prospects opening northward, we had a meeting in the evening at Tarbet, by Loch Lomond; which was at first much unsettled by the disorderly conduct of a person in liquor; but having placed him in a chair, and taken my seat by him, he became still, and the meeting issued favourably.

"27th; Proceeded to Tynedrome, and had a meeting there; a good degree of solemnity was experienced in the time of silence. I thought it one of the most satisfactory meetings we had had; and I believe we rejoiced in humble thankfulness that our heavenly Father had refreshed us together with his good presence, and filled our hearts with his love and the love of our fellow creatures, in such a poor solitary part of the earth.

"28th; Passed on to Dalmally, a pleasant and populous vale in Glenorchy." Here they had a meeting, and John Pemberton remarks: "The Lord was graciously pleased to favour, so that the gospel was preached under its enlivening influence. The people behaved well, and the minister of the parish, Joseph Mc Intire, was very respectful, and invited us to his house. He made inquiry respecting some of our principles, which we explained to his satisfaction. He was of a very open disposition, and liberal in his sentiments respecting the universality of God's love. He, with his wife and several of his children attended the meeting, and sat very solidly. In conversation he lamented the lightness that he had observed in England in time of public worship; which is too often the case. He inquired of me respecting the practice of asking a blessing before meat. I told him our views, which both himself and his wife acknowledged to be right, and he confessed that too little thought often attended when grace, so called, was said." Thomas Wilkinson remarks, respecting this minister's wife, that she "was a plain woman, and when we

were on the subjects of a hired ministry, war, etc., notwithstanding the profession of her husband, and that she had a son or sons in the army, she was unequivocally of our opinion, and spoke her sentiments without reserve.

"29th; Set off for Bunawe at five o'clock in the morning; passed on to Lorn Furnace, and took up our lodging at the house of John Satterthwaite, who, with his wife, were the only members of our Society in the Highlands of Scotland. The next morning many came several miles to the meeting; lakes and arms of the sea run up here among the mountains in various directions, which the people were seen crossing in boats from different quarters. A considerable number assembled and behaved with remarkable solidity; and though it seemed scarcely reasonable to suppose that any of them had been at a meeting before, yet they sat as still and orderly as if they had been trained up amongst us. It is often no easy matter to make strangers feel the propriety of waiting in silence before the Lord. As the outward order of society sometimes suggests hints that lead towards Divine truths, it is remarkable that the various professors of Christianity have not more frequently discovered, that the servant who waits in silent attention on his Master, is the most likely to discover his will. Thus it appears to me that the most acceptable homage to the all-seeing, all-knowing Master and Sovereign of the universe, is a waiting in humble reverent silence before him: and when we meet for the purpose of worshipping him, instead of rushing into his presence with speeches of our own contriving, the fruits of our own self-sufficiency, that it is more pleasing in his sight to wait in all humility and singleness of heart, to feel his love operate in our minds and his good Spirit refresh our hearts. Thus would his worship, whether in vocal homage, or silent adoration, be an offering of his own preparing, and acceptable in his sight; and while such a disposition prevailed, even if he saw fit, for the trial of our constancy, to withhold his sensible presence from us, I have no doubt that our patient dedication of heart would be well pleasing to him.

"Tenth month 1st; We set off for Fort William, and crossed some lakes and arms of the sea. Here the females are employed in the most laborious exercises; we were rowed over lakes and arms of the sea by women, who, when we and our horses were on board, would plunge into the water, push off the boat, and then spring with cheerfulness to their oars. We had proceeded about ten or fifteen miles, when John Pemberton consulted us about returning back a few miles. He said he had felt a concern to visit a place we had passed, yet, wishing to get on, had not discovered it to us; but that it now felt so heavy, he hardly seemed able to proceed. We returned; and towards evening finding ourselves among poor huts, without inn or place of accommodation where we could lodge, we observed Loch Nell house at a distance, towards which we rode. After alighting, being shown to where the venerable owner, the widow of Sir Duncan Campbell, stood overlooking some workmen, John Pemberton told her he had 'a favour to ask of her;' and on her inquiring what, he replied, 'only a night's lodging;' to which she answered courteously, 'you are

very welcome to that.' She entertained us with great kindness, and soon discovered to us that she was a niece of May Drummond's, and had seen much of Friends.

We had a satisfactory meeting in one of her offices in the morning, herself, family and servants attending. Immediately afterwards I set off for Cragnock, to make preparation there for a meeting in the evening, and easily obtained all the accommodation that could be had; but it was a poor place. I rode among the little huts for many miles, but many could give me no answer at all, and some shook their heads, and could just pronounce, 'no English.' A few persons gathered in the evening, and after meeting we returned to Loch Nell. It was dark; we had a little arm of the sea to cross, and the tide was in; but protecting Goodness seemed to attend; for though it was deep, we rode through in safety, and arrived about eleven o'clock at night.

"3rd; Passed on to Portnacash, where we had a meeting in the evening." John Pemberton says on this occasion, "It was not pleasing to be prevented from pursuing our journey; but a fear attended my mind that I should not be easy if I left the place, though in deep poverty. The meeting was attended by several of the principal people hereaway, and the Lord in mercy condescended to favour, so that it yielded satisfaction to many, which was freely expressed."

Thomas Wilkinson says:

"4th; We entered Lochaber, and proceeded to Fort William.

"5th; Had a meeting at eleven o'clock, which a considerable number of people attended. David Ducat appeared largely in testimony, and in a line so singular, that I was somewhat apprehensive of the consequences. We were now among the clans of Cameron and M'Donald, which rose in the rebellion of 1745. The conduct of such as rose up against their lawful sovereign was fully displayed, and it was remarked, that outward allegiance might be observed by those who are rebels at heart; but that this sort of conduct could not impose on the King of Heaven. There were some present who had been in the rebellion; however, the meeting was quiet, and afterwards, John Pemberton was remarkably favoured in testimony. I never remember his thus appearing with greater life and power.

"The evidence of truth prevailed over error and prejudice; for some who entered the meeting scoffingly, soon became serious, expressed their satisfaction afterwards, and showed us much kindness and attention. The governor, who had attended the meeting, engaged us to breakfast with him next morning in the fort."

John Pemberton remarks: "Near Ballahulish," where they breakfasted on their way to the fort, "is Glencove, where about seventy persons, of the M'Donald clan, were murdered by order of King William. The officers who commanded, were playing at cards with some of the party,

before they committed this horrid crime. One child, being at some distance, escaped, and was grandfather to the mistress of the inn at Fort William, who, with her husband, Donald Cameron, was very respectful to us while at their house, and parted affectionately, he saying he had not had so much satisfaction with any guests since he kept an inn. In the morning we breakfasted with the commander of the fort. Captain Cochran, who, as we had spoken to him the evening before, summoned the soldiery to attend a meeting this morning in the barracks, which through mercy was also favoured. This Capt. Cochran was wounded at the battle of Bunker's hill, and has now one ball remaining in his shoulder, and another in his thigh. He told me he had on a short waistcoat, which had fourteen shots through it. One lodged in his body, but was extracted. I reminded him that it was a miraculous escape, and should be remembered. He acknowledged that he should be very ungrateful, were he to forget the mercy. He seemed reached by the visit, wished us well, and wrote by us to the governor of Fort Augustus, where we were going, to recommend us. We reached Fort Augustus in the evening, and soon after, myself and Thomas Wilkinson waited on the governor, Alexander Trapaud, who received us kindly, and said he would order a place for us to hold a meeting in. His wife is a descendant of the Barclay family, by a Cameron; and five or six of the descendants of Robert Barclay were at the meeting at Fort William."

Thomas Wilkinson adds: "The weather had been uncommonly fine during our journey through the Highlands, yet we beheld large quantities of snow in the cliffs of Ben Nevis, so that I presume on these mountains it never entirely dissolves. We also saw this day, many poor huts, entirely built of and covered with sods. Oh! you that solace yourselves in your costly apartments, while you tread the softest carpets, or press your beds of down, remember the poor Highlander, who sits on the earth, or stretches his weary limbs on the hard heath gathered from the mountains.

On first-day, when their minister had finished, the governor gave information to the people of our intended meeting, and sent us word immediately. On our arrival we found a large and orderly congregation; amongst whom several gospel truths were published. John Pemberton appointed another meeting in the evening, and intimation being given to the officers that the company of the soldiers would be acceptable, they gave directions that they should attend. The soldiers had received orders to march next morning, in order to embark for the West Indies. John Pemberton was much enlarged in testimony amongst them; the season seemed like a farewell; he signified that he had often felt a near regard for soldiers, and intimated the uncertainty of life to all men, more particularly to those in their situation; and he affectionately recommended them to have the fear of God, and the thoughts of their latter end, daily before their eyes.

"8th; We passed through Strath Errick, which is the Frazers' country, and arrived at Inverness in

the evening. John Pemberton had been at Inverness two years before, and from what he suffered there, he acknowledged, that as a man he had rather have rode five hundred miles another way, than visit it again; yet the drawings of duty seemed to lead there, and to these he gave up. A large and respectable company collected the next day, and behaved solidly." John Pemberton remarks, "The meeting was owned by the Master's countenance and presence, and the people were dealt plainly with. We appointed another meeting at six o'clock in the'-evening, which was more crowded, and was a satisfactory opportunity."

Thomas Wilkinson adds, "I believe that in the evening my friend possessed himself in peace, which was a lesson of encouragement and instruction; for though the way of our duty is sometimes covered as with tempests and with clouds, yet, if we advance with all humility as to ourselves, and with confidence towards God, the light of his favour will often disperse the darkness, and we shall journey forward in peace.

"We were about to take leave of the Highlands, which is perhaps as rugged a country as is inhabited by man, but where we might acknowledge we were favoured, both outwardly and inwardly. The hospitality and kindness of the inhabitants more than counterbalanced the unpromising aspect of the country: their respectful attention, their open and susceptible minds, ready to receive religious communications, together with the gracious ownings of His presence, whose cause we were endeavouring to promote, were sources of comfort to us, that cheered our passage through these comparatively solitary regions.

"11th; The day was very stormy. An affecting account came in the evening of six men being drowned in ferrying over a river, the passage of which we must have attempted, if we had gone forward.

"12th; Passed to Elgin, where we had a meeting; after which we proceeded to Cullen; and on the 13th rode through Banff to Macduff, where John Pemberton had held a meeting before, but had left the place uneasy. We met with considerable openness, and appointed a meeting; a number of solid sober minded people attended, and the meeting was satisfactory. In coming along, John Pemberton had observed White-hills, a fishing village, which he was desirous to visit; so I returned a few miles to procure accommodation for a meeting, and to give notice. I was received at first agreeably by the people to whom I was recommended; but on mentioning my profession and errand, they showed considerable dislike; the mistress of the house observed with some warmth, that they would have nothing to do with either Quakers, clergy, or bishops, or any such people. However, after some further conversation and explanation, way opened. The prejudices we had to combat as we passed along, were among the difficulties of this journey; and it was sometimes even difficult to preserve becoming seriousness, on hearing the people relate the strange and unaccountable ideas they had formed of our Society. Whatever use might arise from

the labours of my friends in promoting a reformation of life among the people, and in making them more acquainted with the means of salvation, I believe this journey might have use in removing a load of prejudice from their minds, and opening a door to future labour, if called for by the Master of the harvest. I returned to my companions at Macduff, where we had the most crowded meeting in the evening I remember to have seen in Scotland; the people were remarkably still, and John Pemberton was livingly opened in testimony.

“14th; At ten o'clock a meeting was held at White-hills, in a new unfinished house, which was entirely filled; some sat on beams above, and many were without. David Ducat appeared in an informing testimony, as did John Pemberton, who was remarkably favoured. Another was appointed in the afternoon. Five serious young people came from Banff on purpose to attend the meeting, and staid the second, which was crowded, but orderly. It was agreeable to find an alteration take place in some minds. Our landlady, who was so odd in her remarks yesterday, now treated us with much kindness, and in taking leave of us, expressed her earnest desires for our welfare.

“15th; Proceeded to Old Meldrum, where we were once more refreshed with the sight and society of our Friends.

“16th; Rode to Aberdeen. Ancient Robert Hervy, nearly eighty years of age, walked eighteen miles through the rain to the half-year's meeting: he seemed to possess an innocent green old age.

“18th; On this day was their half-year's meeting. Much business came before them, and it was satisfactory to see the honest care of Friends. In the evening, at John Pemberton's request, several Friends of the half-year's meeting had a solid conference. He informed them that without a full sense of his services being completed in the north, he had come above a hundred and twenty miles to that meeting. He still found a concern lie with weight on his mind to visit the northernmost part of Scotland; but to return at this advanced season of the year into such a country, seemed at the hazard of life. He wished Friends to feel with him, and communicate their sense freely, for it was a matter of great weight. Friends, from outward appearances, mostly discouraged the undertaking, for all the passages through the northern country were frequently blocked up with snow for many weeks together; yet they left him to Divine direction and the feelings of his own mind, expressing much sympathy with him, and being sincerely desirous of our preservation. Though it was to myself a serious thing to be confined for months together in the impassable valleys of Caithness, yet I felt resigned to go north or south.”

The weather being very wet, they staid in and about Aberdeen a few days to rest. On the 23rd they left that city, attended the meeting next day at Killmuck, and on the 25th arrived at Old

Meldrum again. On the 26th the weather became exceedingly cold, with a severe frost, and John Pemberton began to feel some symptoms of indisposition. Though he had felt resigned to proceed northward, yet he now found some relief from the undertaking for the present, and they set their faces again towards the south.

On the 29th, Thomas Wilkinson says, "We passed Urie to Stonehaven. Something of a sorrowful feeling accompanies the survey of places once the residence of wisdom, piety and virtue; especially when no traces are found of the former inhabitants. Such was the reflection in passing Urie; and we were not much comforted by what we found at Stonehaven, but our sorrow was more mingled with commiseration. We visited the poor scattered remains of our Society there, seven in number. We found them weighed down by the pressure of poverty; their children had left them and the Society together; and there remained scarcely a comfort of life to cheer their old age. John Pemberton entered feelingly into their situation, expressed his solicitude for their eternal welfare, and administered to their outward necessities. Ah! you that dwell in remote and lonely situations, let me recommend to you the dwelling near that Power that will preserve and support you, and be the means of your present and everlasting comfort. You too, to whose lot is committed the care of rising families; endeavour to cultivate in the tender minds of your children the precious seed sown there by the hand of Divine Goodness. You will not, perhaps, then be deserted in your old age; neither would the places where righteousness has flourished, so soon become barren and desolate."

John Pemberton says with respect to this remnant at Stonehaven; "We found them aged and very infirm, and not able to meet together; three of them were so deaf that we could not make them hear; one was blind, and all were poor, inwardly and outwardly." He adds; "On third-day we proceeded through rain and fog to Inverbervie, and feeling some draught for a meeting, concluded to stay there. The meeting was held in the townhouse, which was filled. It was a favoured opportunity. The priest was present. Something was said respecting ministry, though I was then ignorant of any professing to be ministers being present, except my companion and myself."

