

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
DAVID SANDS

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ORIGINALLY ENTITLED:  
THE JOURNAL OF THE LIFE AND GOSPEL LABORS OF  
DAVID SANDS  
WITH EXTRACTS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE

*“Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt: And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever.” —Daniel 12:2-3.*

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## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The following account of David Sands has been compiled, partly from a brief biographical sketch found amongst his papers, and also from the journal of his travels, kept by himself, while engaged in the work of the ministry, in America, in England and Ireland, and on the European continent. In making these memoranda, he does not appear to have had any view to their publication; which has occasioned their being left in a less perfect state than they otherwise would have been; and has rendered many little corrections expedient and necessary, for the sake of perspicuity; but great care has been taken to convey accurately his real meaning. The journal was discontinued while he was in Ireland, about the year 1799, and does not appear ever to have been resumed. From that period, the notices of his religious services have chiefly been collected from his correspondence, part of which was found transcribed by his own hand. A few miscellaneous pieces, written on various occasions, have also been inserted. These documents have been for many years in the possession of his daughter, Catharine Ring; and have lately been confided, with a view to their publication, to the care of Edward Pease, of Darlington, and his son, John Pease. In preparing these papers for the Press, it was, as might be expected, found desirable to abridge them, otherwise the volume might have been swelled to a much larger bulk. In the form in which they are now presented to the reader, it is hoped they will contribute to edification, and tend to preserve for posterity, the memory of an individual, precious to many yet living; of one whose long-continued arduous labors and services were eminently owned by the Great Head of the Church; and blessed to many, to the promotion of the Redeemer's Kingdom; and we reverently trust to the salvation of souls.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1st month 3rd, 1848.

## CHAPTER I

*Parentage—Convincement—Marriage—Thoughts on Slavery—Appears in Public Testimony as a Minister, and Travels in the Service*

David Sands, son of Nathaniel and Mercy Sands, was born the 4th day of the 10th month, 1745, at Cowneck, on Long Island. When about fourteen years of age, his parents removed to Cornwall, Orange County, State of New York, where he was instructed in farming, etc.; the country being new, he had but little opportunity of improvement by the assistance of schools. He was very industrious, in order to acquire an education; and having commenced learning the Latin language, previous to his removal, he improved every opportunity of persevering in it, and much of the time, without the knowledge of his father, studying often by fire-light. His father feared such close application would be too much for his delicate constitution, as it was necessary to have his assistance through the day, he being the eldest of a large family. He was brought up in the Presbyterian profession; but being given to see and understand the necessity of being a true Christian, and not merely a nominal professor, and of seeking to know the will of his Creator, and to do it according to the light he had received, he was not entirely satisfied with

many parts of his profession of religion, and earnestly desired to know the truth as it is in Jesus. His inward exercise increased, and for several years he suffered great anxiety of mind, insomuch that his parents became very uneasy on his account, although it was out of their power to relieve him through their own religious apprehensions; but they often expressed that if he could but find peace of mind, they would be satisfied to give him up to it, let his name as to religion be what it might. Meanwhile, he was diligent in his duty in assisting his parents in raising their large family. He commenced the mercantile business, with his father's assistance, and continued in it some time; but his great exercise of mind increasing, his health became seriously impaired.

About this time, he attended a meeting appointed by Samuel Nottingham, a Friend, from England, whose testimony, and the religious views and principles which he offered for consideration, were fully consistent with his own exercised state of mind, but the idea of being a Quaker seemed then impossible for him to reconcile. The plain humble appearance seemed to him to be more than was necessary for any man to adopt in order to assist him to be a Christian. In the desire more fully to be at liberty to pursue his religious exercises, and to establish his mind on what appeared clearly made known to him as his duty, he gave up his business, left his home, and commenced teaching school in a village a few miles distant. His close exercise of mind continuing, he retired daily to a secret spot some distance from his dwelling, to supplicate his Maker for knowledge to enable him to go forward according to his divine appointment. He never lost sight of the principles of Friends, though he could not feel satisfied to take up the cross which they appeared to lead to. After one of his lonely supplications to his Divine Master, to know clearly his will concerning him, and what steps to take further in the line of duty to advance the glorious cause of the salvation and redemption of the sons of men, through Jesus Christ his Savior, upon raising his eyes, after this solemn dedication of body, soul, and spirit, there appeared to his view two men plainly dressed in light clothes, as if walking from him. He was struck with the sight, and in thought exclaimed, "It is impossible for me to be a Quaker—I would rather die."

He had been informed a Friend, named Edward Hallock, had removed, with a large family of children, from the east end of Long Island, and settled at New Marlborough, about twelve miles distant. His exercise continuing, he determined on paying him a visit, which he did on the seventh day of the week. When he arrived at his house, he inquired for Edward Hallock, who met him, saying, "That is my name;" to which he replied, "My name is David Sands; I have come to pay you a visit." He received him very kindly, inviting him in, and introduced him to his wife and family by saying, "This friend has come to pay us a visit." The subject of religion was soon introduced; Edward Hallock being of a friendly, interesting disposition, they soon acknowledged a unity of sentiment on many important points, and an entire freedom of communication and inquiry was made by David Sands; many obstacles were removed by the candid and Christian feeling shown towards him, and on various points so kindly explained to his understanding. In the course of the evening David Sands inquired if there was a Friends' meeting for him and his family to attend, to which E. H. replied, "We hold our meetings here," alluding to the room in which they sat. "We commence our meetings at eleven o'clock; sometimes our neighbors come in and sit with us. Our meetings are often very comfortable, and I feel thankful in believing they are owned by the Great Head of the Church." David Sands said he felt it right to stay

and sit with them. Afterwards much religious conversation took place, producing a uniting freedom in both, and had a blessed effect in opening the eyes of David's understanding in such a way as to relieve his doubts respecting the religious society which it would be right, according to his present feelings, to unite with, when fitly prepared, and the way more fully opened for his future course in pursuing such paths of duty as would bring peace of mind. In the course of the meeting E. Hallock had considerable matter to offer by way of testimony, and much to the encouragement of David Sands, who freely acknowledged his satisfaction therewith; after which he invited him to come up at the time of their monthly meeting, held at Nine Partners, and accompany him to it, by which he would obtain a further knowledge and acquaintance with the Society. He readily accepted the invitation, and in this opportunity he made an acquaintance with a number of Friends, particularly Solomon and Elizabeth Haight, Aaron Lancaster, Aaron Vail, Paul Upton, Paul Osborn, and many others. In this visit he became fully satisfied, and his mind was relieved, and a willingness produced to embrace the truth according to his present views. His health became established, and he soon after gave up his school and resumed his former business, a part of which brought him frequently to New York. The first Friends he made an acquaintance with there were Joseph Delaplaine, and another of the name of Underhill. They came on board his vessel to make some purchases, and after leaving it, and proceeding some distance, Joseph stopped, saying to his friend who accompanied him, "There is something in that young man which has interested me very much; I feel it right to return and invite him to my house." The other Friend replied, "I also felt exceedingly interested in him, (not knowing why, as he made no appearance of a Friend), and I shall be glad to return with you." And on their making known the object of their return, David Sands replied, "I also had feelings which I am unable to express by words, and most gladly accept your kind invitation." The time appointed for the visit was on first day afternoon, at which time he went, and accompanied them to Liberty-Street Meeting, (then called Crown-street), this being the first Friends' Meeting he attended in New York, and also eventually the first house in which he appeared in public testimony. He steadily attended meetings as far as it was in his power, principally those of New York, as his business for some time called him there weekly.

In the twenty-first year of his age he requested to be admitted a member of the Society of Friends, at Nine Partners, and was received with much satisfaction to himself, and generally so to the Society, having evinced a steady and exemplary walk through his various conflicts and trials. Notwithstanding his parents' former anxiety had been very great, on account of his close exercise of mind, respecting his religious course, yet when they became satisfied that nothing but being a Quaker would give or had given peace to his mind, it was a trial to them; and to consent to his marrying a Friend seemed almost too great a trial to be borne, they having had no knowledge of, or any acquaintance with Friends, except through him. In the 11th month, 1771, he was married at Nine Partners, to Clementine Hallock, daughter of Edward and Phebe Hallock. Many kind and interested Friends evinced their unity on the occasion by their attendance. They saw that it would be a means of opening the way, and establishing Friends in those parts where he was about to settle. Soon after his marriage he accompanied his wife, to pay a visit to some of her connections with whom he was not personally acquainted. They received him with much kindness, and welcomed him as a near friend and connection. Soon after his arrival he discovered that they kept a number of slaves, for at that time it was not generally thought to be wrong for

Friends to hold them; he became much exercised in feeling it wrong for him to partake of the products of their labor. His wife and her friends had no idea of the cause of his apparent change, otherwise than that he was not well. In the morning he appeared no better, and could not partake of anything that was offered. Their next visit to their connections was attended with the same difficulties, as slaves were also there employed. He was then obliged to inform his wife of the cause of his suffering, and requested she would be willing to return home without further delay, and give the most satisfactory reason she could as to the non-fulfillment of the remainder of their visit. If they could attribute it to sickness he did not feel it necessary to contradict it, as in truth his heart sickened at the thought. He felt that this testimony against holding slaves was a great work for him to commence, and must be carefully investigated, as it would be a work of time, and would not bear hasty resolutions, but firm and steady measures only would support him in it.

After their return from this visit they spent the winter with his parents and family, who soon became reconciled to his choice of a wife, and treated her with much kindness and affection. Her steady and consistent deportment, added to a disposition to increase the happiness and best interest of all those to whom she had become so nearly connected, made way for her, so that the time spent with them was truly edifying in the family, and produced lasting and blessed fruits to many of them. His parents, through him, became convinced of the truth as he had embraced it, and became members of the Society, as likewise did some of his brothers and sisters.<sup>1</sup> In the spring of 1772 they commenced housekeeping near his father's, in a house belonging to him, and in which David Sands lived the remainder of his days. The house still remains in his family, and much interest is attached to it, both on account of its ancient appearance, and its having been for so many years the residence of one so well known and beloved. It continues to be a house for the accommodation of the Society, as it was when he occupied it, and according to his own wish. They immediately commenced a meeting, to be held on the first day of the week at his own house; the first was attended by several Friends of New York, and Joseph Thorne from Flushing, Long Island, who had recently settled near, and who, being a worthy member, much interested for the welfare and increase of the Society, soon became as a pillar among them. They soon after commenced a week-day meeting, which continued to be held for eleven years, except on the days of attending Preparative, Monthly, and Quarterly Meetings, at Nine Partners. A number soon joined their little band through conviction, and others settling near them from other parts made the increase considerable.

This meeting was often visited by Friends from Nine Partners, particularly ministers, as Aaron Lancaster, Aaron Vail, David Haviland, and many others.

In the latter part of the year 1772, David Sands first appeared in public testimony, much to the encouragement and furtherance of their meeting, establishing the faith of many seeking minds. He was concerned to pay short visits, laboring in the ministry of the Gospel for the increase of the Society, and that the great work of salvation might be carried on to the glory of his Maker, in whose cause he felt willing to give up all for the advancement of truth and righteousness in the earth. In the year 1775, he was

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<sup>1</sup> It is apprehended that his brothers, Benjamin and John, became members of the Society.

recorded by his monthly meeting as a minister of the Gospel. At the same time he requested a certificate to pay a religious visit to Friends at Newport, Rhode Island, and parts adjacent. This visit was not extensive, and the following account of it is from his Journal:—"An account of my journey into New England in company with my friend Aaron Vail.

"I left my home the 5th of 11th month, 1775; went to Edward Hallock's at New Marlborough, and attended their first-day meeting: though small, yet I was comforted, and truth seemed to own us. After meeting I parted with my wife and friends, and proceeded to Nine Partners, in company with Samuel Hallock; the next day set out for New England, with my friend and companion Aaron Vail; lodged at Oblong, and reached Moses Varnum's at Uxbridge, and attended their meeting, which was refreshing, truth prevailing to the comfort of many. On seventh-day was at a meeting at Winsocket, which was large, and, I trust, edifying to many who were inquiring the way to obtain the salvation of their immortal souls; next day attended the meeting for sufferings, held at Providence, and lodged at Moses Brown's, where we stayed two days; the week-day meeting at Smithfield was attended with close labor, though it ended to a good degree of satisfaction. We returned to Moses Brown's, and next day attended Providence week-day meeting, which was solid and comfortable, though silent; next day was at an appointed meeting at Swansea, which was large and satisfactory, and it was cause of thankfulness to us that the Great Master continued his renewed favors, in a time of deep trial and exercise, which often is our portion. We parted with our companion Aza Arnold, and came in company with Ebert Chase as our guide, and lodged at Joshua Davil's in Dartmouth; the next day attended the monthly meeting held at Coaxet, where we met our esteemed friend Robert Willis, who was paying a religious visit in those parts, and who was largely opened in testimony; there appeared to be some in the meeting concerned for truth's prosperity. On first-day attended the meeting again at Coaxet, which was large, and the way opened feelingly to labor in the service; my companion also being largely opened in prayer. There seems a remnant here concerned for truth's prosperity. At Poneganset we attended their monthly meeting, which was large, though there is a declension from the simplicity that truth leads into. It ended to a good degree of satisfaction. Robert Willis was engaged in prayer. My companion was much exercised on account of the shortness that appeared in many in their neglecting to attend meetings, which he was favored to speak to with much clearness, and I believe to the comfort of the faithful. Next day were at an appointed meeting at New Town, which was large, and attended with close labor, but through Divine favor we were enabled to clear our minds, and the meeting ended well. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who has hitherto extended his tender regard to us, and owned us with the openings of life, which has been as a staff to lean upon through the many exercises we have had to pass through.