On the 1st of the eleventh month they entered Montrose, where they held two meetings, and then passing through Brechin, Johnshaven, a village on the sea-coast, St. Siris and Dundee, at all which places they had meetings, they reached St. Andrews on the 7th. They had a meeting with the inhabitants that evening and another the next day, respecting which latter, Thomas Wilkinson says; "A great number of persons were at the meeting, and I trust it was attended with increased solemnity. My friends were enabled to labour in the life, among an attentive and solid people. Though we were now among colleges, professors, and the learned, yet we found much openness as well as kindness. John Pemberton had found his mind particularly drawn to this

place; we approached it with some degree of awe; yet our visits to few places were more agreeable and satisfactory. St. Andrews is a place with its buildings in ruins: other places in Scotland have had their cathedrals of considerable splendour, particularly Elgin and Arbroath, which are now demolished and deserted. Splendid edifices for public worship seem to be more likely to excite admiration in the minds of the audience for the ingenuity of the artist, than to dispose the people to that humble frame of mind, which becomes them when assembled before the Lord. Christianity enjoins an inward and spiritual worship; and ought not its accommodations to partake of its own simplicity? Perhaps it is the vanity of man that pretends to assist the cause of heaven, in building palaces for men to humble themselves in; perhaps, too, it is his pride that pulls them down with such fury as was used to the places I have mentioned. The ostentation that built, and the religious fury that demolished, might be equally remote from true and unaffected piety.

“9th; Leaving St. Andrews my companions rode to Cupar. I went a few miles another way, to a place called Leuchars, to make preparation for a meeting on first-day; but I found it difficult to obtain a place. Among others I applied at a school; but the master, with looks of bitterness that I cannot easily forget, shut the door in my face without giving any reply, while I was explaining my errand. I was not, however, discouraged from further applications, and went to the castle. The master was not at home, but his wife cheerfully granted me a large barn. I then spread information, and leaving the place, joined my companions at Cupar, where we had a meeting in the evening.

“10th; Rested. Being the fourth day of resting since leaving England.

“11th; Set off for Leuchars. As we approached the place, we saw a large crowd assembled about the barn, to all appearance a mob. As we entered, they seemed a rude tumultuous set of people, amongst whom, however, we were mercifully supported. Their disorderly behaviour suddenly subsided, they became settled and still, and it proved a very solid and satisfactory meeting; for, as if in an instant, the minds of the people seemed prepared to receive the gospel truths that were largely spread amongst them.

“12th; We went to Pittenweem. The magistrates were very shy of granting us the town-hall; I believe that I waited five or six times on them before it was obtained. We had two meetings there on the 13th, and way so opened, that we met with some remarkable instances of kindness.” John Pemberton observes, “The meetings were large, many of the principal inhabitants were present, and the Lord in mercy favoured.

“14th; Moved on to Anstruther, and obtained their Town-hall, where we had a large, but rather unsettled meeting, chiefly from a general thoughtlessness about religion. We had another in the

evening; full as many attended, and their behaviour was perhaps rather improved; though they still appeared to have much to learn of religious seriousness.

“15th; We went to Crail, where the people, we were informed, were dark and bigoted. We easily, however, found entrance among them, and had a meeting in their town-hall at twelve o'clock, which was very full. The people seemed rude and undisciplined; but after they got settled, behaved tolerably, and another meeting was appointed at six o'clock. The assembly in the evening, with some small exception, was one restless crowd, which it was difficult to impress with any ideas of seriousness or order. John Pemberton informed them, he had held meetings with the blacks from Africa, and the Indian natives of America, men accounted heathens and savages, but had never seen anything like such behaviour in them. The people were at one time so unsettled, that when he rose to deliver what came before him, he was obliged to sit down again. However, at more quiet intervals, he was enabled to discharge his duty among them.

“16th; We were now drawing near Edinburgh, and John Pemberton finding himself almost worn out with exercise of body and mind, proposed our going there to rest for a few days. We passed through several towns and villages which he had mostly visited before; and arriving at Edinburgh in the evening, were kindly received by our friend George Miller, at whose house we rested about ten days. But though we ceased from travelling, the service of John Pemberton was not suspended. His love to Friends, and care for the good order of the Society, were manifested during our stay. We attended the monthly meeting of Edinburgh, in which his labours were serviceable.”

In reviewing the late journey, John Pemberton remarks in a letter to his brother, “It is fifteen weeks since we entered Scotland, in which time we have attended one hundred and thirteen public meetings. The weather for six weeks has been very wet; I believe that during five weeks my great coat was not for six days fully dry; yet I have been preserved from taking much cold, which is a great mercy. But I wanted to be a few days at a Friend's house, for I have little satisfaction at taverns, and until we came here we had but four days cessation from meetings or riding, in the fifteen weeks, which is trying to nature; yet the Lord in mercy has upheld, and made way for us in every place. Since we left Aberdeen, we have been mostly among fishermen and those who reside on the sea-coast. The meetings have been large, but many of the people more raw and undisciplined than among the Highlands. I have now been nearly round Scotland; yet there is work enough for a year or two more; but if it be the Lord's will to release me, I shall consider it a mercy.

“26th; Thomas Wilkinson proceeds. Had two meetings at Musselburgh; but little openness appeared in the people, and perhaps they were seasons rather of exercise than of refreshment.

“27th; Went to Preston Pans. A considerable number of people assembled; and another meeting was appointed at eleven o'clock next day. But few attended, and the conduct of some was painful; yet gospel labour was bestowed, and John Pemberton closed the meeting in fervent, living prayer. We had intended after this to leave the place, but John Pemberton still felt a compassionate regard for the people, and found his mind oppressed when about to leave them; so we gave notice of another meeting in the evening, which was more fully attended, and accompanied by more becoming behaviour, though without doors there was much rudeness.”

We may now resume John Pemberton's own account of the remainder of his journey.

On the 29th they arrived again in Edinburgh, and attended the mid-week meeting, John Pemberton's mind being in a low proved state, desiring to be released from this arduous field of labour in which he had been so long engaged, yet not daring to withdraw himself without an evidence of the approbation of the great Master.

“On sixth day,” says he, “my companions desiring to proceed for England, I set out with them, though my mind was loaded, and I could not see my way there; and it growing more heavy the further I went, returned the next day, having rode to Selkirk and back unprofitably. At Selkirk I parted with my kind friend Thomas Wilkinson, he proceeding homeward, and myself with David Ducat returning to Edinburgh.

“Fifth-day morning, had a long cold passage across the Firth, and it was eleven o'clock at night, before our horses were landed.”

They visited Levin, Dysert, St. Andrews, and a few other places, having several meetings; then returned to Edinburgh; and afterwards finding a liberty to leave Scotland, passed through Kelso and Carlisle, and arrived at Wigton on the 26th of twelfth month. The next day was the quarterly meeting for Cumberland; “which,” says John Pemberton, “I hope was to edification.” He continued during the winter visiting meetings in Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire, at some of which he mentions having the company of Martha Routh, William Jepson and Thomas Colley.

About this time he received a letter from his valued friend and fellow-labourer in the gospel, Samuel Neale, who was then in a declining state of health. After mentioning his bodily afflictions, he instructively remarks: “I find the ‘Ancient of days’ near me at times, and when this is the case, I feel neither sickness nor pain. I have much pleasure in reading and looking into the steppings of the flock and companions of Christ in the morning of our day [as a religious Society.] Alas! what did they go through and suffer. I often wish that the present generation would look into the experience and sufferings of those who loved not their lives unto death, who

were champions in the Christian warfare, and turned not their backs in the day of battle, who bore the burden and heat of the day, and smoothed our path in the wilderness of this world."

John Pemberton was much interested in the subject of the abolition of the slave-trade, which was now taking deep root in the minds of serious and enlightened people in England, chiefly owing to the exertions which had been made by members of our religious Society to spread correct information and encourage a sound tone of sentiment on that affecting subject. Lindley Murray, who then resided at York, wrote to him about this time, that "the cause of the poor blacks gains ground in this nation. Several great men have earnestly espoused it, and a respectable member of the house of commons, [William Wilberforce,] has given notice of his intention to bring in a bill for the prohibition of the trade. I understand that he was joined by Fox, and that he is a particular friend of the minister, Pitt. The intent of the bill is to make it felony for any British subject to take a negro from Africa without his consent." His frequent correspondent, George Dillwyn, who was then in London, also alluded to the subject, referring, however, to what was then taking place in their own land, in the following terms: "I note among other articles of intelligence, that the convention have proposed to preclude the new congress from interfering with the slave trade for twenty-one years, after all their pretended respect to the natural and unalienable rights of mankind, and so much light being thrown upon the subject of slavery. How can such a provision be considered otherwise than as a designed sanction to every crime which that trade involves, and a setting at naught the Power to which, in their late contest with Great Britain, they so solemnly appealed for the sincerity of their motives? As a part of the people who are to be bound by the new system, I hope Friends will find it their duty to enter a timely and full protest; for, though they may not succeed to their wish, it is of importance to be clear, and if they have not omitted their duty, the retrospect may afford satisfaction." John Pemberton remarks: "I think it is wisdom in Friends, to avoid mixing with the fluctuating state of affairs and the political debates of the people; yet, when such glaring contradictions appear to their former declarations respecting freedom, it may be proper deeply to consider what Truth might lead to, in showing our disapprobation of such unjust conclusions."

About the 1st of the fifth month, 1788, taking a southerly course, he went to Stockport, and attended the burial of the wife of George Jones: "they had," he says, "been married but about eighteen months; many of the town's people came in; and though their expectation was too much outward, the meeting was in measure favoured. Then I proceeded towards London, and lodged at Chapela-Frith."

From there passing through Stoney Middleton, situated in a wild and beautiful part of the mountainous country of Derbyshire, and through the forest, from Mansfield to Nottingham, he reached London on sixth-day, the 9th of fifth month.

"Second-day was the yearly meeting of ministers and elders, in which Rebecca Jones expressed to Friends how she had been employed since the last yearly meeting, and that though she did not yet see the time of her embarking, she expected her visit was nearly closed. A solid covering attended the meeting, and she had, in a close manner, to give counsel, reciting the words of the apostle respecting such who were once quickened, had tasted of the heavenly gift and partaken of the powers of the world to come; that if these fall away, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they have crucified to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame; but she added, that though impossible with men, all things were possible with God.

"In the afternoon the business of the yearly meeting was entered upon, after some profitable labour from John Storer and Samuel Neale. This meeting continued until the 20th; it was large, and attended by many solid Friends from various parts, both male and female, and a very hopeful appearance of the beloved youth. There is an increasing zeal and concern for the support and well conducting of the discipline of the church; which, however, lacks care in many places, There are many who love ease and are earthly minded. Some are groaning under a sense of weakness and a wrong spirit bearing sway in some meetings, and would be glad of help: but others do not desire to be aroused, or turned out of their old way. A suitable minute was made to authorize meetings to deal with and disown such as are concerned in the disreputable species of gaming, called stock-jobbing, which has brought many families to poverty, and much disrepute upon Friends, through the conduct of some professing with us. Many observations were also made on the evil of drawing and redrawing bills, which practice had occasioned much reproach."

After the yearly meeting, in company with some Friends, he passed into the counties of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, attending the quarterly meetings at Ipswich and Norwich, and having appointed meetings at a number of other places in those parts. At Holt, he says they attended the meeting on sixth-day, which was a favoured opportunity; and remarks, that although but two men and no women belonged to this meeting, yet they regularly met twice in the week for the purpose of Divine worship. After this, he says: "We proceeded to Wells, and a meeting having been appointed at six o'clock, it was filled with many sober people; but their minds being much outward, it was held a considerable time in silence. At length John Abbott had a little seasonable matter, and afterwards I had something to offer, and the latter part of the meeting was favoured."

From there he passed through Lynn Regis, Lincoln, Broughton, Gainsborough, etc., to Beltoft, which he describes as "a poor and almost forsaken meeting." Afterwards he went to York to attend the quarterly meeting for that county; from there through Darlington, Durham, etc., to Kendal, where he attended the quarterly meeting for Westmoreland, and had the satisfaction of meeting with his beloved friend and fellow-labourer, James Thornton, who had just landed from

America on a religious visit to some parts of Great Britain. From this time they travelled much together, having near unity and sympathy for each other. From Kendal they went to the general meeting at Preston Patrick, from there to Lancaster quarterly meeting, where passing to Settle, they travelled through Yorkshire, having a number of meetings at various places, and arrived on the 2nd of eighth month at the house of Thomas Colley at Sheffield. This dear Friend had been now some months returned home from an arduous journey in the service of the gospel in America. At this place John Pemberton writes as follows:

"Eighth month 4th; We were last week at Ackworth, and united with a committee appointed to inspect the Institution. Upon the whole, it is wisely conducted. The girls' schools are in excellent order, there being one hundred and six girls, under the care of religious and well qualified teachers. All the departments under the matron's care, are neat and clean and in regular order, as is also the farm; though it requires great labour and attention to keep things so. The prospect is pleasing, of so many youth likely to be trained up in discipline and with a sense of religion impressed on their minds, as well as to be instructed in outward learning.

"Ninth month 1st, at Ives, in Huntingdonshire. I have hitherto been mercifully preserved under conflicts of various kinds, often wading under much discouragement, weakness and poverty, and, since the last yearly meeting, much bodily weakness. I have now been obliged to lay by for ten days at Oakham in Rutlandshire, from which I moved here, to the house of John Abbott, who went with me the first time, to the Orkneys. I am now much better, the cough is almost gone, and the fever much moderated; though I am still very feeble. While I was encountering many outward hardships and difficulties among rocks and mountains, and islands, the Lord mercifully preserved in health, and sustained the mind to persevere and press through; but now in passing along with less of outward hardships and difficulties, I am more feeble in body, and also in mind; but I labour to keep in the patience, and have many friends who deeply sympathize with me.

"Dear Rebecca Jones embarked on the 13th ult. on her return, and it was satisfactory to find she was favoured with much peace, and an evidence that she embarked at the right time. She had been wonderfully upheld, preserved and furnished, through her journey; and knowing from where come wisdom and strength to labour rightly, was kept humble, and ascribed the praise to the Lord, unto whom it belongs. She loves to see the Lord's children walking in the truth, and the professors of the light walking in the light. I often sympathize with the burden bearers, and wish them strengthened and preserved from dismay: it is a great favour for each to mind his own calling, and to labour to fulfil his respective duty. If such who have been called are not faithful, the loss will be their own. Had I been more attentive, more faithful and diligent, the crown would have been more weighty. I have nothing to boast of, but am often humbled under a

sense of my frequent failures; but the Lord has been, and is, very merciful.

“I am sorry to find that a vain parade has been countenanced and promoted in my native city. Excess in vanity is very prevalent in this highly favoured island. As favours from on high are multiplied, so are the minds of the people captivated, indulging in abundant vanity, folly and wickedness. Boxing upon stages, whereby several have been killed, is one among the scenes of brutality, which of late have been much promoted, to the reproach of the abettors, and dishonour of the name they hold.”

After his recovery from this indisposition, he visited several towns in the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge, At Littleport he remarks that there was but one family of Friends, though formerly there were many; and adds:

“It appears that there was great convincement very early in these counties, and many meetings settled that are now extinct. Some meeting houses have been sold, and some closed; and others appear likely to be so, unless the Lord sees fit to bring in others by the powerful influences of his love.

“Ninth month 17th, I set out with my friend John Abbott, and attended the quarterly meetings of Warwick and Leicester, and came to Mansfield on the 27th, to attend the quarterly meeting for Nottinghamshire.

“29th; I have now been at three quarterly meetings, wholly silent with respect to ministerial labour, except yesterday afternoon; sitting under deep suffering. The meeting for discipline was profitable.”

Soon afterwards he attended the quarterly meeting for Northamptonshire, held at Wellingborough, at which he says he was silent in the public meeting, but had some labour in the meeting for business. After this he visited several meetings in his way towards London, where he arrived on the 12th of tenth month, and continued in that city and the neighbourhood for several weeks. On the 20th he attended the adjourned quarterly meeting, “in which,” he says, “much time was spent to little profit, many being apt to speak without sufficient weight; and a spirit is evident that would lessen the weight of women's meetings, through jealousy. It was an exercising meeting; but our dear friend George Dillwyn had a seasonable time at the close, much to the purpose, so that it ended in a solid frame.

About this time he began to think that he might soon be released from this field of labour, and went on board a ship for the purpose of feeling after the propriety of taking passage in her homewards. He returned, however, “not quite easy” to take such a step at present, and received a letter from his fellow countryman, James Thornton, expressive of an opinion that he would

scarcely get away before the next yearly meeting, and encouraging him to persevere in faithfulness, by this reanimating sentiment: "None that I know of have more real helps, in a united sympathy and unity of the living members of the church, than you have." John Pemberton remarks on this subject a few weeks afterwards:

"The sympathy expressed by Friends for me is very grateful, and I desire I may be favoured so to steer my course as not to forfeit their unity."

On the 27th of eleventh month, he remarks, in a letter to his brother James, in allusion to his dear friends at home: "If Friends can be brought to deny themselves of importing spirituous liquors, or dealing therein, except as medicine, it will be a great thing; but I expect it must be a work of time and patience. I felt, more than thirty years ago, a restraint in my own mind respecting the importation, which was one motive to my declining a trade to the West India Islands."

On the 29th he left London on his way to the west of England, and arrived at Bristol on the 2nd of twelfth month. Here he again met his friend James Thornton, and remained about a month.

"On second-day," he says, "I attended a meeting of ministers and elders for the monthly meeting of Bristol, in which some useful labour was exercised. Having had some engagement on my mind for a day or two towards the prisoners in the jail at Bristol, on returning from this meeting I gave a hint of it to James Thornton, and he was willing to join me. So taking John Lury, we went into the jail, and had the women felons first, being seventeen, and generally young, some to appearance about fourteen and sixteen years of age. But it was sorrowful to find, that although the gospel spring was experienced, and they were closely spoken to, it had little effect upon some; others however were more affected. We then had the men felons, about twenty, and these also mostly young, some to appearance not more than fifteen or sixteen years of age, all in irons. It was a very affecting sight. Counsel, through the efficacy of Divine love, flowed towards these, and some were affected and tendered. The opportunity was satisfactory." After visiting Bath and some other places, he says, "We went to Marlborough, and had a meeting, which was open, though the professors here are very wide from the path of self-denial.

"Sixth-day, had an open favoured meeting at Newberry, many of the town's people coming in. There are but two families in this large place who go under our name, and but one person of these two families was at the meeting. Formerly there were many Friends here, and two meeting houses; but they became divided in early time by Story and Wilkinson, and a spirit opposed to discipline getting up, a blast ensued; and there is now scarcely one in the place worthy of the name. First-day, attended two meetings at Reading, and the next day reached London.

"First month 6th, 1789; Attended the quarterly meeting for ministers and elders at Aylesbury. It was small, and no women Friends were there, none of that sex being under the nomination of elders in this quarter. Friends were stirred up in regard to it, and advised to appoint women Friends to this service. Next day was the quarterly meeting for business, opened by a meeting for worship. The nature and advantage of humble inward retirement and waiting upon Almighty God, were pointed out. The business was as well conducted as could be expected, considering their weak state, and the replies to the queries were solidly considered. In the evening we had a public meeting for the inhabitants, which was pretty open, large and satisfactory.

"Fifth-day, feeling my mind drawn towards the prisoners confined in the jail at Aylesbury, I communicated it to some Friends, and my companion J. Row, and myself, with three other Friends, went there, and had an opportunity first with the felons, about sixteen men, mostly young; then with the debtors, nine in number; and lastly with those in the house of correction; forty-eight in all, in this jail; it was very affecting to behold so many brought into difficulty and disgrace, for lack of attention to the Divine fear. I thought they took the visit kindly, and some seemed tendered by the counsel delivered and the concern manifested towards them."

John Pemberton spent several weeks in London and the places adjacent, attending meetings chiefly as they came in course, and occasionally in company with his dear friend James Thornton. On the 3rd of second month he writes thus, in reference to some places visited in the country: "I have been this autumn and winter at some very weak meetings. The discipline in many places is chiefly attended to by such as are brought in by convincement and conversion; many have departed from the profession by being laden with wealth, gotten through the eager pursuit of it by their parents; yet there is a hopeful appearance of youth, and a choice body of Friends when collected at the yearly meeting from the various parts.

"Second month 28th; Having been thoughtful respecting the prisoners in the jail at Chelmsford, I set out this morning, accompanied by Dr. Sims, and had ready admittance. There were eight cells with one person in each, called penitential cells; the ceilings high, and conveniences for washing, lodging, etc., in each; a method I much approve, as it seems most likely to produce reflection. It is certain there is opportunity for it. Several men and women were under sentence of transportation.

In one apartment there appeared to be about fifty felons, mostly young men, and several under age; with whom I had eleven opportunities. My mind was much affected, and it was no agreeable task to be among such a company of depraved spirits.

"I left London with James Thornton on the 11th ultimo, on a visit to the county of Essex. We have attended three monthly and most of the particular meetings, some of which I had not been

at since being in Europe this time. James is favoured with strength to labour fervently; the effect must be left."

He continued for a considerable part of the spring of this year in Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, attending various meetings without much occurring worthy of remark. On the 25th of third month he attended the quarterly meeting for Norfolk and Norwich; "in which," he says, "James Thornton had close labour; and though the meeting for discipline was an instructive opportunity, yet it was a season of close exercise, and held until late in the evening. I have been silent at, I think, eleven meetings following each other."

On the 2nd of fourth month he returned to London, and next day attended the meeting for sufferings. Between this and the time of the yearly meeting, he was occupied in the neighbourhood of London, and at some meetings in the midland counties, occasionally accompanied by James Thornton. "The yearly meeting," he remarks, "was large and solid; and although there were in some of the sittings too many speakers, and some particular matters took up much time, yet the cause and testimony gain ground; a concern is increasing for the support of our Christian discipline; and those who were opposers through earthly wisdom, are fewer. Dear George Dillwyn is preserved in faith and patience, and very lively in his religious labours. He, like myself, has had to live as from day to day. Our dear friend, James Thornton, informed Friends that he felt the same draught to attend his mind, to return to his family, as he felt to leave them, and a certificate was signed. Unexpectedly to myself, I found, as I apprehended, a liberty to inform Friends that I had a hope of being set at liberty during the summer, to return home. The meeting was solid, and an endorsement was made on a certificate formerly granted."

He concluded to take passage for his native country in company with his beloved fellow-labourer, James Thornton; and on the 23rd of the seventh month they sailed from Gravesend in the ship Apollo, after a solemn parting opportunity with about fifty Friends, who came from London and Rochester to take leave of them.

The following remarks occur respecting his homeward journey.

"Eighth month 2nd, we were alarmed three several days by the discontent among the seamen; they apprehending that they were not treated kindly by the captain. He was young, and it must be acknowledged that he did not act with all the prudence which could be wished. The men seemed determined to stand by each other; but being reasoned with, on the last day of the three, they softened and returned to their work, and the captain again permitted them their allowance of meat.

"21st; A contest occurred this morning between two persons, and they were going to fight; but I

stepped in and prevented it. The great dissipation, wantonness and folly that have prevailed among our passengers have been grievous to me. God does not appear to be in their thoughts, but eating, drinking, and rising up to play are too prevalent among them.

"Ninth month 6th, 1789; This is my birthday, being sixty-two years of age, and having attained to more years than I or my friends had any expectation of, having been of a weakly frame, and often very ill. May the Lord's mercy and gracious visitation continue to me, a poor unworthy creature. I acknowledge that it is of his mercy I am not consumed, my omissions and failings having been many. But great is the long suffering of a gracious God. If my time is lengthened out, may it be spent more attentively and obediently to the Divine counsel, that after the many trials, temptations and difficulties of life, I may, through his mercy, and not through any merit of my own, be received into the Divine favour. In reviewing my past life, I have many things to be grieved for, but nothing to boast of or glory in; and if at any time I have been rendered of any use, it is through the Lord's help, and to him be the glory and praise.

"8th; In the evening a fresh affray occurred between the captain and two of the men. He seemed very rash, but was prevented from doing any considerable harm, only bruising the speaking trumpet, which he had made use of to beat the man at the helm. The light, airy, vain and unprofitable conversation, and frequent quarrels of many on board, have made it a time of trial to me.

"9th; the captain supposes we are about seven miles to the south, and about six hundred and sixty miles to the eastward of Cape Henlopen. The wind continues favourable, though light.

"22nd; About three o'clock P. M., we sounded, and found bottom at about thirty fathoms; and the next day we saw the False Cape in the morning, and afterwards sailed between the two capes and came to anchor to wait for the tide.

"Seventh-day, the 26th, about two o'clock J. Gulson and myself went ashore at Wilmington, and John Dickinson sent his carriage with us to Chester. The next-day, I reached Philadelphia, and found my dear wife pretty well, and many rejoiced at my return in safety. I attended the meeting for ministers and elders, which was large; and the following week the yearly meeting, which was large and favoured."

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Third and last visit to Europe, and death.*

From the time of his return home from his arduous labour in Great Britain, John Pemberton

remained under an impression, that something more would be required of him at a future day, in that quarter of the world. For a time his diffident mind shrunk from yielding to the renewal of so trying a service, among a people of strange language, and little acquainted with the spirituality of true religion and the nature of the doctrine of the cross. The truly baptized servant cannot but feel the weight of such a service to be great, and nature may sometimes shrink from the baptisms for the dead; the yearnings of soul for the growth of the good seed of the kingdom, in those hearts where it has in degree taken root and sprung up; and from the "deaths oft," into which the mind may be plunged, for its own refinement and preparation from time to time, for the work whereunto the great Master may see fit to send. At length he gave up to the requirings of duty and spread his concern before the church.

The following extract from a letter written by his brother James to a dear friend in England, describing the exercise of his mind at this time, and his earnest desire to proceed in his religious engagements with the full unity of his friends, will be read with interest. It was written after the decease of John Pemberton.

The return to his relatives and friends after a long absence on his former European visit, was very gratifying; though this pleasure was abated by the early discovery that he came to us under a burdened mind, from an apprehension that his duty was not fully performed; which occasioned so great distress and conflict, as sometimes to affect his bodily health. But at intervals he was enabled to attend to various religious services at home, and to perform visits to the meetings of Friends in some parts of this state and that of New Jersey; in which journeys he sought out obscure scattered families, in a manner similar to that which engaged him when on your side. Nevertheless, these engagements did not remove the weight of his exercise, from which he could obtain no relief, without imparting to his brethren of the monthly and quarterly meetings the situation of his mind.

Here he met with sympathy and free consent to pursue his prospect of duty; and spreading it before the superior meeting, it engaged deliberate and deep attention; but though the rectitude of his concern was confessed without objection, a hesitation being expressed by a few in respect to its full maturity, he chose rather to bear his own burden, than to move forward in so important an undertaking, without the clearest evidence of the full unity of his brethren. Thus a postponement took place, under which he laboured with exemplary resignation, acknowledged by all who had opportunities of being witnesses thereof; and by many, that no instance so instructive, had occurred to their notice. It was now hoped by his relatives and intimate friends, that his unreserved dedication would have produced a satisfactory sense of having done all in his power, and his free offering would be so accepted, that he might rest under such a persuasion; which

appeared to yield some relief. But it proved temporary only; and at length after nearly two years detention, and passing through much exercise, he renewed his application to the monthly and quarterly meetings, and obtaining certificates of the full unity of his brethren, he again spread his concern before the general meeting of ministers and elders; where it appeared that his burden had so weightily fallen on his brethren, that with unanimous consent he was now set at full liberty. My brother patiently waited to be ascertained of the right time of moving, and two ships offering, one bound for Liverpool, the other for Amsterdam, he visited them both, and found his mind most disposed to engage with the captain of the latter."

It appears from a paper bearing date in the second month of this year 1794, and headed, "Memorandum in case of death, on leaving my native land," that he was not without a sense that his return home from his contemplated journey, was very uncertain. In this paper, after speaking of the time, when in early life, he was "caught in the holy net," while travelling with his friend John Churchman, and mentioning his subsequent "arduous trying time of duty for several years" in Great Britain and Ireland on his second journey, he mentions with diffidence his labours, and concludes with the following remarks, showing the humble state of his mind.

"When I view my steps in life, and reflect how greatly deficient I have been, I am humbled, and have great cause to admire the compassion and long suffering kindness of a gracious God; and I may with abasement acknowledge that it will be of his mere mercy, if I am saved. If I have been helped at times to be found faithful, it has been, and is, through the efficacy of grace, and therefore no room to boast. My failure in duty and in watchfulness has been great; though, through the religious care of pious parents when young, and an early sense of the divine fear, I have been mercifully preserved from the gross evils of the world to this day; which is a great mercy and favour. But I have often passed under many hidden conflicts for disobedience and failure in duty; and at times have been ready to despair, and had to acknowledge that the Lord is righteous, whatever might be my portion; but after days of sorrow, and nights of deep exercise, he has been graciously pleased to renew light and favour, beyond my deserts. Under a sense of which, I desire to be found more attentive, diligent and faithful, during the residue of my days, esteeming the light of the Lord's countenance, and the evidence of his peace, beyond all terrestrial enjoyments."

On the 27th of the fifth month he took leave of his beloved wife and family, after a solemn parting opportunity with several of his relatives, and the next day sailed from Newcastle in the ship Adrian.

On the 10th of sixth month he says, "I have been very thoughtful and solicitous to experience, if

the Lord sees fit, the seasoning grace and virtue of truth, to revive my drooping mind; and have cause to be thankful that I feel pretty quiet.

“First-day, 15th, it was proposed to have a meeting with the men, but it did not meet with the captain's approbation, so my companion and myself spent some time in retirement.

“23rd; My mind was often this day, as at other times, turned towards the great Pilot, craving preservation, clearness of sight, and perfect resignation; and my heart was softened by the virtue of truth, of which it is a favour to experience the least degree.

“27th; This day in latitude fifty-nine degrees ten minutes, with a brisk wind. The twilight in these northern parts is great, and for several of the last few days, very little darkness.

“28th; I have at times felt my mind deeply proved. May the Lord in his great mercy sustain and preserve, under every dispensation. He sees my dippings and knows my thoughts. Sounded this evening, letting out one hundred and twenty fathoms of line, but found no bottom.