"We went from New Town to Redford, and had an evening meeting at Joseph Rotche's, who received us very kindly; from there we went to Cushinet weekday meeting—there appeared to be a remnant who were concerned for truth's prosperity in the earth; from there to Nathan Davis's, and at their week-day meeting, which was silent; next day, to Rochester, and had a small meeting, to some degree of comfort. At Falmouth we attended their first-day meeting, and appointed another the next day, which was to satisfaction; there to Sandwich preparative meeting. In this meeting we had to pass through many close trials. We attended a meeting at Pembroke, to some relief; at Free Town we stayed with Job Anthony,

who appeared like a kind friend—we attended their first-day meeting. Here we met our esteemed Friend, Thomas Gawthorp, and his companion, Paul Osborn. We went with them to Evert Chase's, in Swansea, and attended their monthly meeting, and next day their select meeting; there to Dartmouth, and had a meeting to good satisfaction; from there to Philip Tripp's, and attended their preparative meeting at Coaxet, and their meeting for ministers and elders, all to the comfort of the faithful. Blessed be the name of the Lord for his many mercies bestowed upon us from time to time under many probations, which have often been our portion. At Little Compton we had close hard labor; there appeared a great declension from the primitive purity of our religious profession, though there appeared to be some young concerned Friends, which was a comfort to us. At the first-day meeting at Tiverton, which was large, and mostly of other denominations. At Newport we attended their Quarterly Meeting, where we had hard labor and close exercise, but through Divine favor we were enabled to discharge our concern. Thanks be to his holy name. We had many satisfactory opportunities in this Island, though many hard struggles with some who appeared to have taken a part in the spirit of war, to the wounding of themselves and faithful brethren—we were at their meeting for sufferings, which was also trying to our spirits, by reason of some opposition, which was to the distress of the faithful. From there to Smithfield, in company with Thomas Gawthorp, Robert Willis, and Paul Osborn, and had a meeting at the old meeting-house; from there to George Smith's. The next day we had a meeting at Mendow, to satisfaction; from there to Daniel Southwick's, who appears to be a faithful friend and father in Israel; his family also were very kind. We attended the meeting at Uxbridge, which, I trust, was to the edification and comfort of the tender ones. Next day set forward towards our homes, which we reached to the comfort of our own minds, and that of our dear connections and friends, having been absent several months. To the Lord be ascribed thanksgiving and praise, which are due to His worthy name forever and ever.”

After this, there is no account of his travels, by Journal, until the year 1777, and about this time, the subject of slavery became a great exercise to him, and he felt it right to refrain from the use of articles, the produce of the labor of slaves, which he adhered to until Friends generally became concerned to liberate them. In several cases he purchased them in order to effect their emancipation, when their owners declined to set them free lest they should become chargeable to them. While traveling he often found the inconvenience of declining to partake of food used in families, and felt thankful when the restraint was no longer necessary to his peace of mind.

## CHAPTER 2

### *Travels and Gospel Labors in New England—Letter to his Wife.*

In the spring of 1777, David Sands commenced a journey in New England and parts adjacent, which occupied him two years and seven months; he traveled much in the wilderness country, where at times there was scarcely a track for a horse, so that they carried an axe to clear the way, and frequently were obliged to travel on foot, enduring great hardships: and being during the period of the revolutionary war, he had many trials to pass through, both in his journeys, and on account of his family. The follow-

ing account of this arduous journey is from his Journal:

Having a concern to pay a religious visit to Friends in New England, Rhode Island, Nantucket, Newport, and as far eastward as way might open, and this concern being united with by the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends to which I belonged, held at Nine Partners, in the 4th month, 1777, I left my home and proceeded to Nine Partners, where my beloved friend Aaron Lancaster lived, who united in my concern. After attending a solemn meeting, where much labor was bestowed, and many lively and cheering testimonies borne by our many beloved and truly dedicated friends, to the cause we were engaged in, we enjoyed the reward, promised by our holy Redeemer to his devoted and redeemed children, who are made willing to give up all; to whom be ascribed glory and honor forever and evermore.

We commenced our journey, taking many meetings in our way, which were attended many times with much comfort and encouragement to seeking minds; likewise appointed meetings, some of which were attended with close and proving feelings, being a time of great confusion and wars in many parts of the country, and yet we were enabled to pass quietly through, until we reached Nantucket, where we were kindly received by our friends. We proceeded to visit all the families of Friends on the Island, in which service we were often bowed in thankfulness of heart to our great and good Master, who made our way more easy than we could have expected, and our service appeared truly acceptable to many exercised minds. We had also much service among other societies, through all which we were kindly received, and great sympathy and unity with our labors was expressed by many of our brethren and sisters. We spent a considerable time with my much beloved friend and brother in the truth, William Rotch, whose kindness, and that of his affectionate family, was truly acceptable. After this visit, we left Nantucket, and went to Newport, where we attended the week-day meeting, and after it visited several families of Friends, and continued in that service until the first day of the week, when we attended Portsmouth and Newport meetings, and have continued visiting families of Friends, and attended their meetings for worship and discipline for several days past. The Lord of the Universe has been pleased to own the labor of his poor servants; it has been as bread to my soul in this trying season, whereby I have been enabled to go forward. I have had in the course of this visit to observe the wonderful dealings of our Heavenly Father, and found by experience the necessity of depending on him from day to day, to point out the way and open the hearts of the people to receive the word of life. I have found peace to follow resignation and patience, which when attained, fully compensates for the trying exercises we pass through.

We attended a funeral, and appointed a meeting that afternoon, amongst the inhabitants and soldiers, which was a favored opportunity, and cause of refreshment to some; after which I felt much strengthened both in body and mind. We were also at the burial of Anna Mitchel, a worthy Friend and elder, which was a solemn opportunity, and several living testimonies were borne. We now took leave of our friends in Newport, in great nearness and tender love; many of us were made to be of one heart and one mind, and the tendering power of Divine love was over us. We parted under a sense of divine goodness, his protecting arm having been visibly made bare amongst us. Having the company of a number of friends, we came to Portsmouth, and lodged with Isaac Lawton. The next day took leave of Friends on

that island; several friends from Newport and Portsmouth accompanied us as far as the guard would permit.

The various exercises I have had to pass through since being on this island, have been trying to me, and I have had sometimes to believe my will was almost subjected to the will of my Heavenly Father, who has led me through the water and tried me in the deeps, also through the fire, that he might purge me from the dross, and “take away the tin.” Nevertheless, he has never forsaken me, nor taken his spirit from me; he has made a way when there was no way, and has been on the right hand and on the left, as a wall; and has caused a language to be sounded, saying, “Do my servants no harm,” and may my soul praise His great and glorious name, while I have a being, who is worthy of praise from the whole creation forever and forevermore. He has been a sanctuary to my soul, and preserved me from the hands of the ungodly. Oh, that men would praise his name!

Having parted with our friends, we were conducted down to the ferry by several officers, with a flag and drum. Here my mind seemed at times to be shut up. The officers of the provincial received us very kindly, and with much respect. One, who was a major, conducted us to the house of our friend, the widow Barker of Tiverton, where we were kindly received. We attended their first-day meeting, and had renewed cause to acknowledge the Lord's kindness in this trying visit, and in opening the hearts of many to receive us, even amongst the soldiers and officers on both sides, and I may say, “It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in my eyes,” to behold the goodness of our Heavenly Father.

On first-day, we were at Tiverton meeting, where came many officers and soldiers, and through the goodness of our kind Master, we had a good meeting, truth appeared to be over all, and the Lord's name was magnified in the hearts of a remnant that day. The officers and soldiers behaved very solidly, and we parted friendly. My mind seemed to be led into a near sympathy with them, under their tried situation.

After this, we traveled as way opened, experiencing many close and trying seasons, and at times had to acknowledge way was made for us, beyond what we could, in our own strength, have had any right to expect. But blessed and praised be His holy name, in that he never left his obedient servants, but strengthened them to do his holy will. We had many meetings, although passing through a wilderness country. I trust they were to the encouragement of many seeking minds. We were invited to the house of a justice of the peace, whose name was Remington Hobby; he received us kindly, and we had two meetings at his house, one on first-day, where were many of the town's people (this place is called Vassalborough, on Kennebec river), and another in the evening at a Friend's house. These meetings were much to my comfort, feeling the overshadowing of our divine Master to be round about us. We next proceeded up the river for two days, through great fatigue and suffering, having to travel part of the way on foot to a Friend's house, who received us kindly, there being no other Friends within forty-five miles. Here we had a meeting amongst a poor people, newly settled, but to our mutual satisfaction and comfort, witnessing the divine presence to be underneath for our support. Next day we left them and came down the river in a batteau; Joseph Craggan accompanied us, and was very kind. We crossed a

river called Seversticook, and lodged with William Richardson, and had two meetings, they manifesting their love by their kindness. After meeting with many trials and difficulties in getting along, we left the country westward, taking leave of many friendly people, and reached Royals Town, and had a meeting amongst them, wherein truth seemed to be over all. From there to Falmouth, and then to Windham, where is a small meeting of Friends, the families of which we visited. From there back to the monthly meeting of Falmouth, and westward to Berwick, where, with my dear companion Aaron Lancaster, we attended one meeting, and feeling under an exercise to return back, I laid it before several weighty Friends. They having unity therewith, I parted with my dear friends, and joined in company with Elijah Jenkins, and a young man from Falmouth, John Winslow, and visited several places, namely: Royals Town, Margyiony, New Meadows, a place called the Reach; the inhabitants of the last two places seem to be much dissatisfied with their priest, and some convincement appeared amongst them. From there we crossed Kennebec river, and went to Easton river, where we lodged, and next morning crossed Kennebec river on the ice, and had a meeting at Swan Island. Having been much shut up at times since being on this island, (God opens and shuts as he pleases), I experienced this day's service greatly to enlarge my heart, by removing the cloud that has at times covered my mind, and have cause to rejoice and bless Him who is my strength, my fortress, and my God; praised be his name forever and ever. I continued visiting many families of Friends and others, attended the funeral of a Friend on first-day, and trust I may say the Lord owned my service, and enlarged my mind on different subjects, much to the satisfaction of many; and I believe some have been reached so far as to desire to turn to Christ Jesus their free teacher; and I may say I have renewed cause to praise his worthy name; the meeting was very large, solid, and quiet, to the honor of Him who is God over all, blessed and praised be his worthy name. We then had a select meeting with Friends, wherein my mind was much opened, and the state of society closely spoken to, which was a great relief, and a time of refreshment to the upright-hearted; the power of truth appeared to cover the assembly in a remarkable manner. Wonderful are the dealings of the Almighty, who alone opens the hearts of mankind to receive the word of life; many and various are his ways and dealings with his creature man, to bring him to a sense of his duty.

10th month, 4th, attended a meeting, and visited several families until the 15th; then parted with our friends, in great nearness of affection, and took passage for Falmouth, where we arrived in about six hours; had great peace of mind on this passage, feeling entirely clear of Nantucket, after many meetings both among Friends and others. I landed at Falmouth, and stayed one night, and proceeding to Martha's Vineyard, had a meeting, and stayed with a kind friend, David Coffin; from there to Falmouth, and attended their first-day meeting; and there to Boston, to their quarterly meeting, and to Lynn and Salem. I was much favored through the several sittings of these meetings, which were large, and truth seemed to be over all; God be blessed forevermore. We lodged at Jeremiah Hacker's while in Salem, who was very kind, and, with his children, was made near to us in the best sense. From this place we returned back, and had meetings at Boston, Lynn, and Pembroke, the last a quarterly meeting; after which we took several meetings on our return, as Centre Cushinet, Long Plane, Rochester, Sandwich, and Yarmouth. To the last came many of the town's people, who were very civil, and we were favored, through the Lord's goodness, to open the way to rest and peace through Jesus Christ.

10th month 20th, 1777, we left Boston and came to Salem, and lodged with our friend Jeremiah Hacker, who, with his family, received us kindly. We have traveled in this journey more than three hundred miles since we last left this place. Praised be the Lord, who has been near to us, both on the right hand and on the left, and carried us through the many besetments we have had to experience both inwardly and outwardly. 22nd. We traveled eastward: reached Hampton, and lodged with Tristram Collins; here we met with kind friends. 23rd. To Berwick, about eight miles; from there to Falmouth, and attended their monthly meeting; there to a new settlement of Friends, called Royal Borough, and had a meeting to good satisfaction. 30th. Set forward to a place called Boarding, on the Kennebec river, and had a meeting at the house of a friendly man, where came many of the inhabitants. We were favored with a solid meeting. The people appeared kind, and I trust it was a comfortable opportunity to many exercised minds, and cause of thankfulness in us, thus to experience the continued care of our dear Lord and Master, in whose cause we are made thankful to be worthy to serve. Here we tarried two days, and some friendly people came and sat with us.

11th month 2nd, left Swan Island, and went up the river to the house of Gideon Gardner, and had a meetings, where came most of the inhabitants around. I had cause to acknowledge the merciful dealings of our Heavenly Father, who was pleased to look in mercy upon us, favoring with his life-giving presence and renewings of strength. The next day we proceeded up the river, (the country and roads being hardly passable), we reached the house of Christian Pinkham, a friendly man, who, with his wife and children, received us kindly. We had a meeting at his house to our comfort: from there to a settlement, called Jones' Plantation, where were some friendly people. Our meeting was to good satisfaction; they appeared to be in a humble disposition of mind, being much alone in a wild new country.

I had many trials as I traveled through the wilderness, in many parts there being little or no road; but I believe Friends here, if they keep their places, will increase. Stayed two days, being unwell, at a house where the wife is a Friend, but not the husband, though both were very kind and tender of us, and provided sundry necessaries to take with us for our future use. We left Swan Island on the ice, and were the first that had passed with horses, and had a meeting in the evening at Gardner Town, and lodged with Reuben Goben, whose kind reception was grateful to us. Here we had a meeting, many attended, and the opportunity was much to satisfaction. Feeling my mind engaged to proceed, I went up the river, and found people much rejoiced at my return. Having reached the place I felt concerned to visit, we appointed a meeting, but from the great depth of snow, and cold, few attended. We stayed two days with our kind friend, Jethro Gardner, until first-day, and had a satisfactory meeting, I trust to our friends also, as much kindness was expressed. The next day, went down the river, feeling our minds drawn to visit sundry families on our way, in which we had good satisfaction, and great tenderness appeared in many countenances. The people are poor, and far from any place of worship, there not being a meeting-house for near sixty miles. We had many meetings as we came back, much to our comfort and refreshment, and many appeared to be convinced of the truth, whom we parted with in great tenderness. Being much fatigued by hard traveling, we rested several days in a town called Vassalborough. The inhabitants are generally friendly, though much strangers to our society. We stayed with a friendly man before mentioned, Remington Hobby, who gave up his house for meetings, and desired to entertain us as long

as we chose to stay. We lodged at many of their houses, who did the best they were capable of for our comfort, having had many tender seasons with them. We parted, under a sense of God's goodness in sending us among them, but finding myself impressed to go back, I gave up to it, and having delayed the time so long, was obliged to ride against a hard snow-storm, but was enabled to reach in time enough to hold a meeting; and, through the goodness of God, we were much favored, and the name of the Lord was exalted that day.

My concern, in being thus led so singularly where no Friends dwelt, yet finding no release without returning back, was a great exercise to me, being almost at times ready to conclude that I was wrong, but felt satisfied that my kind Master would never fail, though at times great trials of faith are the lot of his children, although they may be truly devoted to His service. Oh, I may say, many were the heart-achings I had to pass through in that wilderness land, but the Lord supported me under my many exercises, and preserved me, though many times I was almost in despair, having had to pass through good report and evil report; there being those who rose up to oppose and withstand the truth, but through the power of the Most High they were made willing to acknowledge their error, and I believe were truly sorrowful.

Elijah Jenkins and Samuel Jones, my companions, here left me, and I am now accompanied by a young man, whose name is John Winslow. In one of these meetings, he appeared in a public testimony, much to my comfort, and to him my heart feels nearly united. Having had several meetings to satisfaction, and finding my mind drawn up the same river again, we set off, but giving way to doubts and fears, I got discouraged, and turned back, and made my way westward, but in great trouble; sometimes thinking to go back, at other times ready to think I had stayed too long already. From the various reports I expected to be imprisoned, as many had threatened it. I made several stops at different places, to converse with the most leading men, and had several meetings in my journey, to good satisfaction; and we got to Falmouth and attended a funeral, where came some that intended ill against me, but afterwards they went away well reconciled. Next day being first-day, there came more persons in order to examine and form some judgment, whether it was best to stop me or not, but I understood they went away satisfied. Thus, having favorable opportunity, through the Lord's goodness, truth was exalted over all. From there we went to Goram Town, where I was again examined, but nothing appearing against me, I appointed a meeting at the house of a friendly man, who was very kind, and entertained us. There appeared to be a tender people here, and they were much reached, the Lord's power being manifested in the said meeting, to our mutual comfort. From there we set off for Berwick, where I met many near friends; from there to Kethera, and lodged with James Neal, a valuable minister. So to Dover, where I met with my dear companion Aaron Lancaster, after a separation of ten weeks. We had to rejoice in the Lord's goodness in preserving us through many close trials, in which our souls had to praise his mercies. At this monthly meeting were Friends from different parts, in which we were favored with the renewals of the Father's love, much to the refreshment, I believe, of the living seed. The business of the meeting was conducted in a good degree of brotherly love and condescension. From there we went back to Berwick, and to a place called Philip's Town, where there had not been a Friends' meeting before; then to Dover again, where I had an attack of illness, so that my life was almost despaired of,

but through mercy I soon recovered. After parting with many near Friends we went to Rochester, and there to a meeting at Meadsborough; there back to Rochester: we stayed two days, and had meetings to our mutual satisfaction and the refreshing of many minds, through the extending of the Father's love. Here appeared to be many inquiring people, and some in a tender state of mind; there we proceeded to Hail's Town, a newly settled place, where were many who had been convinced since Friends settled there and who appeared very solid and steadfast. From there to Hopkin Town, where we had a meeting, and many attended not of our profession, who appeared well satisfied, except one person, who seemed to cavil at something that had been said; I having been led to speak from the words of the prophet wherein he signified a dissolution of the old heaven and old earth, and a new heaven and a new earth being created, wherein dwells righteousness; and being led to express the necessity of this being experienced here in time, through the melting power of truth on the soul, which is compared to the refiner's fire that separates the dross from the tin, and takes away the reprobate silver. This was a matter that had caused great disputes amongst them, though it was altogether unknown to me from any outward information.

We next went to a place called Pembroke, where lived a person lately convinced and received amongst Friends. At this town there had never been a Friends' meeting; many came in, and gave solid attention, and the Lord was pleased to favor us with his helping hand, by which we were enabled to declare the way to the kingdom of God through Christ Jesus, who is the alone way, the truth, and the life; by whom many that were heathens came to be renowned Christians, through attention to Christ the light, that enlightens the children of men; and leads them that attend to his voice, out of darkness into his marvelous light. The people appeared tender and well satisfied, and we parted under a sense of God's goodness and love; many of them signifying their satisfaction and their desires for our preservation. We now set off for our friend Joshua Falsom's, which was forty-four miles distant, which much exhausted my strength, arriving late at night. The next day we reached our worthy friend Tristram Collins, whose wife had traveled much in the work of the ministry. Next day attended the monthly meeting of Hampton, held at Ambury, and returned back to T. Collins's again.

Here my companion and I had a fresh trial, he finding his mind drawn towards Salem, and I felt drawings back to Dover monthly meeting. We parted with hearts filled with love and desires for each other's preservation in the work the Lord might engage us in. I, in company with several young Friends, rode that day to Dover, and put up at Hope Scammon's, whose kindness towards me was very comfortable. Many more seemed glad to see us. After this monthly meeting, which we attended, I felt a concern on my mind to join a committee to visit delinquent members, and examine who were proper to be retained, as many had married out, and there had been a neglect on this account, their cases not having been attended to agreeably to the order of society, which service was very exercising to me; but through the merciful goodness of the Great Master, we were much favored, as far as I proceeded with them, and the Lord owned both us and the service we were in, blessed be his most worthy name. From there I proceeded to Hampton, in company with a number of Friends, and attended their monthly meeting, with most of their particular meetings, to a good degree of satisfaction; there appeared to be a living remnant amongst them. Here I parted with many dear and tender Friends, in whom I had often experienced

much comfort, having been nearly united in the best sense. From there we proceeded in company with Jonathan Dame, and were kindly received by my dear friends of Salem, (having been long absent from them in the Eastern States) and attended their first-day meeting, and met with my dear friend Aaron Lancaster, who had been engaged visiting the families of Friends belonging to the said monthly meeting. Feeling my mind drawn towards this service, I joined my friend, and had much satisfaction therein; this being accomplished, we took our leave, after again visiting Boston, it being the third time. I thought the people appeared in the most humble disposition of mind I had seen them, and they were very kind towards us; many came to our lodging to sit with us, and appeared very solid.

From there we went back to Lynn and to Bolton, in which meetings I was favored to open some things to the comfort of the honest-hearted, and to my own confirmation. I had to remember that the secrets of the Lord are with them who fear him; he opens, and none can shut from his all-seeing eye: as he sees fit, he discovers his secrets to them that wait on him. After our service was accomplished here, we passed to a place called Leicester, where came several people not of our Society, and we were favored with the renewings of ancient strength, and the Lord's power was over all, and the witness in many hearts seemed to be reached, through the gathering hand of the Lord. Here we rested a day, and visited some families, wherein I had good service, and then proceeded on our way to Northbridge, where we were favored to clear our minds to our mutual comfort, the Lord's power being in dominion. From there to Uxbridge, Mendon, Winsocket, and Smithfield old meetinghouse, in all which we found close labor, but had peace therein to our own souls; and a concern having attended our minds for some days, to return back to Salem quarterly meeting, which we were made willing to undertake. We met many of our near and dear friends from the eastward, whose company and conversation was strengthening to me, having had to pass through close and trying seasons, wherein I felt the humbling power of truth to lay the man's part as in the dust; but blessed be Jacob's God and Israel's preserver and deliverer, who raised me as from the earth, and put a new song into my mouth, even praise forevermore; and he owned us with his ancient love, through the several sittings of this quarterly meeting, and also two meetings held at Lynn, where the Lord appeared to the comfort of a living remnant, many of whom appeared concerned for the prosperity of Zion. Having at times had a drawing on my mind to return eastward, since I left those parts, which now returned with a pressing concern, but which was very proving to me to have to give up to, having had so many trying seasons in the eastern country, and spent much time there; also, the consideration of having been long from home, added to my exercise, though I have been enabled to submit all to His protecting hand who required this service of me. I parted with many of my kind friends at Salem, and proceeded in company with my dear friends Mehetabel Jenkins and Hope Scammon, (widow). We had two meetings at Amsberry, where came many people not of our profession, and we had a comfortable time, much to my satisfaction, and to the comfort of the faithful. The following letter to his wife, dated from Salem, affords living evidence of his faith and patience, and of the many trials he was called to endure about this period:

My dear Wife and bosom Friend—

It is long since I have had an opportunity of writing to you, though I have been favored to

receive comfortable accounts from you, which have been truly consoling in my retired walks and lonely moments, when you and my dear children are brought feelingly to my remembrance, and a renewed confidence in the Divine promise—I will be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow. I am sensible at times that you are one that almost lays claim to that appellation. I am not prepared at present to give you a particular account of my travels; but may inform you, that I have spent part of the fall and most of the winter among a people not of our profession, many of whom received me very kindly, and my testimony also, which made them feel near to me, and their hearts and houses are open to receive Friends. I have an untrodden path to tread, where no Friends have before traveled in the work of the ministry. I have passed through many towns where there are no religious meetings of any sort, and as the Lord has led me through this wilderness land, he has preserved me through the cold, and in sickness and health, and through every trial, of which I have had many; at times doubting whether I should ever return to my native country and other dearest enjoyments; but I have been enabled to submit all to the Lord's disposal, who gave me a being, and has blessed me with so many marks of his kindness and tender regard, in whom, your confidence, I hope, will not fail. If there is but a steady eye kept to the hope of reward which is promised to the faithful who hold out to the end, which I feel a confident hope may be the happy experience of you, my beloved companion, with myself, and that we may in the Lord's right time be permitted to meet where we can mutually unite in rendering thanksgiving and praise to His holy name, who is blessed forevermore. In that love which time or distance cannot change, I most affectionately salute you, with my beloved parents and friends, to whom I feel most sincerely united in the bonds of pure love.

Your affectionate husband,  
David Sands

The journal thus proceeds:—At Amsberry, there seems to be a tender, seeking people. From there we proceeded to Dover, Berwick, Falmouth, and Royalstown, in which we had many satisfactory meetings; from there to a place called Small Point, where had formerly been a settlement of Friends, who had frequently been visited by travelers, but not keeping faithful, all wasted away, except one family, who received us kindly, not having been visited for twenty years by a Friend. From there back to George Town, where we had a meeting, also to Long Reach, where we had another; these were favored meetings, and truth reigned. From there to Vassalborough, and had two meetings in our way, and through the extendings of best wisdom we have been preserved through all, to the praise of His worthy name. From there to Jethro Gardner's, which we reached with much difficulty, having been lost in the woods, and had little hope of getting through; but considering the mountains, hills, and woods are all the workmanship of Him in whom I trust, my mind was easy. We were favored to reach our friends, who gladly received us, and we had one meeting to good satisfaction, here being some conviction. We had two meetings on our return to Vassalborough, one amongst a thinly scattered people, also to satisfaction; and one in a town called Winslow.

After having spent some time in and about Vassalborough, and had many meetings, wherein the Lord owned his own work, to our mutual comfort and edification, we parted with many near and dear friends, under a sense of the goodness of Him that had brought us together. From there we went to a new settlement, called Winthrop, where we had several meetings. Here were several convincements, and many that appeared to be seeking the right way; there back to Holland, where we had a meeting much to our comfort, the Lord's power being over all, and many hearts tendered thereby. We parted with these tender people in great brokenness of heart, under a sense of God's goodness to us all; from there to Gardner Town, where we had a meeting; and from there to our kind friend, Gideon Gardners, who received us with much kindness.

After this meeting, a concern came on me to return back again to Vassalborough, but by reasoning and consulting with flesh and blood, I became weak and did not give up, which, as I traveled along, was very painful to me at times; but He who knows my heart, and that my desires were to serve Him according to my understanding, after reproofing me for my disobedience, was pleased to lift up the light of his countenance upon me and heal my soul, and may I ever adore His goodness, and remember the rod, and Him who has appointed it. We then proceeded to the yearly meeting, attending meetings in our way between Falmouth and Berwick, mostly to satisfaction. Next day had a parting meeting with our friends at Berwick, wherein we were favored to witness the Lord's presence to be felt amongst us, this being the last meeting we had in that country, except the yearly meeting at Smithfield, for New England, which, through the sittings thereof, was experienced to be a time of favor, wherein the Lord's wonderful power covered the assemblies of His people. After this meeting I proceeded homeward, and was favored to meet, in health, my dear wife, children, parents, and friends in 12th month, 1779, after a separation of two years and seven months, and we were filled with grateful acknowledgments to the Great Preserver of His truly dependent children, who had been experienced as a present help in every needful time.