“First-day, 29th; A religious opportunity with the ship's company being solidly proposed to the captain, he could not well get over it, and consenting thereto, most of the seamen came into the cabin and sat in a very quiet and becoming manner; counsel was opened to them, and they parted solidly.

“Third-day; today we had a sitting in retirement to feel after the renewal of strength and patience. We saw a large Dutch ship in the evening, but she did not give opportunity to hail her.

“Fourth-day, about forty English miles from Shetland, but little prospect of landing short of Amsterdam. My mind received some comfort this morning, in being exercised towards God, for which I am made thankful.

“Sixth-day, having lately read Sarah Grubb's journal, and some parts several times over, the lively sense she was favoured with, and the deep experience she gained, through faithfulness to the gifts dispensed, is very instructive; and I wish it may tend to increase my dedication. She had her provings many ways, but was favoured to close in peace and full assurance; a great and singular favour. May I, may all the visited, be strengthened to hold out in faith and patience to the end. My fears are often great, but hitherto the Lord has been gracious and merciful. My companion and myself feeling our minds favoured with solemnity, had to recount the gracious dealing of the Almighty with us and the children of men, and to view the qualifications and services of many brethren and sisters who are gone to rest, and the various dispensations of the Almighty, and how those who fulfilled their duty in their day were accepted. These at times saw a more glorious day of light and truth, which in its appointed season would spread. It is faithful-

ness to the discoveries of the Light, that settles, strengthens, establishes and qualifies to fulfil the work of the day.

“First-day, seventh month 6th; The captain consenting, most of the seamen met with us in the cabin, and a solemnity soon covered us, seldom experienced in larger assemblies. Counsel in the love of the gospel flowed freely, and appeared to be received acceptably, A degree of the seasoning virtue attended, and when the little meeting broke up, they came in an orderly manner and shook hands, departing seriously.

“Third-day, spent some time in retirement, in which my mind was instructed in the remembrance of the blessed experience of the holy apostle, when he could say, ‘I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ lives in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me,’ This is a state which all ought to labour after, but which requires great abasement and watchfulness to attain to. May it become more my experience; then will the Lord's wisdom, power and strength be more fully revealed, and he will become my joy and salvation.

“Fourth-day, took a pilot on board, being about sixteen miles from the Texel, and about four o'clock saw land. We have cause to be thankful that we have been so far preserved. Although my mind has been often proved with great leanness and poverty, yet I have been favoured with a calm. Oh, may the Lord vouchsafe to open my way and give me faith to pursue it.

“Fifth-day, 10th; We landed and lodged at a place called the Holder. After taking refreshment we walked through several streets and stopped to speak with some; but found none to speak English, except the landlord at the inn, the man at the post office, and an aged captain. We could not find any religious seeking persons, though many of the women seemed of good countenance.

“Sixth-day, met with a German soldier who understood a little English. Some observations were made to him, and he seemed serious. Afterwards we met a Jew who spoke English. He told us that there were not many who paid much attention to the fear of God in that place. He invited us to his house, and I had some observations to make to him, which so far claimed his attention, that he followed us to our inn and remained near an hour, until he saw us off, parting respectfully. I had also remarks to make to the landlord, respecting spending precious time at cards, and giving men drink when they appeared to have too much before. I am willing to hope that some impression was fastened on his mind.

“We left the Holder about eleven o'clock and passed over a sandy way, in a jolting, clumsy wagon, and then proceeded by boat to Alkmaer. We walked through many streets of this city,

and were gazed upon by the people; who, however, were respectful. Next morning, taking a carriage, we rode about fifteen miles to Purmerent, and there took boat and landed at the great city of Amsterdam about twelve o'clock, where we were kindly received by our friend John Vanderwerf. On our way we had passed many good grazing farms, pleasant villages and neat houses, yet a low flat country; and the nearer we approached Amsterdam, the lower the ground, so that many houses are very little above the surface of the water.

"First-day, seventh month 13th; Attended two meetings in Amsterdam, both solid; and the spring of the gospel was opened in each. My mind was made thankful for the help vouchsafed, and John Vanderwerf thought himself helped in interpreting.

"Second-day, towards evening we had a religious opportunity in the family of Frederick Mentz, one of the Friends here. Gospel love and counsel reached towards them, particularly to a daughter under great bodily infirmity.

"Fourth-day; this morning an exercise that has for several days attended my mind, being renewedly felt, an opening seemed to present, to pen a few lines addressed to the inhabitants of this great city, and it remains under consideration how to dispose thereof. This being the day on which Friends of this place formerly held their mid-week meeting, I was last evening free to propose one; which began about four o'clock this afternoon, and was attended not only by the few under our name, but by several others, who behaved well, and the gospel spring was in measure opened. I esteem it a mercy that amidst discouragement I should be so supported.

"Sixth-day, the address to the inhabitants of Amsterdam being copied, was dated this day, the 18th, and delivered to John Vanderwerf to turn into the Dutch language.

"First-day, attended the two meetings, at each of which many of the inhabitants and strangers were present. To me they were exercising, yet the gospel spring was measurably opened, and the people were sober and attentive. I had the few Friends together afterwards, both young and aged; felt much sympathy for them, and laboured to impress their minds, that the aged might live near the Lord, and be daily exercised to be replenished by him, that they might be as lights to this city, and preachers of righteousness in life and conduct; and that the youth might regard the Divine call, and embrace the truth in the love of it.

"Fourth-day, the address being printed, as follows, part were distributed.

*Tender counsel and advice to the inhabitants of Amsterdam,  
by one who desires their present and eternal welfare.*

The Scriptures of truth inform, and it is also confirmed by daily experience, that 'It is

appointed unto men once to die;' and the professors of Christianity assent to this truth, that after death comes the judgment, and as our works have been here, so will our reward be hereafter. There is in each of us an immortal part, which will be either happy or miserable when time to us here shall be no more. And it is also very evident from many Scripture testimonies, that God wills the happiness of all mankind; for, speaking by the mouth of his prophet, he says, 'As I live, says the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live;' and immediately after, he makes use of this moving language: 'Turn you, turn you from your evil ways, for why will you die, O! house of Israel?' And in another place, he says: 'Look unto me, and be you saved, all the ends of the earth.' Our blessed Lord, in the days of his flesh, when on a certain time he drew nigh unto the great city, Jerusalem, wept over it, and in the bowels of heavenly compassion, thus laments; 'O! Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you that kill the prophets, and stone them which are sent unto you, how often would I have gathered your children together, even as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and you would not.' Now as it is apparent from the foregoing testimonies, that God created mankind to be happy, he has in mercy written his law in their hearts, and placed a measure of his good Spirit in their inward parts, which testifies against all evil, and brings reproof and condemnation when his holy law is transgressed. And it is man's duty and greatest interest to regard this law, which is light, and square his actions conformably to its dictates; for in obedience there is consolation and peace.

Being now advanced in life, I have had opportunity of observing and also lamenting the mistake of many, whose time and attention are taken up in an eager pursuit of the false and delusive pleasures of this transitory life, and an over anxious desire after the gains and profits of this perishing world; in which they are so much involved as to neglect their duty to God and their own souls. For the injunction formerly given, remains obligatory on us: 'Hear, O! Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength.' Whatsoever the mind of man is most intent and fixed on, becomes his god, or idol. Therefore my desire is, that the inhabitants of this great city may seriously reflect and consider what their minds are most intent upon, whether it is to serve and please God, their great Creator, and the dispenser of all their blessings, and at whose disposal their lives and substance are, or to serve and please themselves. For the Scripture says, 'Know you not, that to whom you yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants you are to whom you obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?' And as the judgments of the Lord are now abroad in the earth, and great calamity and distress prevail and are brought near, and on your borders; it is incumbent on all to be thoughtful

and serious, turning their minds inward, to inquire after the cause and end thereof; endeavouring thereby to learn righteousness; regarding the example of the people of Nineveh, who, at the preaching of Jonah, humbled themselves, and thereby obtained the compassionate notice of the Almighty; so that the threatened destruction was withheld. I have felt my mind much exercised and concerned for the welfare of the inhabitants of this place, during the few days that my lot has been cast among them, and do fervently desire that the remarks and counsel I have penned, in gospel love, which breathes ‘peace on earth, and good will to man,’ may be read with attention, and blessed to them. So wishes, so prays your Christian friend,

John Pemberton

From Philadelphia, in North America.

Amsterdam, Seventh month 18th, 1794.

“Our meeting this afternoon was small, but favoured and comfortable; and my mind was in measure bowed in reverent thankfulness for the help hitherto vouchsafed.

“We visited the foundling hospital, also an academy, in excellent order; and in the afternoon went to the house of the Hopes'; great in this world's goods. In the counting-house there appeared to be more than twenty clerks. A sensible young man, one of the partners, came to us, with whom we had considerable conversation. Endeavours were used to inculcate an impression of the danger of the surfeiting cares of this life, and the deceitfulness of riches choking the heavenly seed; I wished him to guard against this, lest it divert from the pursuit of better treasure, intimating that peace with God was the best treasure, and that on a dying bed the greatest worldly treasures would not purchase it. We parted affectionately, leaving him a copy of the tender advice to the inhabitants of this city.

“Sixth-day, called at several houses where schools are kept, and at the Menonists' orphan house. As we passed along the streets we distributed copies of the printed piece, which were kindly accepted. One man to whom a copy was given, followed and overtook us, after we had passed him a quarter of a mile, or more; his mind seemed affected, and he signified his desire of having more, which were given him for distribution. This work is mortifying to the natural part; yet if truth and righteousness are promoted, no matter how foolish the creature may appear.

“Seventh-day; went this morning, not out of curiosity, to visit the hospital and the house to accommodate aged persons. I could not, for lack of an interpreter, convey much to them, yet my mind being affected, they seemed to notice the solidity attending. In the afternoon I went to the jail where prisoners for debt are confined, and had to communicate such counsel as at that time

revived, which was received kindly by most, though, two or three appeared vain. One man said he had been there fourteen years. These visits are affecting to my mind, and not agreeable to the natural will.

“First-day, 27th; attended the two public meetings for worship at Amsterdam. To that in the morning there was a great resort, many strangers being in the city. As they generally came out of curiosity, and were unaccustomed to silence, they were coming in and going out, most of the meeting; but a solemnity prevailed for a considerable time, which was comfortable. I ventured to stand up after a long space of silence, but the unsettled state of the people rendered it difficult to speak; though some seemed solid and gave attention. The afternoon meeting was held in silence, except that near the close I had a little to communicate respecting the blessed effects of true faith.

“Fourth-day, the meeting was attended by some sober people besides the few Friends, and was a favoured opportunity, the gospel spring being opened, and the people behaving with solidity. After the meeting we went on board a Vessel in which we had taken passage for Zwol, and proceeded on our way with a light breeze. This morning I had a seasonable opportunity with Lewis Boswel. The words of Christ sprang in my mind, which he uttered to the young man who queried. What good thing he should do to inherit eternal life. Though he had kept several of the commandments, yet he lacked in a very important matter; and though he turned away sorrowful, yet Jesus looked upon him and loved him. From which I had much to remark to this goodly young man, whose mind seemed much impressed. I left Amsterdam in peace.

“Sixth-day; we landed at Zwol this morning about six o'clock, and went to a good inn. After breakfast we walked through several streets of this city, and entering a place where there were soldiers, we found one who could speak a little English, having been in America in the time of the troubles, sixteen years past. I made some observations to the soldiers, which seemed to have some place, and left one of the printed advices with them. We afterwards visited John Erskine, a man in years, but with a lively sense and clear judgment of the solemn truths of the gospel. He has led a retired life for about twelve years; is no pharisee, but sees his dependence and acknowledges that without Christ he can do nothing. He believes that there is a church among the different divisions in Christendom, but that they are, as it were, here one and there another; and laments the condition of France, that even the rulers publicly disown God and Christ, and have become Atheists. He, however, had faith to believe that they might be permitted as a rod to chastise the wicked, that when that was effected the rod might be destroyed, and that the present troubles would in the end produce a great change, and be as a forerunner of better times.

“Seventh-day, walked about Zwol to show ourselves to the inhabitants, who appeared respectful. In the afternoon we visited the house of correction, where were about twenty-five

men. Some counsel was given, which appeared to be kindly received. One man said he was an Englishman, and had been there fifteen years, having been condemned to a confinement of thirty-one years. He seemed affected and shed tears. We afterwards visited the women's apartment, where were about sixteen, some aged and some young, to whom also counsel was given, which appeared to be accepted in love, and one that spoke on behalf of the rest acknowledged to the truths delivered.

"An affecting sight presented today; five carriages, with four horses in each, with much baggage, and people that appeared to be persons of property, among them a count and an abbess, with their servants, fleeing from Antwerp for fear of the French, who are making considerable advances. This is one of the consequences of war, which brings misery every way; and happy are they who are redeemed from its spirit, and are under the dominion of Christ.

"First-day, eighth month 3rd; Drummond Scott, a schoolmaster, who had acted as interpreter, came to our quarters, and our little band, being four in number with him, spent nearly two hours in silence, and closed in supplication. About four o'clock we visited Colonel McClough, who had been in the army about forty years. Having presented him with a copy of the printed advice, he read a part, and then desiring the family to be called, read the whole of it to them, who were solidly attentive. I have laboured after patience in my stay here, and this interview affords comfort.

"Second-day, I visited the barracks and communicated through such interpreters as could be met with, to several little companies of soldiers, some advice to impress their minds with the Divine fear; to which some gave attention. We took tea with Colonel McClough, and visited a Latin schoolmaster, an aged man, who told us he had read Barclay's Apology, and approved of it. I gave him B. Holmes's Serious Call, in Latin, and we parted friendly. Some of these visits were mortifying to the natural part; but I wish to leave this place, if possible, in peace. We have had opportunity to distribute small books, etc., and had we the Dutch tongue, our visit might be rendered more satisfactory to ourselves and beneficial to others; however, we do as well as we can, and must leave the event.

"Third-day, we visited a young man who has been minister of the Protestant French congregation in Zwol, but is now prohibited from teaching in public, as he could not take the oath enjoined by the States. We found both him and his wife very amiable and tender spirited people, he being an enlightened man, and his mind seasoned by the truth. He expressed much love for Friends, and having some time ago read Barclay's Apology, he much approved of it. His living, we understand, was one thousand guilders a year, which is now taken from him for his conscientious refusal of the oath. We parted from them in much affection, and I had to recommend their seeking to have their minds clothed with wisdom from above, rightly to enable them

to train their six lovely children; the necessity of which was acknowledged. We went afterwards to the parade, and many soldiers being gathered, I had to communicate some advice, which one of them, a solid man, gave them in their own language. They behaved well, and the opportunity was as satisfactory as could be expected. I understand since, that these poor men are to march hence tomorrow.

“I now proposed to leave Zwol, yet something still detains, the cause of which I do not fully see; and must, therefore, exercise patience.

“It proved a wet afternoon, at times raining very hard; so that it was well we were restrained from departing, particularly as in the evening we had a further interview with Peter Chevalier, the minister of the French congregation, and his amiable wife, I showed him the certificates granted me by my friends; after supper a solemnity covered our minds, and dwelling under it some time, I had to open my mouth and express the necessity and advantage of frequent retirement, to wait for the renewal of strength and the participation of that heavenly bread, which keeps the soul alive. Their minds seemed tendered, and we parted in much affection, John Erskine came to take leave of us, and appeared under much concern for our safety and preservation, urging the danger of travelling under the present circumstances.

“Fourth-day, we left Zwol in the morning, and proceeded in a heavy clumsy vehicle, through a country mostly very poor, with a sandy road, heavy dull horses, and a self-willed driver, to Almeloe, about twenty-five miles distant, and concluded to stay there all night, as our charioteer refused to proceed further.

“Sixth-day morning proceeded to Lingen. I was much exercised in approaching this place, which is in the king of Prussia's dominions, and hoped not to be detained. But feeling some exercise of mind I attended to it, and seeing a goodly looking man, queried of him if he could speak English. He could not, but took me to his house, where one spoke French, and I found him to be the principal of a school patronized by King George III., and a chief magistrate in the town. We spent several hours with him agreeably, and some remarks were made, which he received in love. I presented him with Robert Barclay's *Apology*, in German, and some other pieces; and afterwards visited the German Lutheran minister, spent about an hour with him, and he acknowledged to the propriety of some gospel truths and remarks made to him. I parted from him, as from the other, with their desires for our prosperity and safety; and then visited an aged man, who could speak a few words of English, and who had had a stroke of the palsy. He was too full of worldly matters, from which I endeavoured to direct his attention, and to show him the propriety and necessity for him and myself to leave lower concerns, and labour to become prepared for a better world. He acknowledged the remarks were just, wished us preservation, and I left some pieces with him.

“Seventh-day; slept little last night, and did not feel at liberty to leave this place. Today we paid visits to some learned men, spending about two hours with professor Mieling, with whom we had much conversation on religious subjects. He showed tokens of regard; his aged mother acknowledged to the truths communicated, and two young women present behaved well. We also visited a very rich man, named G. A. Zeigler, To this house our interpreter was averse to going, representing the family unfavourably; however, we had as much satisfaction as in most of the visits we have paid; the man having more sensibility respecting religious matters than I expected, and a niece was tender.

They expressed gladness at our freedom, and many desires for our preservation. We gave him William Penn's ‘Rise and Progress’ and the ‘Tender Counsel,’ and left some pieces also at other places. The reception we met with, and the labour which opened, showed the propriety of our having staid here; this being a place of much outward learning, but where Friends' principles are little known.

“Second-day, visited the college, where we were received kindly, and afterwards spent some time with Abraham Campstede, a professor of languages, I had to remark to him, that as I understood he was a man of parts and learning, I wished him not to lean upon them, but to seek to be endued with the wisdom that comes from heaven, which is pure. He acknowledged the propriety of the remarks, and we left with him William Penn's ‘Rise and Progress,’ in German.

“We visited J. Wilremar, a young minister; my mind was covered with gospel love, and I made many remarks to him respecting the ministry, and the necessity of waiting to experience the mind seasoned with the virtue of truth, in order rightly to minister to others, and also the necessity of regarding the counsel of Paul, ‘to be an example to the believers in word, in conduct,’ etc.; to all which he assented, his mind being touched. On parting he seemed very affectionate, and could scarcely let no hand go, expressing many good wishes for my preservation. Much labour has been bestowed in Lingen, and I have undergone great exercise of mind; more so from the lack of an interpreter with a mind seasoned by the truth. The one we had, who was a physician, was kind, but superficial, and sometimes mixed a little of his own, not being careful always to deliver exactly what I said; so that I was often weary of him, but knew not how to do well without him.

“Third-day, we set out for Osnaburg soon after five o'clock, travelled about three miles an hour, and arrived in the evening, having spent about an hour at a town called Western I Capteln, where we found one person who could speak English, with whom we had some conversation, and left a copy of the ‘Tender Counsel.’

“Fourth-day I spent under much exercise of mind. We made diligent inquiry, but could not find

those friendly people of whom Sarah Grubb makes mention at Osnaburg. We had thoughts of moving towards Pyrmont, but the way did not clearly open. My spirits were much down, but I laboured to keep from sinking below hope. The Lord has mercifully sustained hitherto, blessed be his holy name. But these journeys among a people of strange language, without a steady interpreter, and with close trials within, require faith, patience and stability.

“Fifth-day, my companions having made diligent inquiry, found an ancient man of about eighty-two years, who appears to be one of the people Sarah Grubb alludes to, and he agreed to give notice to some others.

“Sixth-day, attended agreeably to appointment, but waited nearly an hour before they all came, being only five besides myself and companions; having a schoolmaster for interpreter. It appeared discouraging; however, I desired them to settle into silence, which seems difficult for the Dutch and Germans, as they are accustomed to much talk. After a painful exercising time, in which it was difficult to get the mind truly stayed, I uttered some remarks to show the necessity of ceasing from the activity of the creature, and having the mind exercised towards God, looking to him to prepare the offering that will find acceptance: and I had to revive the gracious promises made to those who seek aright. Another religious opportunity was proposed to be held on first-day, to which I yielded; but I left them heavy and sorrowful, in considering that they profess to separate on religious grounds from the assemblies of others, and yet appear to have little depth of religious experience; the pure life was not in dominion. Our long detention in towns, and at public houses where there is a great resort, is a subject of admiration and of inquiry with some, why we remain so long in a place; they not knowing the conflicts of spirit which attend, and the deep baptisms which travailers for the good of souls have to experience. Our stay at Osnaburg has been painful, and the prospect of advantage less than at most places; but I labour for resignation and patience.

“Seventh-day, had a very agreeable interview with the minister Martin, a sensible, feeling, religious man. We united in sentiment and spirit; many gospel truths being opened, and some branches of our testimonies, the propriety of which he agreed to. We parted under the seasoning virtue of Truth; and this visit gave me more satisfaction than anything which has occurred since our arrival at this place. I visited also our interpreter, and my mind was opened to impart counsel to his daughter, about eighteen years of age, which appeared to have place in her mind. This evening we were visited by Martin and his brother Dr. Klucker, a solid man, head master of the Latin school in this place, and learned in several languages. We gave him B. Holmes's ‘Serious Call,’ in Latin, and the ‘Short Account,’ in French, and found that he possessed Barclay's Apology, in German. These opportunities revived my drooping mind, and gave hopes that our stay is in Divine appointment, however proving to ourselves.

“First-day; this morning I had a request from the abbess of the nunnery, to pay her a visit, and two o'clock was appointed. I went with an awe over my mind, not knowing what might be the issue; however, we were received by her with solidity and respect, and we spent nearly an hour acceptably with her. She acknowledged the truth and propriety of sundry observations made, and we parted affectionately. I was in measure made thankful for this visit and the seasoning virtue that attended it; and particularly that the cause was not injured, nor gospel truths withheld.

“In the morning we had a quiet sitting in our chamber, myself, companion, the interpreter, and another individual; the Lord favoured, and it was a refreshing opportunity. At dinner, there being a full company at table, my mind was exercised in solemn prayer; but being in my own tongue, few could fully comprehend what was delivered. An aged man, however, who sat near me, said ‘Amen,’ at the close, and I had peace in this dedication.

“About four o'clock we went to this ancient man's house, and our company at this religious opportunity were eleven men and two women. A considerable time was spent in silence, when the gospel spring arose and our interpreter did better than heretofore. Much was communicated, and several present were tenderly impressed, particularly one man. We parted affectionately, with tears on both sides, my desires being for their welfare. There is much innocence about the aged man and one or two others; but the experience of the generality in the ground of true religion is small, and there is a need of delighting more in silence. After parting with these, we proceeded to the house of J. F. Klucker, where we spent an hour and a half with him and his friend, the minister Martin. Our conversation was in his library, which contains a large number of books; and he said he had the Bible in twenty different languages. I mentioned the necessity for a Christian to learn true wisdom, adding, that we were weak creatures, and without watchfulness the mind was apt, by too much learning, to be lifted up above the simplicity of the gospel. Whereas, the greater the gifts and qualifications, the greater was the call for humility. This was assented to, and we parted solidly and with their desires for my being blessed and preserved.

“This closed our day's labour, and my mind was humbly thankful for the portion of wisdom and strength mercifully vouchsafed to a feeble instrument. I have had much conflict in this place, yet by labouring for quietude and patience, the end so far has been more satisfactory than I hoped for: may honour, majesty and praise be ascribed to the Lord, to whom alone it belongs; and the creature be abased; for it is through his help that I have been upheld hitherto. My path is a very humbling, mortifying one. I may truly say in this journey, ‘I die daily;’ and fresh and deep baptisms constantly attend. May the Lord strengthen inwardly and outwardly, until he is pleased to say, it is enough. ‘He leads the blind in a way they know not, in paths they have not seen,’ and I only live from day to day. May patience have its perfect work, and the Lord's time not be

thought long. If I am favoured to hold out to the end, and close in peace, I am not very anxious where the body is laid, but I find watchfulness needful every hour. May the Lord keep us under the fresh anointing, and increase our faith and dedication, so that, maintaining a hunger and thirst after the bread of life, we may be kept savoury.

“On second-day, finding my mind still exercised for the small select number of persons above mentioned, we visited eight families of them, and found comfort in several. Hearing of a religious people about five miles distant, at a small village named Buern, we went there on third-day, and were gladly received. They soon collected, and we were mercifully favoured with an open meeting, there being twenty-two present, including two children. The minds of several were contrited. They had in times past withdrawn from the parish worship, and met together to edify each other; but being persecuted, and one of them, a woman, beaten, they had but very seldom met of late. We had much satisfaction in visiting these people, and from there proceeded to Western Capeln, that place still resting on my mind, and had an evening meeting with about fifty or sixty people, which was also a favoured opportunity. We visited also several Lutheran ministers. I have sometimes admired that opposition has not been made, as I have been very plain respecting the qualification of right ministry, and the necessity of a regard to Paul's counsel to Timothy. As some of these visits have been mercifully owned with the tendering influence of the pure Spirit, and afforded a degree of peace, I am willing to hope our detention has been in Divine appointment.

“Seventh-day, my mind was under a weight of exercise; perhaps in sympathy in some measure, with the precious seed under oppression. In the evening I went to the Lutheran orphan house to visit the children, and communicated a little matter to them and their overseer. Visited also a youth, who, by a fall, has, it is supposed, split his thigh bone. He was tender, and expressed thankfulness for the visit.

“First-day, the 24th; We met together this morning as usual, our interpreter sitting with us; and soon afterwards Henry Lange, Frederick Seebohm and Herman Schutamir, came in. They are serious men, and appear and act as Friends. They attended the meeting in the afternoon, along with others; which was to me an exercising time.

“Second-day we proceeded to Buer, but there appeared very little openness towards proposing a meeting with the people; so after a stay of a few hours we continued our journey to Bunde. The Friends from Pyrmont continued with us. I walked into several parts of the town of Bunde; the people seemed friendly, but my mind was much stripped and exercised, as it has been for several days past.

“Third-day, visited the minister of Bunde, and his wife, she having expressed a desire to see us.

She appears a solid woman, and he a thoughtful man. At table I found my mind exercised in supplication, and through the Lord's mercy the seasoning grace attended. We spent several hours at this house; and the gravity, the fewness of words, and the weight which attended our conversation, made our stay with them very satisfactory. We called at several other houses and communicated counsel, which appeared to be received in love, and with an acknowledgment to the truths spoken. This seemed to make way to appoint a meeting. It was attended by a large number, mostly young, and was more favoured than I looked for.

"Fourth-day, after making some visits we took wagon and proceeded to Herwerden, formerly the residence of the princess Elizabeth, whom William Penn visited. After dinner we were called on by a serious man, who had been brought up a Romanist, but has for some years declined attending their worship, and for about twelve months past has met with a few seeking people near Bielefeld. He seems to be in earnest in a pursuit after saving knowledge. He told us of a young woman accounted rich, and gaily dressed, who has experienced a great change. She saw Sarah Grubb and Sarah Dillwyn passing along the street, and their dress being different from what she had before observed, led her to inquire who and what they were; and her mind became so affected, that she in time took up the cross, changed her own dress, and has become a solid, valuable young woman. She and another zealous young woman have kept up a religious meeting, some others joining them; and she sometimes speaks a few words in their meetings. He also related the case of a youth who lived as a clerk to a merchant at Bremen; who being uneasy with his situation, wrote to his parents and had their consent and that of his employer, to return to Bielefeld; and his clothing, which was fashionable, coming by the stage from Bremen, his mother on first-day proposed his dressing, in order to go to their place of worship; but he told her, that those idols he would give up, and would not wear them again. He is now a serious religious youth; and hearing of us, has set out for Pyrmont, in hopes to see us. These instances show that something is at work in the minds of the people. May the Lord carry on his work and perfect it to his praise.

"Fifth-day, we set out on foot to visit some religious people under the name of Quakers, about four miles and a half distant. It was a hilly road, yet we reached the place less fatigued than I expected. The two men, who are brothers, were from home when we arrived; but the women speedily collected, and we had a religious opportunity with them, being six in number. It was a tendering; time, the minds of all being comfortably affected, and they being glad of the opportunity. The meeting was held in a little room, where they commonly meet on a first-day and sit in silence. We remained with them about two hours, and then taking leave and going a short distance, one of the men came home; so we returned and had a short opportunity with him; then came back to Herwerden, through rain most of the way. After drying our clothing, we attended a meeting which had been proposed yesterday. There were about thirteen present, and it proved

more satisfactory than could be expected. But it is not the first time that religious opportunities have suffered for lack of punctuality in meeting at the hour. Some time before the meeting we were visited by the other of the two brothers, and also a man from the Hanoverian territory, who is under the denomination of a Friend. They had been to Bielefeld to see the friendly people there, and came to Herwerden in hopes of seeing me and my companion. They were encouraged to faithfulness. The two brothers have for conscience sake suffered much, both in person and property, from the priest and otherwise, but have been supported under suffering. One had been a prisoner nine months; and the other had been several times thrust into jail; once while building a house, and in time of harvest, when he had many at work who needed his direction. Much innocence and simplicity seem to attend them and their connections, and they appear better grounded in religion than any we have yet been among.

"Sixth-day, we took a wagon, and proceeded to a village called Ufeln, and had a comfortable opportunity with a religious seeking travailer there, a tender spirited woman, whose heart was overcome at seeing us. The husband at first refused to receive us, but she entreating him, he consented; and though he seemed cool, yet after a little time he became more open. I was very poorly, having taken cold by being wet yesterday, but through the Lord's mercy was much better in the morning.

"Seventh-day, the man was more open, and consented that we might have a meeting at his house, which was more than I expected. I had also an opportunity with the woman, and encouraged her to persevere in faithfulness, looking unto the Lord for wisdom and counsel. She appears to have been under much exercise of mind, and has had trials and sufferings; and seems in earnest to build on the right foundation. Before leaving the house, I had something to say to her husband; whose mind was reached, and we parted affectionately. We had also a religious opportunity at the house of an aged woman; her son and another man being present, and it was a season of favour. The man, who, I suppose, was a neighbour, seemed affected, and desired the Lord to bless us. We hired a wagon, and set out for Bielefeld, and after about five hours arrived there in safety. I find that in many of the towns in Germany, under different princes, there is a seeking people; but the fear of the priests, and of their neighbours, has such place in their minds, that they are afraid to show themselves, or make open confession.