### CHAPTER 3

*Letters to his Wife—Letter from Miriam Fry to David Sands—Convincement of Remington Hobby—Letter to Daniel Starbuck—Epistle to Friends of East Hampton—Trials of his Wife from the Army—Letter to his Wife—His return Home.*

The following letters, addressed to his wife in the course of this long journey, will be read with interest:

Most affectionate and truly beloved wife—

The time seems to have come in which we must necessarily consider ourselves as not our own, nor as having a right to do as would be most agreeable to our natural will, as in the time of more ignorance, at which the Lord has been pleased to wink. But now we must remember we have been “bought with a price, that henceforth we should not live unto ourselves, but unto Him who died for us, and gave himself a ransom for all,” which we cannot experience but

through the death of self and selfish motions of the mind, which, if given way to, will produce sorrow and cause dimness. I am sensible that we have our trials, and our faith is frequently assaulted by the adversaries of truth, and enemies of pure righteousness, and these are frequently of our own house. I believe it is safe to watch the motions of our own minds, lest when under trials we should fall into poor Israel's condition, and murmur against the Lord, by which we should render ourselves unworthy of an inheritance in the good land. We may remember some who "came out with a strong hand, and an outstretched arm," and had been baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea, (which I take to be a baptism of tears, under some very painful conflicts of mind), who were wonderfully carried through, so as to sing his praise on the banks of deliverance; and yet, by letting in discouragements, and a disposition of mind contrary to the pure will of the Lord, they fell in the wilderness. The Apostle explains it to be through unbelief. However great our trials may be, as they are, and have been many since our acquaintance; yet my cries and prayers are, that we may not fall after the same example, nor fall short of that rest which will be the sure reward of the righteous who hold out unto the end; and although our trials may be many, yet blessed be the Lord) who has hitherto been as a "great rock in a weary land," that we may boldly say, "the Lord has been our helper," and by Him we have been enabled to "run through a troop, and leap over a wall;" and seeing, my dear companion, that through all our trials "his hand is not shortened, nor his ear grown heavy," let us still confide in Him, follow our great Captain, and be of good cheer, for as he was so should we be, grave in conversation, sound in judgment, and constant in persevering, meeting afflictions cheerfully, especially when they come from Him who is everywhere present. We may remember what our Lord signified, "The cup which my Father has given me to drink, shall I not drink it?" And if this was a situation fit for a son, how much more so for the servants, and especially for those who have been and are but unprofitable ones! We are apt at times to grow impatient, and tired of the school of affliction, which frequently is a greater blessing than the increase of temporal things. All the righteous nation, who keep the law, enter in with the Bridegroom, to hold the repast which tongue cannot set forth, being in the full fruition of never-ending joy, when tears will disappear; and oh, my dear! though I am absent in body, I am often led to sympathize with you, under your present exercises, which doubtless are numerous and painful, but I am, and have been, through mercy, renewedly supported with a firm and unshaken belief that the Lord, whom I desire to serve with all my heart, will support and keep us, and our tender offspring, by his almighty power, if we do not forsake or turn aside from following after him. As touching my return home, it seems at present to be hid from me. Friends have received me very kindly, and I have had many tendering seasons among them. I think they are gaining ground in this island. The Lord has a tender people here, to whom my heart is often united. As to particulars, I cannot say much, hoping in some short time to speak face to face. And in the mean time I recommend you, my beloved wife, and my tender children, to the guidance of his good Spirit, who will lead us safely, and no doubt will land us all joyfully in the celestial regions when a few troublesome and afflicting days and nights have passed away: so in true love and tender affection I

bid you farewell.

David Sands.

Nantucket, 3rd of 9th month 1779.

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My dear and beloved Wife,

Notwithstanding my long and unforeseen stay, which is at times very proving to me, I am from time to time in expectation that my service will be accomplished soon, and that I shall return home with true peace and satisfaction, which I hope earnestly to seek, and which I have found to be the certain consequence of true obedience. I have no doubt our present separation is in wisdom, unerring wisdom, and I am supported in the belief, that however painful it may be, yet, if rightly improved, it may afford us some instruction that cannot be had any other way, which I hope will tend to our purification, and fit us for those services that the Lord may intend for us, and in the promotion of whose cause I hope we may daily be engaged, as I am fully persuaded if He is but sought unto he will never leave nor forsake us; and though with many other brethren and sisters that are gone before, we may have had to sow in tears, yet let us be encouraged, for we shall assuredly reap in unspeakable joy. I feel, while I am writing, my heart filled with a husband's affection, and a father's love, to you and my dearly beloved children, whom I have committed to the care and protection of Him that commands all things both in heaven and in earth, and I cannot doubt but that his watchful providence will protect both you and me, and all those who put their trust in him, bring us finally to a happy conclusion, and grant us an entrance into the mansions of everlasting rest. I have visited all the families of Friends in this island, and some friendly people, much to my satisfaction; in which the Lord's power and presence was experienced, to the comfort of the honest inquirer, and the convincement, I trust, of the unconcerned. I mention this for your encouragement, and to let you know that the Lord is still willing to own his own work. With love unfeigned I remain your affectionate husband,

David Sands

Nantucket, 8th month, 16th, 1779.

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*From Miriam Fry to David Sands.*

Dear Friend,

In the everlasting love of God, wherein New Jerusalem's children have their true consolation, do I very dearly salute you with your dear companion Aaron Lancaster, with earnest desires that I may ever remember the sweet counsel that flowed from you, being strengthened, I

believe, and borne up by the arm of unerring Wisdom; which was as a heavenly visitation to my soul, a poor unworthy creature, who am ready to think myself unworthy of the least of the Lord's mercies. By letting in discouragement, and giving way to the temptations of the enemy of all righteousness, I have been as one straying from the Father's fold. And it is the earnest desire of my soul that I may double my diligence, in the pursuit after the heavenly and durable treasure, which will stand us in stead, when time to us here in this world shall be at an end. I think that I have great cause, in the depth of humiliation, to magnify and to adore the great and glorious name of him that lives forever and ever. Who is everlastingly worthy, worthy, worthy, of all glory, of all honor, of all might, majesty, and dominion, both now, henceforth, and forevermore.

My desire is that you may be conducted home in the Lord's own time, to your wives and children, with sheaves of peace in your bosoms, having been enabled, I believe, to administer comfort to the afflicted by the divine power of God, encouragement to the feeble-minded, and instruction to the ignorant, and those that are out of the way, being filled as clouds with heavenly rain, distilling it upon the flock and family of the faithful, and as dew upon the tender grass, yet being as a fire to the rebellious, but refreshing as the dew of Hermon to the honest traveler.

Oh, may the great Lord of the harvest grant that I may be enabled to follow you, as you follow Christ, in the way of regeneration, and of self-denial, and that I with you and you with me, may be preserved in the meek spirit of the Lamb of God, the Prince of Peace, of whose peace and government there shall never be an end, is the sincere desire of my soul. So in near and dear love, I conclude, and bid you farewell, and remain your friend and sister in the unchangeable covenant of light and life. My husband joins in near and affectionate love to you and your companion.

Miriam Fry,  
Nantucket, 4th month, 24th, 1778.

*Some Account of the Convincement of Remington Hobby*

In the year 1777 or 1778, when David Sands was on a religious visit to New England, the eastern part of which was almost a wilderness, with but few inhabitants, and they generally of the poorer class, (at least their appearance and accommodations indicated it), after having had several appointed meetings in the neighborhood, a man who was a magistrate in the place, and more comfortably situated than many of his neighbors) said to his wife, "I hear these Quakers are decent, respectable-looking men: I believe I shall invite them to my house, as they must be but poorly accommodated where they are." She readily agreed to the proposal, and a messenger was dispatched for them, and they were pleased to accept his kind invitation; when they came they were shown into the common room or kitchen, after being seated, they remained in perfect silence. The man being entirely unacquainted with the manners

or principles of Friends, was at a loss to account for their remarkable conduct, and attributed it to displeasure, on account of their being invited into their kitchen. He immediately ordered a fire to be made in another room, for, said he to his wife, "I believe these Quakers are not pleased with their reception; we will see how they like the other room." He invited them in, and after having seated themselves, the same solemn silence ensued, at which he became almost vexed, and thought to himself, they certainly are fools, or take me to be one, and regretted having taken so much trouble on their account. As these thoughts were passing in his mind, David Sands turned, and fixed his eye full in his face, and in the most solemn manner said, "Are you willing to be a fool," when he paused, and again repeated, "Are you willing to become a fool for Christ's sake?" he continued with such power, (as the man afterwards expressed), that he could not withstand it, and in a short time became fully convinced of Friends principles, and most warmly attached to David Sands from feelings of sincere gratitude and brotherly love. His house was open at all times to them to hold their meetings in, and he kindly offered to attend them, while they were visiting families and meetings throughout the neighborhood, fully acknowledging the power of truth, as he had heard it set forth, and soon after became a member of the Society of Friends, very zealous in the cause of righteousness, and a faithful laborer in the ministry, traveling much in the work, so that, as he once observed, his house had become to him as an Inn, where he could tarry but a short time at once. When David Sands paid his last visit to New England, previous to his departure for Europe, R. H. became his faithful and well-beloved friend and companion, in his various exercises, and parted with him with feelings of the truest regard, commending him to the care of Him who ever watches over his faithful children, whether by sea or land.

The following letter by David Sands, evincing his tender concern for the growth and establishment of those among whom he had labored, is thought to have been written while engaged in this last journey. It is without date:

Dear Friend, Daniel Starbuck,

Notwithstanding our correspondence has not been regularly kept up, yet I may assure you my love is in no way lessened either by time or distance. I have at times brought into view the many trying seasons we passed through together, in traveling the untrodden paths of the wilderness to declare the glad tidings of the Gospel, through Jesus Christ our holy Redeemer, to many of the unconverted, who are forgetful of their duty to their merciful and gracious Creator, "who wills not the death of him that dies, but that all should return, repent, and live." I have, with you, to adore that arm that bore us up, and so marvelously supported us under every exercise, both as to body and mind; and hope this may be an encouragement to us in our future stepping along, to yield our minds to every service that may be appointed to us, nothing doubting but that He who has already begun the work will carry it on in us and by us, if we humbly confide in him, resigning our own will to his blessed will, not looking so much at the appearance of things, and at our own abilities, as to the all-sufficiency of His power who can fit the least in the family for every good word and work, and enable them to show forth the praises of Him who has called them both to glory and virtue.

And, dear friend, as you were made a comfort, and a near companion to me, I have often been desirous that you might be so preserved as to become useful in the family, and shine amongst the fixed stars in the firmament of the Lord's power, which, I doubt not, will be the case if you hold fast the beginning of your confidence, and keep in the humility of the heavenly family, where nothing impure can find acceptance, but where joy unspeakable and full of glory is the enjoyment of the blessed; the redeemed of all generations, who unite in praising his holy name forever and ever. With a heart filled with the love of an affectionate brother in Christ, I remain your friend,

David Sands

Amongst the papers of David Sands was found the following weighty address, which appears to have been written about this period, and is deemed well worthy of preservation:

To all who love the Lord Jesus Christ, addressed more especially to Friends of East Hampton,

My dear Friends—

I have had my mind often drawn to remember you, since my lot has been cast in this island, feeling something to say to encourage you who have known in measure the purifying power of divine love shed abroad in your hearts, which is able to keep and preserve you in the hour of temptation, and make you as hewn stones that will lay solid in the spiritual building. As you abide in it, you will be led from all likenesses of things that are in heaven above, or in the earth beneath; seeing the end of all types and shadows, and looking to the eternal substance, to Jesus the living bread which comes down from heaven; whereby you will be enabled to keep the spiritual passover, where you will drink the wine of the kingdom, well refined, and eat of the spiritual bread which our Lord breaks and blesses to his poor dependent children, whom he chooses as in the furnace of affliction, where he baptizes them with the baptism of sufferings, and thoroughly purges the floor of their hearts, and burns up all the loose matter. Therefore, my dear friends, dwell in this principle of divine love, which casts out all slavish fear; for as you are found dwelling therein it will be your strength, whereby you will be enabled to wage war in righteousness against the man of sin in yourselves, and to destroy the works of Satan through the power of God, who is himself an immense ocean of divine love, which I apprehend some amongst you have been made sensible of. Therefore, my friends, dwell in that power and wisdom which is from above, and in the life and virtue of Jesus Christ, and this will keep you alive in Him who is the root of life; it is this that will make you fruitful; not formal, dry, and barren; having the form but lacking the power. Get, friends, to the inward sanctuary, and wait, like David formerly, who often waited upon God; so will you witness him to be strength in weakness, riches in poverty, and a never-failing helper in the most trying seasons. May it be your engagement to come out of all mixtures, into God's peaceable truths out of all the imaginary conceptions of man's wisdom, into God's wisdom, into his Spirit, that so you may drink of the river that makes truly glad. It is a small thing to be called a Christian, but to

be a true follower of Jesus, to love him above all, to deny ourselves, and to take up our daily cross and follow him, is a labor which is not agreeable to the creature: or that self should have no reputation, nor any share, especially in religious performances. The nature of man is activity, which, in these, ought to be laid in the dust; for that which comes from God, gathers to Him; and that which comes only from the will of the creature, and wisdom of man, though clothed with the richest garments of man's contriving and preparing, can bring no life, nor the savor of it to the soul. I may say you have been made near to me, and should I be engaged to pay you another visit in Gospel love, may I be comforted in beholding your growth and firm establishment in the eternal truth. I believe that God will reveal himself more clearly to some of you, through the light of his dear Son. Oh! that you may take heed to the tender touches of His love, and keep to that in yourselves which convinces you of evil, and though it be small in its appearance, it will enable those who take heed thereto, to overcome evil, and lead from it into truth and peace. And as I have, when amongst you, exhorted to these things, so I now again write to you, to keep out of all noises, tumults, and confusions, that are in the world, and are of the world, which lies in wickedness, and be still. Seek for the true quietude of mind; the place of true menial prayer is a quiet habitation, and O that many of you may be gathered to it, both parents and children; then you will be enabled to offer acceptable prayers to our Father which is in heaven, who hears the prayers that proceed from the contrite spirit. With a salutation of love to you all, I remain your sincere friend, in Jesus our dying and risen Lord,

David Sands

It is desired that this epistle be read at the close of an evening meeting, by the Friends of East Hampton.

The foregoing journey, through some of the Eastern States, being at a period when the revolutionary war was at its height, he had many trials to pass through, in moving about amongst the armed forces. Of these trials his wife and family at home had largely to partake. His house stood in a neighborhood where many of the troops were collected, and at one time there was a guard of fifty men stationed at his house. At first they appeared rather hostile, but soon changed their conduct, as they became acquainted with his wife and family, and were satisfied that he was absent on a religious visit, though it appeared strange to them that he could leave a comfortable home in such perilous times; from this circumstance they were at first almost induced to believe that he had gone to the enemy. One day, when several soldiers were present, his wife received the following letter, which, after having read, she handed to one of them, desiring him to take it to the camp and show it to their officers, that they might be satisfied of its contents:—

My beloved Companion—

The tender ties, both of grace and nature, call on me to embrace every opportunity of writing to you. After a salutation of tender love, these may inform you that I have to-day finished my service in this island in visiting nearly two hundred families, which service I have been favored to perform beyond my expectation, through the helping hand of Divine Goodness. My

mind has been much with my tender and beloved family, and at times the flood of affliction has; run so high that I have been almost overwhelmed; though at this time I feel, in some measure, relieved from it, and hope to be resigned to the Divine Disposer of all things, who, I me say, has hitherto helped me.