"First-day, eighth month 31st; This morning three men and one woman from the country, and a few others, besides the hopeful young man so remarkably changed, sat with us in a room at the inn. It was a low exercising meeting. Another was agreed to be held in the afternoon, and those from the country engaged to spread notice. About two o'clock Lewis Seebohm, another friend of Pyrmont, came in with letters. About four o'clock we sat down, expecting some from the country. Our company, however, was only two women and one man from the country, and two

men of the town, besides the youth above mentioned, the two Friends from Pyrmont, and ourselves. It was a more open time than that in the morning; tenderness prevailed, and encouragement flowed to a tribulated exercised state. A conference being held respecting another meeting, one of the men present offered a room at his house, it being suggested that the people did not choose to assemble at a public house. This fear of being seen greatly prevails among awakened minds in this land.

“Second-day; Very unwell this day; however, I walked to the place where a meeting was to be held; though not the house proposed yesterday, the landlord forbidding his tenant to permit it. Another was therefore fixed upon, about a mile from our inn. I went in great weakness, both of body and mind. There were upwards of thirty people. We spent nearly an hour and a half in silence; my mind was preserved quiet, and a solemnity prevailed; the people generally being very still. The spring of the ministry afterwards opened, and the minds of many were much affected. At the close of the meeting some counsel was given, not to be easily moved from their steadfastness, either by the fear of man, or the many voices in the world, some crying, ‘Lo, here is Christ,’ and some, ‘Lo, he is there.’ Such as were truly sincere were encouraged to meet together, and not to be ashamed of sitting in silence; and although their number might be small, to remember the Lord’s promise was to the two or three who met in his name. We parted with them in tenderness. Some of these people seem sincerely disposed to make progress in true religion and godliness, and to build upon the everlasting foundation; and some are under a very precious visitation, and are desirous of being preserved under the humbling virtue of truth. They are seeking the way to Zion, but are as sheep without a shepherd. These were directed to the great Shepherd, Feeder, and Teacher of his people.

“Third-day; I had much fever last night, resting poorly, and was unwell all this day; but sat a meeting which was appointed at our inn, to which some came that had not been present before. I was favoured during the meeting, with strength to hold forth the doctrine of Christ. Several minds were tendered, and I am willing to hope it was a profitable opportunity. One woman came with her son about four miles, not knowing of the appointed meeting, and brought a letter from her husband, Caspar Reining, who has been with us several times, hoping that we might be furnished with counsel to his son, which would be as a seed that in time might bring forth fruit. They returned home in the rain on foot after meeting.

“Fourth-day, notwithstanding a fever continued on me, I visited the parents of the young man before mentioned, whose feet are turned into the way of righteousness. The father looked fierce, but entering into conversation with him in a soft mild manner, his countenance fell, he became familiar, and we parted affectionately. In the afternoon we visited also, the parents of the young woman now at Pyrmont. Her father at first refused to give us his company, but after a while he

was prevailed upon to come in, and appeared much agitated; yet by introducing conversation in a familiar way, with some religious observations, his countenance in measure fell; he sat down, and I felt a degree of gospel love toward them, with some expressions of desire for myself and them, that we might improve the few days allotted us, that they may be our best days, and we may experience a preparation for our great change. We also visited one of their ministers, who has shown much prejudice against the few who go under our name, and uttered his venom even from the pulpit. However, to us he appeared open, and desired for us a blessing at parting. In the evening several of the friendly people came to visit us, and C. Reining seemed under much exercise and concern about reviving a meeting for Divine worship in silence; though he did not expect many of the people hereaway to unite therein, the fear of man being so great. He and others present were recommended to labour to be retired in their spirits and wait for the opening of Truth, and for wisdom and strength to proceed, so that when they engaged therein they might be steady.

“Fifth-day, I had a fever all last night, and my companion sat up with me. However, I was favoured to get into a perspiration, kept my bed all day, and the fever subsided pretty much towards evening.

“Seventh-day, the chill and fever was renewed, and I was very unwell all the afternoon. It continued till midnight, with a great thirst, yet through the adorable mercy of a gracious God, I felt more of the incomes of his love and life-giving presence than I have experienced for a long time; so that I was enabled to make melody in my heart, and recount his fatherly care and tender dealings with me from the days of my infancy. Prayer and praises were living in my heart, and I had to bless his holy name. This comfortable visitation of his love and mercy continued some hours, and I was ready to conclude I might be soon released from the trials and afflictions of this life.

“First-day, ninth month 7th; This morning I felt exceedingly feeble, yet went down to the meeting. Several attended who had not been at meeting since our coming. There was a quiet and solemnity in the time of silence, which continued when I was called forth to minister; and I hope it was an instructive opportunity.

“Second-day, in the afternoon, I paid visits to two families, in each of which we were favoured with counsel and instruction, and they manifested their affection at parting. These were people esteemed rich, and who have good stirring in their minds, but are not yet brought to a willingness, without reserve, to confess Christ before men; and thus some of them are standing in the way of honest inquirers in a lower station; these saying. What does such a man say to this doctrine? After supper several came to the inn, and we had a religious opportunity, the Lord condescending to open counsel, which reached the witness in their hearts. As L. Seebohm

lodged at the house of one of them, he heard him in conversation saying, ‘this doctrine of the cross is the same which Sarah Grubb preached to me;’ but they entered into arguments to evade the force of the testimony. Several of these people have separated from the public worship, under an apprehension that they have seen further; they read much, and being men of good parts, comprehend much in the head, and can reason and argue, but will not as yet bow to the lowly appearance of Christ, nor submit to confess him openly, by a subjection of the will, and obedience to the truth. I was much spent with these visits, and the labour in them, and had a fever all night; yet was favoured with peace; a full recompense.

“Third-day, very heavy rain the whole day. In the afternoon a friendly good spirited woman came about four miles to see us. She had been at several meetings, and said that the first time she saw us she felt great love, and would have been willing to entertain us and do her utmost for us, had we needed her help. She said, the people had strange notions respecting us. William Neighmire, the youth before mentioned, also came to visit us. His father had told him that he would have no more to say to him; but he meekly asked him what he would have him to do, and speaking mildly to him, his spirit was brought down. William's faith and patience are much proved, but he appears fixed, with the Lord's assistance, to pursue the path of peace. Some others came to visit us. There are many awakened minds, and if they had a few solid Friends with them, a church might be gathered. However, the Lord is sufficient for his own work, and as the harvest is great, is able to raise up and qualify instruments for his service.

“Fourth-day, we were visited by a man about eighty-four years of age, who lives about five miles from Bielefeld, and who for thirty years has been, by the people, called a Quaker. He told us he was a worshipper of God in spirit, and that he was visited when a child, but had not been faithful, which was his sorrow now in old age. But I found he held erroneous notions, and was very full of words. Silence was recommended to him, and as he acknowledged a failure in duty, he was advised to be inwardly concerned to seek after Divine favour, that he might be prepared to meet his Judge; and cautioned not to trust in part of the work of redemption being experienced after the death of the body. He parted affectionately. I afterwards ventured out, and we visited the merchant mentioned by Sarah Grubb, having a comfortable religious opportunity with him. He acknowledged to the truth of what was communicated, and expressed thankfulness for the visit.”

John Pemberton mentions seven other visits paid in various families of serious people that day, several of which were occasions of tenderness and contrite feeling to those visited. After this he appears to have felt clear of Bielefeld.

“Fifth-day, we proceeded to Lemgo, the roads being miry, from the abundance of rain. Travelling in Germany is very tedious, the carriages being very heavy and clumsy, and the horses

accustomed to go at a walking pace. The common rate is three miles an hour.

“Sixth-day, set out from Lemgo about nine o'clock, after having visited an aged man, a weaver by trade, who goes under the name of a Quaker. He seems a serious man, lives much retired, and hospitably entertains travellers who call upon him. We had a comfortable sitting with him, in which counsel was opened. We arrived at Pyrmont about three o'clock, and were visited by several of those called Friends here, and among them the young woman of Bielefeld, Charlotte Vanlaer. I seemed to dread coming to Pyrmont, and now feel much stripped.

“Seventh-day, feverish and poorly, and kept much retired; yet some of the friendly people coming in, we had in the afternoon a comfortable sitting; but my mind was principally directed towards two young persons under the humbling power of truth.

“First-day, ninth month 14th; Attended two meetings held in a large room appropriated thereto before these people became much acquainted with Friends. Although under the ministry given there was much contrition, yet I feared there were too many contented with the outside of things, and not sufficiently exercised to press forward.

“Second-day; this morning, with ten of the more solid part of the Friends, I took an opportunity with a man of plain appearance, and generally taken to be one of the Friends, respecting whom I had been uneasy since the interview with him at Herwerden. He now discovered himself more fully, as not being one in faith with Friends. His going about from place to place, and living on the labours of others, is of bad example and savour, and he has endeavoured to sow confusion among honest inquirers, and been the means of scattering and dividing. He was dealt plainly with, and desired, as he was in the prime of life, to apply himself to labour for his support. Friends were cautioned not to give countenance to him, nor in future to entertain him, as this implied more unity than they had with him, and might mislead the tender youth. Soon after this conference he went off.

“Fifth-day; in the evening I visited the agent of the Prince Waldeck, to acknowledge the kindness of the prince to our Friends in his state.

“Sixth-day; this afternoon was what the Friends here, call a quarterly meeting; to which, at times, some from distant places have assembled. This opportunity appeared like a meeting of conference: they had to consider the propriety of opening a school for the instruction of Friends' children, and a Friend present offered to undertake it for a while. I had some remarks to make, which arose in the spring of the gospel.

“First-day, ninth month 21st; Attended the two meetings, both exercising opportunities. After that in the afternoon, the members continued together, and had a satisfactory conference; in

which they united in the propriety of again addressing Friends in England, that they might come more immediately under their notice and care. Several of these Friends spoke solidly and feelingly, that they had long been under an exercise on this account, and they were glad a way now opened for it.

“Seventh-day; for a month past, few days have been free from rain. This damp affects my frame much. My mind for several days, has been much with my dear friends in America, as the yearly meeting is approaching. May the Lord's good presence be with them, and furnish with wisdom and strength, so that all things may be done to his glory in the transactions of the church; that he may crown the assemblies with his life-giving presence, that the body may be edified, the weak strengthened, and the advices issued may be under the seasoning grace and virtue of Truth; for it is his own works that praise him.

“The country about Pyrmont is pleasant; the hills generally covered with wood; oak, beech, birch and alder; and the bottoms are good meadow ground; yet the land in Germany that I have seen, is generally a poor soil. The roads are the most crooked and difficult for a stranger, of any country I ever was in. I think that as to the generality of what I have travelled, one third of the distance might be saved by making them more straight. Scarcely any pains are taken with them, and on these wide commons there are, except in a very few places, no direction posts. But what served their forefathers, they make serve them.

“First-day, 28th; Still at Pyrmont, and attended the two meetings; also a conference with Friends in the evening, in which they opened several matters which were subjects of trial to their minds; and through gracious help, we offered the best advice we could. They are tender, and desire to do right.

“Fourth-day, attended the mid-week meeting at Pyrmont, which was laborious, yet ended satisfactorily. Next day, having been invited by the chief magistrate, we spent about three hours with him and his family; and expressing a desire to see the children, the wife readily collected them. They sat down, and something was given to speak to them. Much respect was shown us, and considerable discourse we had; but he was too full of talk. We parted affectionately.

“Sixth-day, a meeting being appointed at a village about two miles distant, I walked there. It was a very low exercising time, and a long space of silence; yet there are some seeking, well-minded people.

“Third-day, tenth month 7th; Paid a visit to a man esteemed a great lawyer, and spent about two hours with him and his wife. I showed them my certificates, and had some serious conversation respecting the motive of leaving my native country. Their minds appeared solidly impressed.

This man had been, some time past, much prepossessed against Friends, and joined with others to give them trouble; but the interference of the Prince Waldeck gave a check to them, and they are now quiet. I trust this visit will prove no injury to the cause and testimony of truth. He behaved well, and we parted respectfully.

“Fourth-day, the meeting was well attended, though some Friends had to come two miles through the rain and mire. After meeting I had about ten ounces of blood taken.

“Sixth-day; Frederick Seebohm, at whose house we are entertained, has five children, and shows much religious care over them. He instructs them in reading and writing, and has daily a sitting with them in silence. I was this day at one of their little meetings, the four eldest being present. They sat very quietly, and the father's mind seemed bowed and exercised on his own and the children's behalf. This little meeting held about half an hour, and then the children were put to their books. If this were more generally the practice of parents, that rawness and undisciplined conduct, which is too apparent in many places and families, would be removed, and much profit redound to parents and children, and consequently to religious society. For the Lord would not fail to bless such care, and would grant counsel. May the world be less regarded, and the knowledge of God and his ways be more diligently sought after, that the durable riches and righteousness may be experienced and possessed.

“First-day, 12th; I was most easy to propose that the afternoon meeting should be put off till three o'clock, and the inhabitants of the town invited; and Friends agreeing thereto, we had a very crowded meeting, many not being able to get into the house. The Lord condescended to favour, and the people behaved well. Many came afterwards to take us by the hand, and appeared solid; among them two Jews, one of whom was at meeting on first-day last. After this public meeting we had a sitting with those who generally frequent the meeting, and suitable counsel, caution and instruction were opened to them. It was a contriting opportunity; but I was left poor, which may be safest for me.

“On second-day, after visiting three families at the factory, my way opened to leave Pyrmont for a time; and on third-day, having through the Lord's mercy, considerably recruited in my health, with an easy, quiet mind, and a humbling thankful sense that I had done what I could, I set out about ten o'clock for a town called Barrentrop, which we reached on horseback in about two hours. Hearing of some religious people, some of them were spoken to, and in the evening we were visited by two men and two women, to whom such counsel as then arose, was communicated; but the fear of man, which brings a snare, had great place in their minds. Next morning I was most easy to propose a public meeting, and visiting the minister of the place, we mentioned it to him, and asked his company. He said prudence was needful, and that he would rest at home; but in the course of what passed at the interview, he remarked that some matters were

more clearly stated and opened than he had before conceived, and he parted with us affectionately, saluting each of us. One of the seeking people who have separated from the priests, undertook to give general notice; but his landlord, an envious old man, bitter, and drinking to excess, threatened to turn him out if he did so. An aged woman therefore spread the notice, but met with abuse from some, who spat in her face; and an envious magistrate spread terror among the people. He would not be reasoned with, nor would he receive William Penn's 'Rise and Progress,' which was offered to him; but threatened me with the Stadt-house, until the Prince de la Lippe's mind should be known and said we deserved to be taken up, for walking the streets and spreading our principles. He afterwards sent to tell me that he fined me five dollars, and forbade the meeting.

"However, about the time appointed we sat down, and a few sober people with us; but some rude boys rattled at the window shutters, and a man said to be the rector, and master of a free-school in the town, came with a fiddle, and played for some time. My mind, however, was kept quiet, and I found it my place to sit about two hours in silent suffering; at the close I had to make some remarks on the impropriety of such conduct with the profession of a Christian. Many people were in the barn adjoining the room we were in. I told the children that their conduct resembled that of some children formerly, who cried to the Lord's prophet, 'Go up, you bald head, go up!' and the Lord's displeasure was manifested to these. This seemed to strike some of them with seriousness. It was a painfully exercising time, but the people departed quietly.