I expect, in a day or two, to leave this island, and proceed, unless I find my mind released from further service, which seems to be my daily desire. I am comforted at times, under a confirming belief that He who requires the service of me is a merciful covenant-keeping God, in whose arm of power I trust, and that he will preserve me and mine under the shadow of his wing, if we are but faithful to him; and that we may be so is the fervent breathing of my mind. I expect that you, perhaps, have met with close trials, and had great exercises to pass through; and though I am separated from you, my earnest desire and prayer is, that your faith fail not, and I am persuaded that Jacob's God and Israel's King will not forsake us; though more trials may be near, yet as our eye is single to him, we shall be preserved. I hope you will not be dismayed or cast down, but trust in the Shepherd of Israel; cast your care upon him, for he cares for those who trust in him. I have been favored to believe that he will be a father to my beloved infant children, and as a husband to you, seeing he has ordered our separation in this trying season. My love is to my beloved parents, brothers, and sisters, and dear inquiring friends. In the most affectionate and heartfelt regard, I am your loving husband,

David Sands  
Nantucket

It is stated that some of the soldiers often came in and sat with them during their meetings, and appeared very civil and respectful. Clementina Sands lent them several Friends' books, particularly Barclay's Apology. When they left, they took a friendly leave, and appeared to wish for the welfare of the family. During their stay, her friends felt very anxious for her removal to a place of safety, but she felt most easy to remain, though much exercised, desiring to be shown what was best for her; and, on one occasion, she retired to wait in silence to be guided by Him who is alone able to direct in best wisdom. She felt drawn to open the Bible, and her eye rested on the 27th Psalm: "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear: The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid?" which was so fully applicable to her present trying situation, and also the promise of care so beautifully expressed, that her mind became quieted, and all fear and anxiety were at an end. She felt full confidence in Him who had sent her protector away from her on an errand of gospel love, for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, believing that He would extend a fatherly care to her and her little ones.

After his return in the winter, 1779 and 1780, he remained at home until the following summer, when he felt a concern to visit Friends in Philadelphia, particularly in their families, which service engaged him until the 2nd month, 1781. He was much comforted with the openness manifested to receive the truth; and though it was an arduous labor, yet he was favored to return with peace and thankfulness to Him who had required it of him. The following is from his Journal:

## CHAPTER 4

*Visit to Philadelphia—Letter to his Wife—Robbery of his Store—Second Visit to New England—Letter from John Pemberton.*

In the year 1780, I felt my mind drawn to visit Friends in Philadelphia and parts adjacent. I spread my concern before the monthly meeting to which I belonged, and obtained a certificate expressive of the unity of my friends, and encouragement to proceed to perform the service required of me as way might open. I left home about the 8th month 1st. On arriving at Philadelphia, my friends received me kindly, uniting in my anticipated service and labor. I visited all the families of Friends, and was kindly accompanied by some of them through this extensive service, in which much exercise and close labor was found to be in the way of my duty. I felt a comfort in believing that it was owned by my great and good Master. I attended many meetings, both for worship and discipline, to the relief and comfort of my own mind, and, I trust, to the general satisfaction of concerned Friends, whose sympathy and exercise for my welfare I was fully sensible of. I had many meetings, and much labor amongst those of other societies, much to my satisfaction. I also attended many meetings, both for worship and discipline, amongst Friends of the adjacent parts. In a letter to his wife he thus expresses his lively concern for her preservation under her many trials, and for the welfare of his own family:

Philadelphia, 8th month 20th, 1780.

My dearly beloved Wife—

Duty, as well as inclination, invite me to embrace this opportunity to write to you. Though absent in body, few hours pass without remembering you and my beloved children. But I still feel a reviving hope that you are mercifully cared for by Him whose care is for His dependent children. A sense of His all-sufficient help still remains as an anchor to our minds under every dispensation of His providence. I have with much clearness seen, in the visions of light, that it is according to the saying of the prophet, "It is the Lord that teaches to profit, and leads in the way that we should go;" and though in the cross to our own wills, yet I believe there is no other way to the crown; therefore, as far as we may be enabled, let us resign the government of our wills to Him who is the great counsellor of His people, who leads in a way the fowls of the air do not know, and the vulture's eye has not seen, and who sustains the character of an everlasting Father to provide for and support his children that cry unto Him, and a mighty God to deliver, as well as a Prince of Peace, of the increase of whose government there never shall be an end. Let not your heart faint nor your hands fail. Your acquaintance with trial and disappointment is not new, and if we abide faithful, it will help us to do our day's work in the day-time. I have now nearly gone through the families of Friends in this city, and feel desirous of being discharged from further labor, but cannot determine yet whether I shall or not, but desire to be resigned to the Lord's will; and I hope you will not murmur, as I trust the Lord will not only engage me in his service, but make you sensible of the same. May His powerful arm sup-

port and keep you and my beloved children, is the constant prayer of my heart; that if we are permitted to meet again we may rejoice in that joy that is superior to the joys of harvest, or the increase of corn, wine, or oil. A joy that arises from an evidence that we have done the will of God, which is felt to be “joy unspeakable and full of glory.” Thus, my beloved companion, let us be encouraged to hold on our way. Many have landed safely after a rough passage, and have eventually been comforted within the confines of a calm and quiet harbor. I have no doubt but that He who was with the disciples when the winds blew and the sea ran high, when their faith began to fail, is still “in the side of the ship,” and has the same power, as he is called upon, that ever he had, to say, “Peace, be still,” and so to bring a calm. Thus may we be encouraged to dwell under the calming influence of His holy Spirit from time to time, and at all times, knowing that “the foundation of God stands sure, having this seal, the Lord knows them that are His,” and whose hearts are devoted to serve Him. I trust that it may be the will of our heavenly Father to permit us to meet again, when our close trials and long separations will be forgotten in the sweet reward of faithfulness. My affectionate love to my dear parents and friends. I remain your tender and affectionate husband in truth's Service.

David Sands

### *Robbery of his Store*

In the spring of 1783, he again commenced a mercantile business, his residence being near where the soldiers were stationed, though many were now disbanded. They were in the habit of purchasing articles, and became acquainted with the situation of the store, and in the following winter, when the river was frozen, six young men, scarcely of age, headed by an elder one, came to his house at midnight and broke open the door. Finding they were in the premises, and no way to resist them, David Sands partly dressed, and while they were forcing open the store door he raised a back window, which was near the ground, and attempted to jump out to go for assistance. As he was nearly out he saw a man point a gun towards him, upon which he was favored to be able to return into the house again, not having let the window fall from his hand. The gun was so near that the flash lighted over his head. During this time his wife was surrounded by the soldiers; one, with a bayonet pointed at her breast, made inquiries for the money. She immediately told them it was in the store, and they left her to go in search of it, when she attempted to light a candle, but they forbade it. They all rushed into the store, when David Sands again went through the window, and ran to the nearest neighbors (nearly a quarter of a mile) through deep snow, being but thinly clad, and without his hat. The thieves seized the money-drawer, containing about fifty-dollars, all being in change or coppers, and very heavy. It being dark, they supposed they were in possession of a prize; they soon emptied its contents, and then each took a load of fine broad-cloth, in all amounting to about five hundred dollars. No other articles were disturbed, and they immediately started for West Point. David Sands soon returned, and with him several neighbors, and pursued them so closely as to pass them before they reached the river, they having left the road; the men followed, and disposed of their goods, etc. under the snow, and before daylight each was at his post.

When the officers were informed of the affair, they said they would gladly find the offenders, but could not determine in which way to proceed. David Sands proposed to have the men placed in their ranks, and said he believed that he could select the offenders. The officers agreed to his proposal, but appeared doubtful as to its success. David Sands walked up to the first, and, with the keen eye of justice fixed on him, thus addressed him,—“Where were you last night?” “On guard, sir, and a cold night it was.” David Sands replied, “Did you find it cold when robbing my store?” He denied the charge, and proved so far innocent, that he was not one of the party; but David Sands insisted, from his countenance, that he knew more of the matter than he was willing to acknowledge. He then proceeded, and immediately selected three others; on which the older one, who appeared to have been their leader, informed against them, and by that means escaped punishment; but he was immediately banished. In less than twenty-four hours the goods were all returned; also, part of the money, having been buried in the snow. Six of them were imprisoned, and martial law, according to the nature of the offense, executed on four. He desired they might be spared as much as possible, their time having nearly expired, and their youth and the families with whom they were connected being such as to claim sympathy. The one who fired the gun, with another equally concerned, were put in irons, and delivered up to the civil authority for punishment; which, as the laws then were, would have condemned them to death. They were sent to David Sands to proceed against them, and he directed the person who had charge of them to take them to the county jail, about twenty miles distant, they expecting he would appear against them in the morning; but he had no idea of doing so, though he permitted them to believe that they should be punished, thinking it would prove salutary to them. No one appearing against them, they were again returned to him. He told them he had no wish to do anything with them, and that they might return to their officers; but first he had a comfortable breakfast prepared for them, of which they partook, while tears of gratitude ran down their pale faces; and although their hands were fastened with irons, yet it appeared to be a very comfortable meal to them. In the course of their stay the person who had charge of them, being the same who was first accused by David Sands, said, “Mr. Sands, you felt in some measure inclined to include me in the number.” David Sands replied, looking earnestly at him, “I do not feel clear that you did not possess some knowledge of it, if I can judge from your countenance both now and at the time;” to which he answered, “What man would not feel a change, when closely examined by an eye like yours, were he ever so innocent?” But David Sands never withdrew his first judgment.

He gave the prisoners much important advice, strengthening it with a hope of their forgiveness by their merciful Creator, whose kindness they were now experiencing through his unbounded mercy and not from their own merits, which they must be sensible was the case, and they were bound in duty to acknowledge his favor and merciful forbearance by their future conduct. They seemed much tendered and dropped many tears, promising obedience and attention to what he had so kindly expressed and the interest that he had manifested towards them. Thus they took leave of him and his family.

A number of years after this, When David Sands was on a religious visit in a far distant country, attending an appointed meeting, in which he had much service and great openness, and where much tenderness was evinced: after the meeting broke up, a man, plainly dressed, came up to him and said, “I wish

to speak to you alone.” He took David by the hand, and, while weeping, thus addressed him: “I wish to ask your forgiveness, and rejoice in having this opportunity. My conduct has been to me a source of grief, and at times almost bowed me to the earth.” David Sands replied: I think you are mistaken in the person; you are a stranger to me, and I know not how any act of yours could have been connected with either me or mine.” The man replied—“I am not mistaken. I am the man who shot at you when your store was robbed.” David Sands replied—“I remember the circumstance well, but have no power to forgive sin. If your heavenly Father will forgive you, it is all I ask, and am thankful to meet you in this situation.” He requested David Sands to accompany him to his house, where he found an interesting woman his wife, she being a Friend's daughter, but had married him contrary to the rules of society. But she, with her husband, had now made application to be received as members. This opportunity was truly gratifying, particularly to one so entirely given up and devoted to his Master's work as was the case with David Sands. He labored to prepare his fellow-creatures for everlasting happiness.

From the time of the robbery until the year 1785, he spent much of his time in visiting his friends of the meetings to which he belonged, having also many meetings appointed amongst persons of other denominations. His labors were well received.

His ministry was at once awakening and persuasive, conveying deep conviction to the conscience of the careless, the rebellious, and the unfaithful, and greatly tending to the instruction and enlightening of the understanding of the sincere inquirer after the way to Zion. Many were gathered through his labors to unite in religious fellowship with Friends, and some of these became useful and acceptable ministers, laboring extensively in the service of the gospel.

In 1785, he spread a concern before his meetings, both monthly and quarterly, to revisit his many near and dear friends, in the love of the gospel, within the compass of New England, Rhode Island, Nantucket, Kennebec, and other places as way might open. His friends cordially united with his concern, and he was enabled to accomplish this engagement in about a year. The following letter, received by David Sands from another beloved fellow-laborer, appears to have been written to him from London, about the 6th month, 1787.

It is from John Pemberton:

The renewed testimony of your affectionate remembrance, and near sympathy, was very cordial, and truly acceptable. The Lord has seen fit to afford such supplies of instrumental help when I stood in need. Many and deep are my conflicts in the arduous path I tread. I believe few have had more general sympathy manifested towards them than I have had, yet there are individuals who cannot see nor comprehend my steps, which has brought your early movements, which were in a singular line, often to my remembrance. I was, with some others, ready to admire and to fear, then little apprehending my own steps would be directed in a line similar. After I last wrote you I entered Scotland again, and spent upwards of six weeks on the west coast, and had (in company with David Ducat, a worthy aged Friend of Cumberland) sixty-three meetings, in forty-four days, amongst people much strangers to Friends and our

religious principles, and much bigoted and prejudiced; yet the Lord made way, and a second opportunity was generally more open and comfortable. It was as satisfactory a tour as any I ever had. We did not imprudently hasten from places, but in some had two or three meetings. The aged Friend was willing to journey my pace, which all companions have not been. He had waded under a concern to visit the west coast many years, but no way opened for him until I came. He had been brought up a Presbyterian, and knew their principles well, was strong and clear in doctrine, and much favored. I hastened to this city to present myself to the brethren, and to be open to any counsel they might have to communicate; as I wish ever to stand open to advice. My case was considered in the yearly meeting of ministers and elders, which was a solid time, and I was left to the Lord and the guidance of his good Spirit; but I have met since with some things which have afflicted. I would be very grateful, and I should esteem it a favor, could I have had liberty to return with our friends Patience Brayton, Ann Jessup, Rebecca Wright, William Matthews, and Zechariah Dicks, who expect to embark for Philadelphia in a few days. My heart throbs; but I can not look to go home as yet with a peaceful mind. Our dear friends Rebecca Jones and George Dylwyn are here, and are favored with help. We all have our trials and besetments, but all except myself have been directed to labor among the Brethren. I am but little among them. With dear love, and sincere desires for our preservation on the sure foundation, in faith and patience, I am your very affectionate friend,

John Pemberton.

P. S. The last yearly meeting was very large, and a favored season; the largest number of hopeful youths I ever saw together. The state of our religious Society, though low, is, I think, improving, and the discipline better-maintained than in former years.

## CHAPTER 5

*Second Visit to Philadelphia, and Awful Warning to the Inhabitants—Yellow Fever breaks out—Prepares to Visit Europe—Another Visit to New England—Letter from James Bringham—Takes Ship for Halifax—Escape from Shipwreck—Letters from Remington Hobby and John Tabor.*

In the latter part of the year 1792, David Sands felt a concern to visit Friends in Philadelphia again, and obtaining a certificate of the unity of his friends with his prospect, he proceeded to that city, and attended many meetings both for worship and discipline. In the course of this service he was many times closely proved and tried, and on one occasion he felt constrained to declare unto them that he believed that the judgments of an offended God were about to be poured out upon the inhabitants of that city.

He remarked that “it is appointed unto all men once to die, and after this the judgment.” “There is something like death imprinted on all your houses, in measure according to the value you set upon them, and which with great care and pains you have erected. The handwriting upon the wall is found

upon all your pleasant walks beautiful trees, fine gardens, lofty buildings, and pleasant streets; and what if these very things which you have taken so much delight in should, in time, become the graves of some of you; yea, all these things become a ruinous heap, and some of you be buried in the midst of them, for we know such things have been; and what sins were there committed in Sodom that are not committed here? And before very long, according to my present prospect, it must be the case here; for like causes may produce like effects. And some of you that have become vessels of wrath and displeasure in the hand of an offended God, may be swallowed up in holes in the earth, part of your bodies in and part out of it and above ground, for examples or warnings to those who may see it. And this city may become a stinking hole, and they who pass by may say, 'Where are all those lofty buildings, and those pleasant things?' And what if I should say, the child is now born that may live to see these things come to pass, unless there be a turning to Him who has all power in his hand, and who can cause the earth to reel like a drunken man."

This remarkable testimony was delivered publicly, at an evening meeting held in the High-street Meeting-house in Philadelphia, on the 18th of the 11th month, 1792, previous to the breaking forth of the awful and most desolating yellow fever, the first that was permitted to visit that part of our land, at least of late years. The disease commenced almost like the plague in violence, attended in many instances with immediate death. The alarm was sudden, and the results, in many cases, so fatal, that for a time medical aid was of little or no avail. It was the most trying scene ever witnessed in that city.

The conflict and trial of faith which David Sands had to pass through, in connection with the delivery of the foregoing communication, was very great; but he was fully aware that omitting to perform what appeared clearly to be required of him would have been of still more painful consequence. In the course of his engagement he was concerned to exhort them "to flee from the wrath to come," and to seek refuge in the Lord Jehovah, in whom is everlasting strength.

In the course of his ministry, David Sands, having himself a deep and abiding sense of the mutability of all things here below, and in the ardor of his soul to warn men against placing their affections unduly upon sublunary objects, it was not unusual for him to express himself in language which some indiscriminating hearers regarded as prophetic, when such was not his real intention or meaning. In some cases this has been attended with inconvenience, the event not answering the expectations thus unintentionally excited.

His ministry was frequently of a searching, awakening character, attended with a large degree of power and of the Divine anointing. It fell to his lot to labor much in parts but newly occupied, bordering on the wilderness, where he found many of the inhabitants like the parched thirsty ground, drinking in with avidity the instruction communicated. Many of them possessed very few opportunities of instrumental help in their concern for the salvation of their souls.

For several years a prospect of duty opened and pressed on the mind of David Sands, of his being required to travel in the service of the gospel in Europe. This concern increased until the year 1794. In the spring of that year he spread his prospect before his friends, and in the 5th month he obtained a cer-

tificate from the yearly meeting of New York to Friends in Great Britain, etc. He felt his mind drawn to pay another visit to New England, and then embark from there to Halifax or Liverpool, as way might open. But this visit and these labors were ultimately more weighty and extensive than he had anticipated, which was at times cause of much anxiety both to himself and his friends. But though at times very deeply tried, he found that the only path of peace was to be found in following his guide, and moving cautiously along in the performance of apprehended duty from day to day. He was thus enabled to finish his service, before embarking for England, to his full satisfaction, and had the acknowledgment of the full unity and fellowship, both of his Friends at home and those brethren amongst whom he had been laboring, many of whom had been sharers with him in various exercises and arduous labors for the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness.

His Journal of these services thus commences:—

*An Account of my Travels from my own Home, on a Religious Visit to Friends in Europe*

My mind having been long exercised with thoughts of crossing the seas to pay a visit to Friends and others in Europe, after having obtained a Certificate from the monthly and quarterly meetings, and the yearly meeting of ministers and elders, I set off, after a tender parting with many Friends, and with some of my own family, on the 29th of 6th month, 1794. My wife and son accompanied me to a meeting in Smith's Close, after which I parted with all but my wife, who remained with me, and we parted in the morning, after a solemn time in a friendly family. I proceeded to New York, taking several opportunities of holding meetings amongst those not members of our Society, where I met my aged father-in-law and my daughter Martha, and having spent some time with them, and sought an opportunity of a vessel to embark in, but finding none that I was easy to go in, I felt my mind turned towards Long Island, and proceeded accordingly, visiting all the meetings of Friends, and holding some amongst other people, I believe to good satisfaction.

I rested the 6th of the 8th month, at the house of my friend John Searing, having passed through many close trials since I set out from my own house, which I hope may serve to carry on the work of sanctification, and prepare and purify me more and more for service. I wrote several letters to my wife and children, and also to a number of my friends, and there proceeded to visit several places, in company with my much-esteemed friend Jacob Willis; and as I thought I might now leave Long Island, I came to Newport, Rhode Island, where I had several meetings; from there proceeded to Tiverton, where I met with my much-loved friend James Bringhurst, who was very low in mind, but was much better before we parted. The following letter from James Bringhurst will be read with interest:

My dear Friend,

For such I may truly call you, from a sense of your kindness in coming to visit me, in my low distressed situation of body and mind, wherein you were made instrumental in raising me in a good degree out of it, to a feeling of that power which is lastingly good; on which, if our trust

and dependence is wholly placed, we are supported and enabled to bear up in and through the many troubles we find by sorrowful experience are allotted to us, in passing along through this world of danger and of conflict. May I be kept truly humble under them, and sensible of the kind hand of Him who permits these afflictive dispensations, and who yet gives strength and ability to bear them to our own improvement. I thought I should be most easy to write a few lines, and express a little of that sincere love I feel towards you, my beloved friend, in which I much desire you may be, from day to day, favored with a renewal of strength, and of right qualification to go through the arduous work before you, to the honor of our great Master, and the full establishment of your own peace, which in the end will happily crown all. I feel more towards you than I can express; may you sometimes think of me with desires that I may be supported through every trouble and danger, (as there are many in this world), so that I may hold out to the end, and then all will be well. My earnest desire is, that I may be favored with patience and with resignation to whatever is permitted to be my experience, without any murmur or repining, though sometimes this is hard to come at so fully as ought to be the case. Your sincere friend,

James Bringham.

I next proceeded to Providence, where I stayed some time, and visited my old friend Daniel Rowland, who, with his family, were very well, and Friends generally were glad to see me. Returning to Rhode Island, I went to a quarterly meeting, in company with J. Mott, held at Bedford, where I met with my much-loved friend William Rotch, who had just arrived from Europe with his wife, two daughters, and two public Friends, John Wigham and Martha Routh. Here we parted, and I went to Nantucket, where I spent about ten days to my great satisfaction, and then returned to Bedford, and so to Longplain, Sandwich, Pembroke, Boston, and after acceptable service in each place, I proceeded to Lynn, and so on to the eastward; finding many of my friends glad to see me. I was at the quarterly meeting at Davom, formerly called Royals Town, where many had been convinced by my ministry, who were like my children.

At this quarterly meeting I had to look back on the former travail of my soul, when passing through this most gloomy wilderness, then with few inhabitants, and those very ignorant of Friends' principles, and in many respects an uncultivated warlike people. Oh, what alterations are made for the better, when the Lord's hand is in the work! I do not see anything in myself that is worthy to claim any share, more than as an instrument, and that of a weak kind. At this quarterly meeting I met with Martha Routh, on her return from visiting Friends to the eastward; and here we were favored to put many things in order that were otherwise; having had much of the Lord's presence with us, we were enabled to conclude our meeting in brotherly love, and I returned to Dover quarter, where Martha Routh and I continued laboring in much nearness of spirit, and having waded through many exercises we were favored to close in much love and tender regard. I may say I have had many trying seasons since I have been in this land, sometimes being silent for many meetings in succession, and my way in the ministry much closed, though I have no just cause of complaint, as the least favor is more than I really deserve. I believe I

have been enabled to move so as not to give any occasion of complaint to my friends. Since visiting Dover quarter I have been laboring constantly among Friends and others. The attendant exercises' and various trials are not to be described fully, and as they are often much the same, I think no great advantage can arise from any endeavor to open them very frequently; yet I may say, for the encouragement of Zion's travelers, that I believe there is no great cause to fear, but that if we are sufficiently resigned to the Divine will we shall be carried through, so that at last we can say, "His ways are ways of pleasantness, and all His paths are peace." Many circumstances have turned up, but to take notice of them all would soon swell the account, therefore I have omitted naming those families where I put up, as they may alter, and sometimes I have seen something of pride arise in families because Friends frequently put up with them. I wish to make no remark of anything that may be applied to families or meetings to their disadvantage, as they that are pretty well off in various respects, sometimes soon alter for the worse, and some that are in low circumstances alter as soon for the better; so that as all ministers are left to feel their own way, without anything to mislead them, they will be most likely to speak to things as they are. Having spent considerable time at Ware or at Harris Town (where is a pretty large body of Friends) to a good degree of satisfaction, I now felt bound towards Amherst, where I made but little stay, but proceeded towards Boston, taking Salem and Lynn in my way, where I attended several meetings, generally large, and I hope not without some use.

#### *Sails for Halifax*

I was now very much straitened in my own mind as to what I should do; but thought, under all circumstances, it was best for me to take shipping for Halifax, which I did, on board a schooner bound to St. John's, in Nova Scotia Government. After being out about three days, in Marble Head Harbor, we were driven on shore, in which time of trial no tongue can tell what I underwent. About four o'clock in the morning, myself and companion were called to get up and put on our clothes, to make the best shift we could, as our vessel was near the rocks and would be on them in a few minutes. The countenances of the seamen were expressive of the most awful danger. They stood trembling, saying, "We are or shall be lost; there is no hope for ourselves or the vessel." We got our clothes on, and made ready to shift for ourselves. My dear companion being struck with sea-sickness added to my difficulty, as he was unable to help himself; but seeing no way open but by urging on the seamen to exert themselves, looking unto Him who makes a way where none appears, I ventured on deck, where I saw all the appearances of immediate death, as our vessel was dragging towards a point of rocks whose top appeared higher than our masts, and so steep that there was no way to ascend them. In this awful moment I had to resign my spirit into the hands of Him that gave it, and my body, not only to a watery grave, but to be dashed to pieces against the rocks. I advised what I thought our only way of escape, but the master thought it would be of no use. The storm was violent, mixed with hail and rain, and being dark, the dashing waves resembled fire, without giving light. In this situation, I felt so poor I thought I did not feel worth begging for, but found a little strength to do it for my companion and the poor seamen. I say so poor, but I may add, so unworthy. Here our anchor hitched, and held until daylight, which was a favor I had begged for. We lay within a few yards of the place before described, and saw ourselves as in the arms

of death, when one of the seamen cried out, "We are just upon striking; all hands upon deck." At which time, the master proposed to try the measures I had previously recommended, saying, "It is only trying, as nothing could add to our difficulty, turn how it would." At which critical moment, we may say, we were snatched from the arms of death. The mate said there had not been such a time before, as the wind favored us two points, and as our vessel wore round under her jib, having cut one cable and slipped the other; her stern struck, as we suppose, twice, while the dashing of the waves carried away our boat. Thus we escaped, without any other prospect than that of running her ashore in some place where we might save our lives. I was obliged to stand by and assist what I could, though I fell several times. We soon arrived at a place to run ashore. I cannot describe the joy that filled every countenance, notwithstanding the sea was breaking over us in a most violent manner, and our vessel trembled as if she would burst in pieces every moment. After the storm had subsided a calm ensued, and our friends came alongside of our vessel with a sleigh, and took us out.

On leaving the vessel we returned to Salem, and after a short stay there we went to Lynn, from where, after recruiting again, with the advice of my friends, I proceeded towards the eastward on horseback, taking meetings as they fell in course, and appointed many others. The journey was very trying to my feeble constitution, and I had a heavy cold, yet continued our course towards Kennebec, where we arrived 5th month 9th, 1795, and found things greatly altered since my first visit, being now a pretty large monthly meeting, where there was not the face of a Friend to be seen when I first visited the country; but rather a hard warlike people, addicted to many vices, but now become a solid, good-behaved body of Friends.

After paying a pretty general visit here, I set forward, still eastward, intending to go to Penobscot; from which place I expected to ship either for Halifax or Europe, and having had many meetings in the way, and in some places where I had traveled before, wherein I thought the power of truth was felt, to the convincing of many; and I believe that amongst them there are several who will stand as seals to my labors. I have had in this part of my journey my much-loved friend Remington Hobby, a man of a good gift in the ministry; and having now accomplished my service, took leave of many tender people in great brokenness of spirit, as also of my dear companion, Joseph Wing, who had borne me company near nine months, in which time we were so nearly united to each other that not one hard word or thought had taken place between us. Parting also with my companion and fellow-laborer, Remington Hobby, was very trying, being now left to go on board amongst strangers, having taken my passage to Liverpool on board the ship "Two Brothers."

The following letters by Remington Hobby, written to David Sands after his departure for Europe, are expressive of his feeling towards him.