"Next morning, after paying two visits, we mounted our horses, and about ten o'clock left Barrentrop, hearing no more from the magistrate. We proceeded to Lemgo, where we were cordially received. Having taken a bad cold in a damp bed at Barrentrop, it increased, and I became ill; I sent for a physician and had much blood taken, but was confined here a week, and much oppressed in body and mind. We were visited by several of the inhabitants, and my companions had opportunities of dispersing books and opening our religious testimonies. On first-day I sat at the public table, and my mind was drawn forth in humble supplication, which Lewis Seebohm interpreted. A meeting being appointed to be held in the evening, many gave expectation of attending it; but a magistrate, of like persecuting spirit with that at Barrentrop, spread fear among the people, so that our number was small. As it was held in my chamber, I was enabled to sit throughout. The Lord condescended to favour us, so that we had a comfortable meeting. The aged landlord and his wife attended, and sat solidly.

"The next morning the magistrate sent a request to see my certificates, which I had shown to sundry persons last evening, that he might satisfy the people who we were; for some had surmised here and at the other town, that we were spies sent by the French, to spy out the

country. He expressed himself satisfied, but said that we must not hold meetings, and advised our leaving the place speedily. My companions, for I was too unwell to go to him myself, told him, that when we thought it right so to do, we should leave the place, and not before. He was very angry, giving very little opportunity to say anything to him, and sent word to an aged friendly man, who is one of Zion's travailers, that if he came again to visit us, he should depart from the town.

“On fourth-day I had proposed to hold another religious opportunity in my chamber, but from the fear which had spread, and little notice having been given, we had but two, the aged Friend and another man. To the latter much was said to excite to deeper consideration, and the aged Friend, to whom encouragement was administered, was much affected. He dwells, as it were, alone, among a lifeless professing people, yet is preserved in much innocency and liveliness.

“On fifth-day morning, in a very weak state of body, being wrapped up warm and placed in a carriage, I was favoured to arrive safely at Pyrmont. Although our visit to Barrentrop and Lemgo was attended with much exercise and conflict of spirit, yet we all felt that the journey was in the Lord's will. L, Seebohm said it did him more good than much money, in hopes that it may awaken some minds to behold the evil of a persecuting spirit, and to see that those who are on a right foundation do not fear the threats of men, so as to be discouraged from performing their religious duty, I thought I saw my way as clear to these places, as any I have visited; yet I did not expect to find such a persecuting spirit. The poor man at Barrentrop, who was threatened by his landlord, afterwards visited us at Pyrmont, and informed us that his landlord had warned him out.

“Eleventh month, 8th; There are nearly twenty here who are considered as members, yet there are several lively spirited innocent persons, not yet brought into membership, and the number who usually attend the meetings, is between forty and fifty.

“My lungs have been much hurt, and my body greatly reduced; yet the Lord, through all, has mercifully supported my mind in much calmness and resignation, and it is my desire that these afflictions may tend to my greater purification. My steps in Germany, hitherto, have yielded me more satisfaction than any former journey; yet there are seasons of buffeting, deep wading, and close baptisms, and I am mercifully kept poor and dependent, a safe state for me. The end of my journeying in Germany is now hid from me, and as I have been mercifully preserved hitherto, to wait in patience for the true light, so I desire to be kept patient.

“As B. Holmes's ‘Serious Call’ is allowed by many to be as suitable as almost any tract, for the middling class of people, I have proposed to Friends in London to have a fresh translation in the German; and it is a matter of great importance to have translations made by a Friend, who being

well acquainted with the principles we hold, can readily take the author's meaning, and do strict justice."

Speaking about this time of the prevalent dangerous practice of our young persons travelling on the continent of Europe, John Pemberton says: "A Friend in England makes this remark: 'What advantages in the view of thoughtful parents, can possibly compensate for the exposure of their children to the dangers which surround them in these tours for improvement?' And he adds his own belief that, "nine out of ten become vitiated, and deny their religious education, "30th; Still at Pyrmont, and very tender, having been slow in recovering, yet have attended all their meetings as they came in course, except two; and this day, appointed a public meeting, which was large and solid, and rendered satisfactory through the goodness of a gracious God.

"Twelfth month, 14th; The last week has been a deeply exercising time to my mind. This afternoon was a public meeting, and I laboured according to ability given; but the people are superficial, and know little of vital Christianity, resting in a form, and depending on the priests, outward ceremonies, and will-worship.

"18th," This afternoon the chief magistrate visited us, and spent about four hours with us. He is a worldly-wise, and eloquent man. Much conversation passed respecting gospel ministry; and although, to support the priests, he for a time, argued that such who attend on the altar, should live of the altar, and others should labour in order to support them, yet in the end he seemed to acknowledge it would be better otherwise. My companions represented how much good he might do, if he sought for divine wisdom, and was guided thereby, in judging of matters, regarding the tender scruples of conscientious persons. His mind appeared reached, and he said that if the present priest should be removed, some agreement might be made before another was established, to prevent some difficulties which now subsisted. He parted from us respectfully, inviting us to visit him at his own house.

"First-day, 21st; The meetings this day, as well as on fourth-day, have been exercising opportunities. I was favoured with letters from my dear brother and wife, mentioning the removal of many inhabitants of Baltimore, and some few in Philadelphia, to their everlasting home, by the yellow fever; also an epistle from the meeting for sufferings in London to Friends at Pyrmont.

"28th; All last week I was very unwell with an inflammatory fever, and am again reduced to a weak state. At meeting this morning I was led in a close searching line, to stir up and awaken the attention of the professors of truth here, many of whom are much at ease.

"First-day, first month 4th, 1795; Yesterday I was very unwell, as I had been all the week, and spent the night heavily, which appeared as though it might have been my last. In the afternoon

of this day a chilliness came over me, with symptoms of a closing time being near; under which, through the Lord's mercy, my mind was preserved calm and resigned.

"First month 11th; All the past week I have continued in a tried situation, and have become very weak, yet favoured with patience and resignation.

"18th; Reduced to a very weak state. This evening I had a solid conference with two persons, who have shown a self-confident, ranting spirit. They were brought down, and acknowledged their error. My companion was helped to set the testimony over such exalted self-righteous spirits, which despise dominion, and are not willing to be subject to the discipline and good order, in wisdom established among Friends, but call it the prescription of men.

"The frost continues severe, and by the advance of the French into Holland, the intercourse by post is stopped."

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The above is the last entry in his diary. The following account of his illness and peaceful close, is taken from a manuscript in the hand-writing of his friend, William Dillwyn:

"On the 23rd of the first month, he appeared in the morning to be much better. In the afternoon of that day some Friends came in to see him. Very soon afterwards he was suddenly seized with a chill and fever, which obliged him to go to bed. His illness continued the succeeding night, accompanied with vomitings, and such pain in the breast and side, that his surviving until the morning, appeared doubtful.

"On the 24th he continued very ill. The physician came in the morning, and regularly repeated his visits twice a day afterwards. On his expressing a wish that the medicine prescribed might answer the purpose intended, John Pemberton answered, 'My hope is in the Lord.'

"The 25th, he appeared to be no better, though very quiet and resigned; never uttering an impatient word, although in much pain. The 26th, he seemed in the morning to be a little better; but towards evening his pain increased. His physician now intimated a doubt of his recovery. In the evening, understanding that his friends were under difficulty from the arrival of some hundreds of soldiers, French emigrants, to be billeted on the inhabitants of Pyrmont, after a little pause he said, 'Friends are often brought to the strait and narrow gate, and therefore it is necessary to act in the counsel of best wisdom; and if anything is imposed on them by the laws of the country, or the authority of the magistrate, to suffer it in the meek and patient spirit of Jesus.'

"On the 28th, in the morning, he had a little sleep. In the evening a hiccough came on, which

increased the apprehensions of danger. Before noon, being raised up, and his companion sitting behind to support him, another of his friends being also present, he expressed himself to this import: ‘Friends who live in the truth, and are concerned to fulfil their religious duty, have often deep proving seasons to pass through, before they come to a clear discerning of the Divine will, with respect to leaving their own habitations; and when they come at that, and travel abroad in the service of the gospel, they have also many and deep baptisms to pass through: but on looking over my stoppings along in this land, I have had to believe that I have laboured faithfully to discharge my duty, and have peace therein; although in the present sickness I have felt more poverty of spirit than in those heretofore;’ with more weighty observations not well recollect ed. The Friend mentioning his firm belief that his coming among them was in best wisdom, and that his religious labours had been useful and acceptable to the sincere hearted, and attended with a blessing, he replied, ‘I have nothing to boast of.’ In the evening a young woman came in, whom he desired to sit down, and after a pause, he said in the words of the apostle, ‘Let brotherly love continue;’ adding, ‘This is not only necessary for the men, but for the women also; and without this we are but poor creatures.’ Afterwards he delivered some tender counsel respecting the little Society at Pyrmont, for which he seemed to be much concerned. He intimated also that the event of his present illness was hid from him; but instructed his companion, if he should be now taken away, to write to his beloved wife and to his kinsman in London, remembering his dear love to them, and informing them of the particulars of his decease.

“The 29th, on his awaking in the morning, the physician said he thought his disorder not worse; but his natural strength being much exhausted, and the hiccough continuing, he had but a poor day, and little sleep. In the course of it, he said, ‘It seems to draw nearer and nearer to the solemn close.’ On the 30th the disorder much increased; in the afternoon, he said, ‘I have not been so tried in any sickness in all my life, although I never experienced so much of the love of God, in any of my journeys heretofore, as I have in this.’

“On the 31st, about three o'clock in the morning he was a little relieved from the oppression and difficulty of breathing which he had laboured under; and said, ‘It is a great favour to know that my Redeemer lives; and because he lives, I live also:’ expressing also, to his companion, and the friend who had mostly assisted him, his sense of their kindness, and of the care with which he had been nursed, and also his wishes for their growth and increase in all that is good. That friend remarking how pleasing and encouraging it was to see him so much resigned, he answered nearly as follows: ‘Ah, we may see miracles are not ceased! Great and marvellous are His works. He is mighty to save, and able to deliver to the very uttermost, all those who trust in Him. His ways are ways of wonder, and past finding out.’ Between nine and ten o'clock, the physician, after feeling his pulse, intimated his opinion that he would not continue much longer. Asking what the doctor said, and being informed, he said calmly, ‘We must be resigned. We

must be resigned.' This answer, and the composed manner in which it was delivered, affected the physician so much, that he expressed his surprise and pleasure at seeing him, in such circumstances, so resigned; on which he said, 'This is what we all are taught to labour for.' After this he said much on the different spirits which were endeavouring to persecute and lay waste the Lord's church, adding, 'My heart is heavy on account of these things;' and again, 'The spirit searches all things, yes, the deep things of God: We should perfect holiness in the fear of God.' After some other expressions, evincing the awful collected frame of his spirit, he added, 'But I do not want to launch into many words, but to bring into a sameness of soul.' About noon, he said triumphantly, 'I am departing for heaven; from you all, to the kingdom of God and of Christ.' His mind now seemed to be wrapped up in divine love, continuing to speak of God, of Christ, and of his kingdom; and the last words which could be distinctly understood, uttered about two o'clock in a melodious voice, were, 'I can sing the songs of Zion, and of Israel.' After this, he continued to breathe easier and easier, until about fifty minutes after six o'clock in the evening, when his gentle spirit was released from its earthly tabernacle.

"On the 3rd of the second month, his body was solemnly interred near the centre of the burying ground of the Society in Pyrmont, in the plain simple manner directed in a paper written by himself in the preceding eleventh month, addressed to his companion, and endorsed, 'to be opened after my decease;' the spectators of this, to them, new scene, manifesting their satisfaction on the solemn occasion."

Thus peacefully, though in a foreign land, was gathered to eternal rest, the spirit of one who had long borne about in the body, the marks of the Lord Jesus, and who had waded in deep and oft repeated baptisms for the welfare of the church of Christ. He was a man of great meekness and gentleness, but firm in maintaining the faith once delivered to the saints. He was remarkable for the low estimate in which he held his own Christian attainments, preferring others to himself, and ever seeking the unity of the true members of the church in his religious engagements. To such a degree indeed, did he value this unity, that on one occasion, finding that some had imbibed uneasiness respecting his services in the ministry, he travelled several hundred miles and presented himself before these his brethren, requesting a full and open development of their feelings, in order to a removal of the ground of jealousy.

One who knew him well, and accompanied him in one of his journeys in Scotland, speaks of him in the following terms: "My heart feels a tender sense of his sincere benevolence and worth, that I know not how to express. He was indeed a disinterested man. The desire of wealth and distinction, and the general pursuits of other men, seemed hardly to make a part of his motives. The glory of God and the good of his fellow-creatures, seemed to be the pure spring of his actions. I have been told that on the day of his marriage, a time when most men are so taken up

with their own happiness, as to forget that there is misery elsewhere, he ordered provisions to be sent to all the prisoners in Philadelphia. I have also been informed, that frequently on market days, he would himself go and lay out his money for the like purposes. Yet, humble in all his expectations, and diffident of his own attainments, I remember when we were once conversing seriously on the subject of futurity, he observed, ‘When the Almighty sees fit to release me, I should be thankful to be at rest.’ The true Christian is ever lowly in his pretensions, and more concerned for the work than the reward, in resignation leaving all to the righteous Judge of heaven and earth.

“In his disposition he was modest; yet when his duty led him among the great and distinguished, his manner was plain, solid and dignified. To the different ranks of sober people, he was open and communicative. He was likewise an uncommon observer of what passed before him on the stage of life, not only beholding with ready attention the conduct of mankind where he came, with a judgment of its tendency, but also having a knowledge of the various regulations of general society and of the useful avocations of life. In the public prisons, those receptacles of human wretchedness, the sweet influence of his Christian charity was diffused, not only in donations to relieve the misery of hunger and want, but in expressions of kind concern for that part which never dies. His reverence for the Divine Being was very great, and he felt little less than anguish of heart, if at any time he heard the holy name profaned. His reproof on these occasions was indeed serious, and his expostulations were earnest; evincing a conscientious love and duty to the Almighty and an interest for the eternal well-being of those who were transgressing his law; and he seldom failed of bringing such transgressors to own the evil and express their sorrow for it.

“In his life and conversation he was a preacher of righteousness. His conversation and conduct were instructive, edifying and impressive; and, distinct from his labours as a minister, the cause of religion, sobriety and virtue, was forwarded by his company. His innocent mind, as in its sphere, seemed to delight in the company of children; yet he paid perhaps a still more marked attention to age and infirmity; and I do not remember sharper expressions of his disapprobation, than when he found the hoary head insulted, and the claims of declining years neglected.

“To the poor he addressed himself with great tenderness and condescension. It was admirable with what interest, ease and delicacy, he would enter into the private concerns of poor families, with a view to do them good: he might, indeed, be said to be the poor man's confiding counsellor and friend. If the sober and industrious lacked capital to begin business, if he had it not of his own, he went to borrow for them, and entered into security for the payment. And when the solemn undertaking of his visit to Great Britain was drawing to maturity, lest any should suffer by a transaction in which he had any concern, he came to a resolution of disposing of estates, I

have been told, to a considerable amount, paid off the sums for which he was engaged, and took the securities upon himself.