Well-beloved Friend—

A few hours since I heard of an opportunity by which I could have the comfort of writing to you. My dearest friend and father, though my heart seems destitute of good, I cannot omit embracing it; and am instantly led to look at the solemn, yea, very solemn period of our part-

ing, which so continued to shed over our minds a solemnizing awe that on our return, for five miles, we scarce broke silence; but oh! my friend, although I powerfully felt what I now write, why was it that my heart ached with anguish, yet I could not weep; I seemed to look at you as solitary and alone in the cabin: yet surrounded by Him on whose great errand of glad tidings you are sent, with a promise of sure reward and a bright crown of glory prepared by Him, for his faithful and obedient servants. In looking over our journeying, I am sorrowfully affected with a fear that your anxious and tender concern, (as that of a most affectionate and pious father for a son), in the renewed instances of your indefatigable care for my growth and preservation, will fail of those happy effects which it seems might have been expected. I have been ready to conclude I have not prized your society or encouragement, and sometimes feel as if I was a poor unfruitful creature, though I earnestly desire that, having sinned much, I may love the more. I am sensible that I need more and more to be refined, and feel the necessity of looking through all that is visible to the invisible God, and beg that I may have no confidence in the flesh.

Oh! my friend, if we are never more permitted to meet in mutability, may the Merciful Preserver engage my heart so to act that we may ever enjoy each other in the realms of joy, where nothing can annoy our rest. When you have access to the throne of mercy, may you be encouraged to ask for me an increase of faith, that I may have a seal and testimony that I am a true son, and although born out of due season, I may yet be gathered with others into the fold of rest; but, dear David, I desire, though ever so poor, not to clothe myself with unfelt expressions, or higher notes of dignity than becomes that abasedness of spirit which can say, "I am a worm;" in which disposition of mind I wish only to say to you, spare me not; never allow partial affection to supersede the testimony of truth, whether it be the rod or in love, and believe me your friend in that love that changes not,

Remington Hobby

The following is an extract from another of Remington Hobby's letters setting forth the love he bore to David Sands, as also his devotedness to truth, fearing, lest the messenger bearing glad tidings should not tarry long enough in the field of service to see the fruits of his labor:

In those seasons wherein heavenly power has seemed to silence all flesh, I have often ventured to say, concerning my dear friend and father who is absent, if I may be allowed the expression, "Let him see of the travail of his soul, and be permitted to rejoice in your presence." I dare say no more, nor indulge a wish for your return. I know not whether it is owing to ingratitude to my most faithful friend. Yet so it is, I would rather be forgotten of you, and that you should write me no more, than to omit your duty to a single individual on the other side of the water. Take all the time the Lord allows you, let others think or say what they will. If their gifts or labors differ from yours, so may yours differ from theirs. Which has most the criterion of righteousness—that which makes haste through fear of breaking the tradition of the Elders, or

that which, beholding the husbandman's care, is willing to wait for the precious fruits of the heavenly Canaan, and has long patience for them? Seeing to the confirmation and establishment of the convinced, as did the Apostles, when they said, "Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do." Something of this, you devoted servant of the Most High God, you may see and feel, that may escape the notice of some others; and if you should presume on other conduct, I think you will smart for it, and perhaps have to cross the ocean again. My wife and family all love you, and I doubt not all Vassalborough would unite in love to you, did they know of my writing. May we, in the Lord's time, be gathered into the fold of everlasting rest, so wishes, so prays, and more than all earthly happiness desires, your sincere loving friend,

Remington Hobby.

The following letter to David Sands, from his friend John Tabor, was written about this time, though it reached him after his arrival in England. It evinces much brotherly sympathy with him under the many and varied trials which fell to his lot about this time, and also bears witness to the high estimation in which his ministerial labors were held by those who had the best opportunity of observing their effects, and the evidence of the Divine power and authority with which they were often eminently accompanied:

Dear Friend, David Sands—

It is in much brotherly love and near sympathy that I salute you in this way, feeling that near fellowship that distance cannot quench. Although it did not seem to be my lot to travel much in body with you, while within our borders, yet in my small measure, I did travail in spirit, and have to rejoice that your labors have been greatly blessed in our parts, several having been convinced by you as an instrument, and many of them appear very hopeful. But may we ever remember that though "Paul plant and Apollos water, it is God that gives the increase," to whom may we ever ascribe all the honor and praise, and nothing to self, but that we are poor unprofitable servants.

[After remarking on David Sands's long detention before embarking for England, he adds]—I wrote to Robert Benson, and informed them of your uneasiness with your detention in our land; and that I hoped that the oldness of the dates of your certificates might not hurt or lessen your service in their land, as I was fully persuaded that your detention in our parts was by Divine direction; and that your labors, especially among those not of our society, had been remarkably blessed by Him who had called you to labor in His vineyard; which has been cause of humble thankfulness to many, who I believe could set their seals to what I have written respecting your detention in our parts.

I came from Portland in company with Deborah Darby, Rebecca Young, and William Rotch: their labors have been very acceptable. They had two meetings in our meeting-house, which I

believe will not soon be forgotten by some. They have been to see your family, and were much comforted in feeling that the Great Master's presence was near to them in your absence. Joseph Cloud is expected here in a few days, and I think he will not get out of our eastern parts suddenly, as he seems to be led much as you were, among those not of our society.

I received your acceptable letter by our friend Remington Hobby, who, I think, has made considerable improvement, and probably will not be long at home. I shall be willing to accompany him in traveling the ground over again, where he and you have been. I feel more and more of late that it is my place so to arrange my business as to be more at liberty to accompany my friends on religious visits, and in a particular manner my dear friend. Remington Hobby, who I believe the Great Master is about to call to more labor in His vineyard.

Speaking of his own family, he remarks—I hope and believe that the close trial they met with in our absence will prove a blessing to some of them. It was quite a comfort to my wife and me to find they had mostly conducted to good satisfaction in our absence, and a lively concern appears to rest on some of them to come up in faithfulness, which I esteem a great favor.

With near love and sympathy, your assured friend,

John Tabor

Vassalborough, 8th month 6th, 1795

## CHAPTER 6

*Voyage to Liverpool—Advice to his Children—On the Inward Witness—Letters from James Neal and Jonathan Dow—Voyage to Europe.*

Thirteen months after leaving his own habitation, he thus proceeds with his Journal: “On the 23rd of the 7th month, 1795, I went on board the ship Two Brothers, bound for Liverpool, since which time we have had dull foggy weather, so that our progress is slow.” He next describes a peculiarly deep and distressing baptismal conflict with which he was overtaken, perhaps to prepare him for some of those services which afterwards fell to his lot, and in which he had to deal with some who were so far deluded as to seek to subvert the very foundations of the Christian's faith and hope, even denying the Lord who bought them, and holding the Scriptures of truth in very light estimation. Very mysterious are the Lord's dealings with his servants and ministers, in order to fit and prepare them for such services as he sees fit to call them to perform for the manifestation of His own power and glory, and the instruction of His children, amongst whom they are called to labor. He thus describes his conflicts:—

I have had two meetings on board, to some satisfaction. About the 8th month 2nd, I was taken unwell, and continued so for about ten days, in which time I had many deep trials of mind, I believe beyond what I ever experienced before, being now amongst strangers, whose dispositions were not of the most

feeling kind, and withal, no sense of any supporting arm near that I could rely on. I was reduced to that state that I gave up all, and saw no other way but that I must submit to death, and be buried in the ocean. After having been in this condition for several days, I became apprehensive that my senses would depart from me, which was an additional trial; yet I was so far preserved as to keep my state of mind to myself, which I apprehended many times I should not be able to do, as I sometimes seemed as though I should cry out through anguish of mind; but having given up all hope, and now only wishing to hide my miseries as well as I could, and if the sea was to be my bed to make the best of it, and so I concluded all would be for the best.

I walked upon the deck of the vessel, and being retired in deep thought, I felt a little hope spring up, but had no relish for any alteration, having now settled matters in my own mind; but as I could not command help, so I could not refuse it when it came, therefore, retiring into the cabin, while sitting and viewing the alteration I felt, and thinking what could be the cause, and feeling a fear of being deceived, I dared not touch what seemed to be offered. I now felt an increase of draft towards looking into the Bible, and, taking it up, and opening it, without any intention towards any particular place, I cast my eye on the 20th Psalm, "The Lord hear you in the day of trouble, the name of the God of Jacob defend you." I seemed to feel my mind drawn to read it, with which I felt a little hope spring up, having before given up all expectation of any more satisfaction either in what I had done or should ever be able to do; but as this was pressed on me I was made willing to comply; and as I began to read all my troubles seemed totally to disappear, and my faith was raised beyond what I ever had experienced before. And I thought the Psalm seemed to be applied to myself, "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not lack," when looking on the 23rd, I thought I must read that too, which still increased my strength, and spread a calm over my deeply afflicted mind; on which I retired to bed, and after lying down awhile I began to doubt, through reasoning; and, getting up, I went on deck, where I still remained in some doubts, and the wind being now against us, as it had been most of the passage, I was ready to say, how shall I be certain that what I felt and thought I saw is true, when it seemed like a voice spoken intelligibly, "The wind shall suddenly change, and continue fair until you arrive at land," which again brought me into quiet. I laid me down again, and had not lain but a few minutes before the man at the helm cried out, "A fair wind," which continued, so that we went but little out of our true course until we saw Cape Clear, in Ireland; though, I may remark, that when the wind changed it soon began to blow so hard that the sails were necessarily furled, and by day we were obliged to scud under a close-reefed topsail and part of the fore-sail. The wind was very fair, but violent, for forty-four hours, so that we put in our dead-lights and burned candles. Our ship being so under water that we could cook nothing, and with much difficulty could we cross the cabin, the ocean being in a most dreadful motion, and the wind so strong as to blow off the tops of the waves, that made it resemble a very driving snow-storm. But my mind now was quite easy, and my body seemed to gain strength even when feeding on a piece of raw meat and a bit of hard poor biscuit; for thus the Lord makes hard things easy, and bitter things sweet, when we abide in the patience.

In passing Ireland everything appeared beautiful, as we sailed near it for more than one whole day. We saw the towns and fields of harvest, until we fell in with Wales, where we had the like pleasant

prospect, until the pilot came on board to carry us into Liverpool, where I arrived in thirty-nine days after my embarking. Being the first day of the week, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when I landed, I went directly to the house of our beloved friend, Robert Benson, who was then gone to meeting with his wife and family, a maid being left, who told me I was expected soon. She got some refreshment for me, and I being weary I lay down a little while. When the Friends returned, they met me in much love and affection, and very kindly welcomed me to their house. In the afternoon I went with them to their meeting, in which I had something to offer, which seemed to give relief to my mind. And to see a meeting of Friends after such a long confinement, and again to be on shore, seemed to be more than I could bear without weeping for joy. I had not been at a Friends' meeting, where Friends were settled, for more than three months. I was much refreshed during my stay at Liverpool, where I remained from the 2nd to the 8th of 9th month, 1795, visiting some families, and writing home to my own family and friends.

In the course of his late voyage, David Sands evinced his concern for the improvement and welfare of his own children by writing some instructive hints for their government, which are thought worthy of preservation here, and possibly may be profitably read by others.

*David Sands' Advice to his Children, Written at Sea*

Having felt some secret drawings of spirit towards my dear children, and not knowing certainly that I shall behold all or any of them again, I think it right to employ some of my leisure hours, while confined on board of ship, in leaving some remarks and advice that have or may arise in my mind for their perusal and service.

Inasmuch as it is appointed unto all men once to die, and after death to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive a reward according to what their works have been here on earth, it ought to lead us with holy care and circumspection, not only to number our days, but diligently to scrutinize all our thoughts, words, and actions, that fill up and occupy our time, in order that we may see the state of our accounts, as in the Lord's sight; inasmuch as nothing can escape the knowledge of Him with whom we have to do.

I may here lay before you, my dear children, those well-adapted and beautiful passages of the pious King to his son, "Be you in the fear of the Lord all the day long, for surely there is an end; and your expectation shall not be cut off." "Hear you my son, and be wise, and guide your heart in the way."

The directions you will expect from me naturally divide themselves into three parts: "how we are to remember God in the beginning, in the progress, and to the close of the day." I will open my heart freely to you with respect to each particular, and leave you to judge how far these hints may suit your circumstances or accord with your inclination; desiring to avoid every extreme, both that of superstitious strictness in trifles, or of an indolent remissness; which, if

permitted to prevail in little things, may soon draw after it criminal neglect, and at length more criminal indulgences. In the beginning of the day it ought certainly to be our care to lift up our hearts to God as soon as we awake; and on rising from bed, to endeavor to have our minds brought into seriousness and stillness; to thoughtfulness as in the Divine presence; for this is a season when there are many considerations which may, or ought, to suggest a variety of pious reflections and expressions, which are so obvious that a mind inclined to piety could hardly forget or miss them. The cheerfulness natural on our first awaking; the refreshment we have found from sleep; the security we have enjoyed during that defenseless condition; the enjoyment of witnessing once more the reviving influence of the sun; the recollection of the many comforts and conveniences which we have enjoyed or received, and are surrounded with, so graciously provided by the great Author of all our mercies; and now, having the prospect of one day more, not only to see our dear connections, but to serve our heavenly Father, whose service is freedom and whose labor is love; and continued opportunity for the improvement of our minds; and, above all, cherishing a lively hope of finally witnessing a perfect resurrection to an eternal day of happiness and glory.

If we have our hearts in such a state as to long for further improvement in a still nearer and more humble approach to the Divine footstool, accompanied with desires to maintain a closer walk with the Lord; this itself is matter of thanksgiving and praise; and the rather if it may be regarded as the answer of the prayer with which we lay down the preceding evening. The exercise of private devotion in the morning I hope you will engage in as the first work of the day, yet I cannot prescribe a particular method to any of you, my dear children. Consult the witness for God in your own hearts. The constituent parts of duty are generally plain, as are our common mercies; and sometimes special favors are manifestly great, and consequently call upon us for corresponding services, with humble and grateful acknowledgments to Him who is the bestower of every good thing, whether temporal or spiritual.