"When the good order of our religious Society required his assistance, either in supporting the testimony, or in dealing with delinquents, he proceeded with that religious boldness that accompanies a conscientious and disinterested mind. In what concerned its religious order and economy, he was clear in his conceptions and ready in expression; yet to the judgment of others he paid the greatest deference. If his patience was at any time suspended, it was when he thought he had fallen short in the performance of his religious duty, often saying, 'Ah! I am a poor unprofitable servant;' yet many can bear testimony, that health and strength of body, and the comforts of this life, were sacrificed to the service of his great Master."

"Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!"

*Testimony of the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, concerning John Pemberton.*

He was the son of our valuable and much esteemed friends, Israel and Rachel Pemberton. By an early sense of the Divine fear, joined to their parental care and pious example, he was preserved from the delusive vanities and evils into which youth, through the force of temptation and overlooking the monitions of Divine grace, are often seduced; so that under the Lord's favour and blessing, the remark of Solomon was verified in him: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

He was born in this city, the 27th of the eleventh month, 1727. On coming to manhood he proceeded on a voyage to England, in the same vessel with our beloved friends John Churchman and William Brown, who were drawn in gospel love to visit the churches in that country and parts adjacent. His inducements to this voyage appear to have been business, and for the benefit of his health but soon after his arrival in London, feeling his mind religiously inclined to accompany John Churchman to a few meetings in the country, he was further engaged to continue with our said Friend in his travels through most parts of England, Ireland and Holland.

In the early part of this journey, at a meeting held at Penzance, in Cornwall, he said a few words in public testimony; and, as John Churchman relates, "tender and broken, accompanied with a good degree of the savour of truth." Thus, though he left home on temporal concerns, having received a Divine call, he may be said to have done, in measure, as the disciples of our blessed Lord, who left their nets and followed him. Having travelled together about three years, they parted in much love and unity.

His ministry was sound, instructive and edifying; being concerned to inculcate the necessity of great circumspection of life and purity of conversation, that thereby our religious profession

might be adorned through humility and a reverent sense of the Lord's omnipotent care over us. He was very useful in our meetings for discipline, being zealously concerned for the support of our Christian testimony and the good order of the church; manifesting a tender regard to such as had missed their way and became the objects of care on that account.

He was careful in the remembrance of the apostle's exhortation, to visit the fatherless and widow in their affliction, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world; so that it may be truly said of him, he was ready to do good and to communicate, and to honour the Lord with his substance and with the fruits of his increase.

Feeling an engagement of gospel love to visit the churches in Europe, and having the concurrence of his brethren, he embarked for London, at New-York, in company with our friend William Mathews, in the twelfth month, 1782. The vessel being taken on her passage, in the English channel, near the isle of Wight, by a privateer from France, they were carried to Dunkirk; though soon after released, and arrived in England in the second month following.

He continued in England, visiting the meetings of Friends in various parts, until the ensuing yearly meeting held in London, which he attended; from which he proceeded to the northern counties, and embarked at Liverpool for Dublin, where he arrived in the seventh month.

In the fifth month, 1785, he returned to England, and attended the yearly meeting held at London in the sixth month following; from which he proceeded to the western parts of that nation, and from there to Scotland, visiting the Orkney islands and several other places.

He spent about two years in that country, where his religious labours appear to have been very acceptable, especially to the poor people inhabiting the Orknies.

After his return from there, he remained in England, visiting the meetings in London and many other places, till the seventh month, 1789, when he embarked on his return to this city.

After continuing mostly with his family several succeeding years, sometimes visiting meetings in the neighbourhood of this city, and those more remote in the adjacent country, a concern under which his mind had been exercised previous to his last return from Europe, from an apprehension of not being fully clear of some parts thereof, continuing and becoming increasingly weighty, he revived and spread the same before his brethren; and obtaining their concurrence to return there, embarked in a ship bound for Amsterdam, the 28th of fifth month, 1794, arriving there the 12th of seventh month following.

Previous to his embarkation, his mind being deeply impressed with reflections on the uncertainty of life, and affected with a tendering sense of the Divine goodness and mercy extended

for his preservation, he left some observations in writing, from which the following is extracted:

“When I view my steps in life, and reflect how greatly deficient I have been, am humbled, and have great cause to admire the great compassion and long-suffering kindness of a gracious God, and with abasement, acknowledge it will be of his mercy, if I am saved. If I have been helped at times to be found faithful, it has been, and is through the efficacy of grace, and therefore no room to boast. My failure in duty and watchfulness has been great. Through the religious care of pious parents when young, and an early sense of the Divine fear, I was and have been preserved from the gross evils of the world to this day, which is a great mercy and favour. But I have often passed under many hidden conflicts for disobedience and failure in duty, and at times ready to despair, and had to acknowledge the Lord is righteous, whatever might be my portion; but after days of sorrow and nights of deep exercise, he has been pleased to renew light and favour; under a sense of which I desire to be found more attentive, diligent and faithful, the residue of my days, esteeming the light of the Lord's countenance and the evidence of his peace, beyond all terrestrial enjoyments.”

He remained at Amsterdam a few weeks; in which he appears to have been engaged in religious labour towards the inhabitants of that city, to whom he addressed some “Tender caution and advice,” which was printed in Low Dutch, and distributed amongst them.

Finding his mind drawn to visit the few Friends settled at Pyrmont, in Germany, he proceeded on the journey, and got to Hertford, in Westphalia, the 27th of eighth month. The next day, walking about five miles to see some religious people, and being caught in the rain, he took a heavy cold; the effect of which he never fully recovered. After being some time confined there, he was enabled to proceed by Ufelen, Bielefield, Lemgo, Barrentrop, etc., to Pyrmont, where he arrived the 12th of ninth month, having had meetings and acceptable service at all the before mentioned places, and many others on his way from Amsterdam, particularly at Bielefield, where he had a large public meeting, and many select opportunities, and also visited numbers of the principal inhabitants, being generally well received, and his religious labours appearing to be acceptable. A memorandum made the 6th of ninth month, when at Bielefield, says, “The chill and fever renewed; I was very unwell all the afternoon, and it continued till midnight with a great thirst: yet, through the adorable mercy of a gracious God, I felt more of the incomes of his love and life-giving presence, than I have experienced a long time; that I was enabled to make melody in my heart, and recount his fatherly care and tender dealings with me, from the days of my infancy; and I had to bless his holy name. And this comfortable visitation of his love and mercy continued for some hours, that I was ready to conclude I might soon be released from the trials and afflictions of this life.”

Between this time and the latter end of the tenth month, he had several public meetings at

Pyrmont, Barrentrop and Lemgo, though not without some opposition at the two last places; and notwithstanding his weak state of health, he regularly attended the meetings of those professing the truth at Pyrmont, having also many private opportunities with them in their families; faithfully labouring for their settlement on the true foundation. His bodily weakness increasing, he was unable to travel, and was much confined to his bed; but about the middle of the first month, 1795, he was so much better as to be able to walk about his chamber, and his physician thought him almost out of danger. A few days after, he was suddenly seized with a chill and fever, which again confined him to his bed; and his illness so increased the succeeding night, that his surviving until the morning appeared doubtful. He continued very ill for several days, yet was favoured with much calmness and resignation of mind. On the 27th he was easier, but said, "If I get through this time, it will be a hard struggle." On the 28th, being raised up by his desire, he expressed himself to this import: "Friends who live in the truth, and are concerned to fulfil their religious duty, have often deep proving seasons to pass through, before they come to a clear discerning of the Divine will, with respect to leaving their own habitations; and when they come at that, and travel abroad in the service of the gospel, they have also many and deep baptisms to pass through." The 29th, his natural strength being much exhausted, he said, "It seems to draw nearer the solemn close." On the 30th, the disorder much increased. In the afternoon he said, "I have not been so tried in any sickness in all my life; although I never experienced so much of the love of God in any of my journeys heretofore, as I have in this."

On the 31st, about three o'clock in the morning, being a little relieved from the oppression and difficulty of breathing which he had laboured under, he said, "It is a great favour to know that my Redeemer lives, and because he lives, I live also," Between nine and ten o'clock the physician intimated his opinion, that he would not continue much longer: asking what the doctor said, and being informed, he replied calmly, "we must be resigned—we must be resigned." This answer, and the composed manner in which it was delivered, affected the physician so much, that he expressed his surprise to see him, in such circumstances, so resigned: on which he said, "This is all we are taught to labour for—we should perfect holiness in the fear of God." About noon, he said, triumphantly, "I am departing for heaven, from you all; to the kingdom of God and of Christ."

His mind now seemed to be wrapped up in Divine love, continuing to speak of God, of Christ, and of his kingdom; and the last words which could be distinctly understood, uttered (about two o'clock) in a melodious voice, were, "I can sing the songs of Zion and of Israel." Near seven in the evening, he departed, being in the sixty-eighth year of his age:—a minister about forty-three years.

On the 3rd of the second month, his body was solemnly interred in the burying ground of the

Society professing with Friends, in Pyrmont, in a plain manner, which he had directed; the spectators of this, to them new scene, appearing to be much affected on the solemn occasion.

*Testimony of the monthly meeting of Friends at Pyrmont, in Westphalia, Germany, concerning John Pemberton, of Philadelphia, in North America.*

Seeing it is recorded in Holy Writ, and confirmed by experience, that the “memory of the just is blessed;” and our beloved friend John Pemberton, having, on a religious visit to Friends and friendly people in this nation, finished his course, and laid down his head in peace amongst us; the consideration of his religious service, and the lively sense thereof remaining fresh and as a good savour on our minds, has engaged us to transmit a testimony concerning this our beloved friend, to posterity.

He was often led, in a manner unusual in these parts, to go into unknown houses, gather the family about him, and after an awful pause, to distribute wholesome doctrine, counsel and advice among them. This manner, as it were, like in the apostles' days, to break the bread from house to house, seemed sometimes at first to surprise the people; but when, after a short while, their minds were overshadowed by that invisible power which accompanied his words, and the witness of truth in them was reached, tears were often beheld to flow; and at parting, the unknown were observed to take their leave of him as if well acquainted, in a tender and affecting manner.

His arrival at Pyrmont was on the 12th of the ninth month, and his stay amongst us about four months; during which time he was mostly very poorly in health, but nevertheless almost daily occupied in the service of Truth; for as his bodily health permitted him, he not only attended punctually our public and monthly meetings, and visited Friends in their families, but had also many private opportunities and several public meetings with the town's-people, which were very numerous, and wherein he was enabled to preach the free gospel of Christ with Divine authority; so that not only sometimes the whole assembly seemed to be clothed with an awful reverence, but also the hearts of many were moved, and the witness of God in them reached, by his living testimony. At such opportunities, he seemed, to the admiration of those who knew his weak constitution, not to feel his bodily weakness at all, usually lifting up his voice as a strong youth, to testify of the great love of God towards mankind.

It was his principal concern to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God; endeavouring to show that God has given a measure of his Spirit, light or grace to all men, as a talent, which he has placed in their hearts.

His ministry was in plainness of speech, and attended with Divine authority; for his words,

whether they contained exhortation, comfort, or reproof, reached the inward states of those whom it concerned; and he has often spoken, both in our meetings and at other opportunities, so exactly to the state of individuals, that there was no doubt left, but he was led by the unerring Spirit of Truth; and more especially in his particular service among us, as fellow-professors of the same principles of that unchangeable truth, for the promotion of which he spent his life.

The solemn reverence of his waiting spirit appeared so manifest in his countenance, that others who beheld him, were thereby invited to stillness; and such as had a desire of hearing words, were taught by his example to turn their minds inward, to the measure of grace in themselves; showing that it is infinitely better to keep silent before the Lord, than to utter words that are not accompanied with the life-giving and baptizing power of the Spirit; which must needs enliven them if they be truly profitable.

After his return to Pyrmont, he had repeatedly accesses of an inflammatory fever; and on the 23rd of the eleventh month, in the evening, it seized him so suddenly with a violent chill, that he was obliged to leave the company of some friends, who were come to see him, and go to bed. Next morning the physician came to see him, and at parting, wishing him that he might get better; he replied, "my hope is in the Lord;" and he continued in a patient, resigned state of mind; although to appearance, in great pain of body. His mind seemed to be totally free from temporal concerns, and only occupied with objects relating to everlasting truth: and particularly, he seemed much concerned for the welfare of the little Society of Friends in this place, even to his very last moments.

A few days before his decease, his companion mentioned to him a strait and difficulty that Friends of Pyrmont were brought under, by reason of several hundreds of French emigrants who were come to take up their winter quarters, and to be billeted on the inhabitants of Pyrmont. After a little pause, he said in substance as follows: "Friends are often brought to the strait and narrow gate; and therefore it is necessary and incumbent for them to act in the counsel of best wisdom and if anything is imposed on them by the laws of the country and the authority of the magistrate, to suffer it in the meek and patient spirit of Jesus."

His disorder having much increased, he suffered exceedingly; but kept remarkably patient and resigned; and being a little relieved from the great oppression and difficulty of breathing which he had laboured under, he said, "It is a great favour to know that my Redeemer lives, and because he lives, I live also." This he expressed about three o'clock in the morning of the 31st, being the day of his decease; and a little after, he said to his companion and the Friend that assisted him, "You are very kind, and I have been carefully nursed; I wish you may grow and increase in every thing that is good, and become a spiritual and holy house unto God." A while after, a friend said to him, that it was pleasing and encouraging to see him so much resigned; to

which he replied nearly as follows: "Ah! we may see, miracles have not ceased; great and marvellous are his works; he is mighty to save and able to deliver to the very uttermost, all those that trust in him; his ways are ways of wonder and past finding out." And about nine o'clock, he said, "The Spirit searches all things; yes, the deep things of God." Seeming to be much exercised in his mind about the professors of Truth at Pyrmont, he said, "Some are now very full of themselves, and are persecuting the Lord's church; but it is a wrong spirit. There is a spirit that is doing the church much harm; but I am not of that spirit, and it is best to avoid that spirit which sets up for itself. They run from one evil spirit to another; and it is a deceiving spirit. My heart is heavy on account of these things." A while after this, he said again, "The Spirit searches all things, yes, the deep things of God." And then, a little after, he expressed himself nearly as follows: "The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life, which opens the mysteries of God's kingdom; but the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God;" adding, "but I don't want to launch into many words, but to bring into a sameness of soul." About twelve o'clock he said in a triumphant manner, "I am departing for heaven, and from you all, to the kingdom of God and of Christ." After this he said, "You can prove these things, whether they are agreeable to the scriptures of God and of Christ, yes or no." And then he expressed in a weighty manner nearly as follows: "It is not circumcision nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, which lives and abides forever," And a little after, "They who are justified, are justified by the faith of Jesus Christ." And afterwards he earnestly said, "Woe unto the world because of offences."

His mind seemed to be overcome with Divine love, and his words were of God, and of Christ and his kingdom: and the last that could be distinctly understood, which he uttered with a melodious voice, were these: "I can sing the songs of Zion and of Israel;" which is a demonstrative proof that he had not followed cunningly devised fables; but the living substance of Truth and true religion.