It may now be proper to take a view of the day before us. So far as we consider, yea seriously consider, how and where it may be spent; and once more deeply think, how shall I employ myself for God this day, what business is to be done, and in what order; what opportunity may I expect either of doing or receiving good; that so we may carefully mark the providences of the day, and carefully guard against the temptations incident to it; that we keep up a lively humble dependence upon Divine influence, which is suitable to every emergency; that we govern our thoughts well in the solitude of the day, and our discourses well in the conversation of it.

Having proceeded thus far, may I now offer some hints further respecting devotion. It certainly ought to be performed with great seriousness, whether public or private; therefore let us take a view of it before we enter upon such solemnities; which, though they be performed here on earth, yet are connected with the invisible realities of another world: and in order to increase a suitable reverence of spirit, in the improvement of time, and the proper discharge of

every part of our duty, let us often take into view, as far as we can, the divine perfections of that glorious Being whom we profess to serve. And let us guard against every wandering thought, and maintain a strict watch over our own spirits, especially when we attempt to enter as into the immediate presence of God; and when we have performed our duty, as we suppose, let us not be deceived, but keep a strict eye on all the various duties of the day, for as our blessed Lord Jesus Christ declared, we are no longer safe than while on the watch.

“Two Brothers,” 8th month, 11th, 1795

The following remarks on the Inward Witness were found among the papers of David Sands, without date, and may perhaps be usefully inserted here, previous to the account of his Gospel labors in Europe.

### *On the Inward Witness*

*“He that believes on the Son of God hath the witness in himself.” 1 John 5:10.*

Many and glorious are the outward testimonies that God has given to the Christian religion, both in the days when His Son Jesus Christ dwelt on earth and went about doing good to the bodies and souls of many, and in the time of the ministration of the apostles, who followed their Lord and Master. The miracles wrought, the prophecies fulfilled, and the various glories attending the ministration of the Gospel conspire to confirm our faith. Each of them are evidences of the truth and divinity of this doctrine, and all of them joined together, bear such a testimony as cannot be resisted. We live in these latter days at a long distance of time from those seasons wherein those miracles were wrought, and wherein God appeared in so immediate a manner from heaven to witness to the truth of the Gospel of his Son; but God has taken care to furnish every true believer with sufficient witness to the truth and efficacy of Christianity. We are not left void at this day. “He that believes has the witness within himself.” There is an internal testimony given to the Gospel of Christ in the heart of every one that receives it in truth. These are the beginnings of that eternal life wrought in the soul, which the Son of God bestows on all believers: “He that has the Son has life.” Oh, the spiritual life of a Christian runs into eternity! It is the same Divine temper, the same peaceful and holy qualities of mind, communicated to the believer here, in the days of grace and visitation, which shall be fulfilled and perfected in the world of glory. And this is a blessed witness to the truth of Christianity; it proves with abundance of evidence that it is a religion sufficient to save souls, for salvation is begun in all that truly receive the good tidings of it. What sort of witness is this which true faith gives to the Gospel of Christ, and what are the remarkable properties of this testimony? I answer, it is a witness that dwells more in the heart than in the head; it is a testimony known by being felt and practiced, and not by mere reasoning—the greatest reasoners may miss of it; it is a testimony written in the heart, and upon this account it has some prerogative above all the external arguments in favor of Christianity—this inward argument is always at hand.

The following letter, from James Neal, belongs to this period of time, and bears evidence of the continued warm attachment of those amongst whom he had labored:

My dearly beloved Friend and Brother in the Gospel—

As you are very far separated from all your dear connections in this life, and now in a distant land, I greet you well in this silent way, and rejoice with many more of our friends that you are safe arrived in England, in health, and moving forward in your Master's cause. I believe your journeying will be blessed to yourself, and also to those where the Divine Parent of all shall see fit to send you, as you have left all to gain all. But, dear brother, remember that tribulation is added to the promise of a hundredfold; but what crowns all is, "that in the world to come is eternal life." You know, dear David, how we have journeyed together in love; in hunger, in cold, in the winter season, and sometimes in dejection of spirit yet we were taught to know that the Lord's mercies continue to be over all His works, and His good presence is sweeter than honey, and He indeed continues to be the best paymaster. I did not think it my duty to crowd your pockets with letters; but I loved you beyond expression by pen, as I have been a sharer of the great love of God through you as His ambassador. Thousands in our land have cause to love you unfeignedly, and to glorify God on your account; and though we be thousands of miles separated, as to the body, yet, dear brother, may we know a participation of refreshment in the one spirit. May the Divine Shepherd continue to supply and feed you as with His sweet presence, by which only you can be abilitated to feed His sheep and lambs in a distant land. May your labors be blessed, keeping in the faith; which is the substance of things hoped for, and sweetens the mind with the evidence of things not seen.

Andrew Austin and wife have been to see your wife, who informed them of the welfare of your family. She appeared comforted in resignation to the Divine will, in giving up her dear husband in so good a cause, and has participated with you in your joys.

As you will have access to the Throne of Grace for the welfare of your dear wife and children, forget us not, dear David, in this land where you have labored night and day, in the love of the gospel. My petition is, that God Almighty may continue to bless you; fit and prepare you for his own work. He who makes the clouds his chariot, and walks as on the wings of the wind; who makes his angels spirits, and his ministers as a flame of fire, and that of love; and you know that nothing destroys in all his holy mountain. And if we never see each other again, oh may we be filled with spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, and close our days in the joys of God's salvation, by and through his dear Son. So prays your affectionate friend,

James Neal.

Killert, 12th month 9th, 1795.

Dear Brother—

These, with my kind love. I am glad to hear of your safe arrival in England. I heartily wish your welfare and preservation in the truth, and that the Shepherd of Israel may be with you in your journey, and support you in all your travels, and bring you to your family and friends again. My prayer and sincere desire are for your welfare. I conclude, your real friend and brother in the fellowship of the gospel of the dear Son of God, and bid you farewell.

Jonathan Dow.

Dover, 12th month 11th, 1795

## CHAPTER 7

*Visit to the Northern Counties—Letters from J. B. of Darlington—G. Dillwyn—Attends the Northern Yearly Meeting at Carlisle—Yearly Meeting in London—Letter from a Friend of Philadelphia—Travels in England.*

8th month 9th, 1795, accompanied by Isaac and Susannah Hadwin, William Farrer also bearing us company, I set off to attend the quarterly meeting at Chester. I passed the first meeting in silence, but another being appointed, I was largely opened in doctrine, I believe to good satisfaction. I found the business of the church done here very differently from what I had been used to, therefore thought it wisdom to meddle but little, yet made some remarks, which seemed to be very kindly taken; and at the close of this meeting I felt easy to return to Liverpool, where I entered on a visit to the families, in company with my much-loved friend Sarah Benson; and here I spent about ten days, in which time I prepared myself for my journey; and this service being crowned with the evidence of Divine favor, as far as I had pursued it, I seemed easy to leave it for the present; my health being poor, and the climate very different from ours. Feeling easy to visit some particular and quarterly meetings, I proceeded in company with my before-mentioned friend, Sarah Benson; a woman remarkable for her humility and good understanding every way, being most excellently gifted as a minister and elder. We were at a meeting about eighteen miles from Liverpool, which was held to good satisfaction. Many tender people were at it, and I believe some were convinced that day. After taking some meetings, and visiting several families, we proceeded to the quarterly meeting at Kendal, where I seemed pretty much opened in some of their meetings; and after visiting some families, I felt easy to return to Lancaster quarterly meeting. I may here remark, that at Kendal formerly lived our beloved friend, Rachel Wilson, several of whose children remain yet, and are very hopeful. Returning to Lancaster, I met many Friends from different parts of the nation, and was favored with a comfortable meeting. Many things were brought under notice that seemed to increase the weight, and Friends appeared desirous of the prosperity of truth.

After this meeting, I returned again to Liverpool with my said friend, where, after staying a few days to recruit, as I was often very unwell, I set out for Manchester, and stopped at Warrington, where formerly lived Samuel Fothergill, where I had before made some stop, and visited several meetings near this

place, especially that which Samuel Fothergill used to attend. After having visited a few families in Warrington, in company with our beloved friends, John and Elizabeth Bludwick, at whose house I put up, and was most cordially entertained, I proceeded to Manchester, and lodged with a kind friend, Isaac Cooke, whose wife and children were also very kind. There I tarried until I visited near forty families, and had many public meetings to good satisfaction; and while here, I assisted in establishing a school upon a plan new to Friends, which met their general approbation. Taking leave of Friends here, I returned to Warrington; was at the monthly meeting, and so back to Liverpool, to finish visiting the remaining families, and helping them to organize a school on the same plan as before mentioned, which I accomplished to my own satisfaction, and I believe that of Friends generally; William Farrer, before-mentioned, being my companion in this visit, and is still with me.

Going to a small meeting, we visited families, and had several public meetings, to the relief of my own mind, and I believe that of many others; and had a meeting at Langtree, and after closing the service here, returned to a large town called Wigan, where I had two meetings in the Town Hall, attended by abundance of people of various descriptions, to much satisfaction. Soon afterwards, went to Warrington again, where I met with my near friends and countrymen, Nicholas Wain and David Bacon, on their return from Ireland, where, after spending some time together, we parted, and I went towards York. On the way, I was at two meetings, in one of which I was silent, and in the other had something to say, without feeling much relief, though some thought it a good meeting.

Leaving this place, I proceeded pretty directly for Leeds, where I met with dear Thomas Colley, with whom I spent the evening, and went with him the next day to York quarterly meeting, and put up at the house of dear Lindley Murray, my countryman and very near friend, who, with his wife, were much rejoiced to see me, and we were greatly refreshed together in the Lord's presence, which frequently was felt to cover us. The quarterly meeting was very large, and in the course of it several meetings for worship were held. I found myself easy to sit in silence, and thought it a favor. I was also at two other meetings here, to pretty good satisfaction. Having now stayed with our valued friends for near two weeks, I became a little recruited, having visited several families, and particularly Thomas Priestman, at whose house, in the year 1772, died John Woolman. His wife was yet living. She attended our worthy friend in his last illness, and expressed her great nearness to him. Thomas Ross also died here, in 1786, at the house of our worthy friend Lindley Murray, and was laid close to the remains of John Woolman, at his own request. I now proceeded on my visit to a large seaport town on the northeast side of England, taking meetings in my way. On my journey I passed by the house near North Cave, where lived John Richardson, when with his father-in law, where also he served his apprenticeship. The meeting is at present quite small, and few in it that appear as the offspring of that once great man, John Richardson. I had two meetings here, and many people came to them, I believe to profit. From this place I proceeded to a large town called Beverley, where I had three meetings, two in the Town Hall, which were large and solemn, and I think there was some convincement. Here the number of Friends is small, but valuable; being people of good understanding, and in a good measure purified by Divine grace.

We next went to Hull, and after spending a few days, and having had several meetings, proceeded on to the north, visiting meetings, which were generally too large for all to get into the houses; but they all appeared to be much favored. I returned to Beverley, with my much-loved friend T. Priestman and his affectionate wife, and was at their meeting-house in the morning; and in the afternoon went to the Town Hall, where we had a highly-favored meeting, though so crowded that many could not get in. From this place I went, with several valuable Friends, to visit sundry places where no Friends' meetings had ever been held, in which places many attended, and were contrited and much broken. I left them in great nearness of spirit, and proceeded to a large town called Bridlington, where also, for a time, once lived John Richardson, at a period when this meeting was called "A School of Prophets." At present there is only one family of Friends in the place, and a few single people, and these quite of the weaker sort, as to holding up anything of a standard to the people. Thus we see what a few years will do to us as well as to others; especially where faithfulness is lacking. There came many people into the meeting, but my way was quite closed up as to testimony. I sat among them in much inward poverty, and so left them, and proceeded to Scarbro, where are many signs of its having formerly been a place of great note, but the walls and public buildings are now much decayed. At this place George Fox suffered a very long and hard imprisonment in the Castle, now much decayed. I went to view the place, and was interested in seeing what vast strong works and buildings there once had been; the walls being six or seven feet thick. Here are a few respectable Friends. I sat with them, but had nothing to say. I found my mind drawn to visit their families, which I did to my own and their satisfaction.

I now proceeded to Pickering, and put up at William Rowntree's, where I was kindly entertained. The next being first-day, had two meetings; the last being publicly known, there came in many very sober people, and we were favored with a refreshing season. Here again I found my mind drawn to visit the families, which having accomplished, had a large meeting about three miles off at Thornton; and the next day proceeded, with several Friends in company, to Whitby, where I had several meetings, and visited the families of Friends and some families that did not belong to the Society nor profess with us; in which labor I felt much inward peace. I put up here at the house of a widow, whose name is Mary Linskill, who is one of the true mothers in our Israel; under whose roof I took much comfort. Leaving my near and dear Friends, and many tender people, I proceeded to Castleton, where formerly lived Luke Cock. This meeting seemed small and low, yet there remains a wrestling seed; the house seems not quite left without a light in it. I then proceeded to Guisborough, once a place where were many Friends, but now only one family left, and a single member. Here I was silent, and can say I often find more openness where there never was a meeting than at such places, where they have dwindled away, or nearly so. I proceeded to Ayton, and put up at the house of a kind friend, Nicholas Richardson, and had two meetings here.

2nd month 13th, 1796, took leave, and attended a meeting at Rounton; and on the 15th went to Yarm, and put up at the house of Joseph Proctor, an ancient Friend in the ministry, who received us very kindly. Here I attended the monthly meeting. I was enabled to proceed in my little service to the satisfaction of myself and friends. I had two meetings amongst the town's people, who behaved well, although many had to stand for lack of room, and many could not get in; and I think the power of truth

was felt to reign. I then came to Stockton, a very beautiful town, and put up at Henry Richardson's, who, with his wife, were very attentive and kind. I attended their middle week meeting, in which I felt much refreshed, and found my mind drawn towards the inhabitants at large, which, after duly weighing, I felt clear and easy to propose a meeting amongst them; and may acknowledge that the Lord owned his own work, and many appeared much broken and tendered in spirit. A concern still resting on me, I proposed a second meeting, which also was overshadowed with the love of Him who is the Father of all the families of the earth, to the tendering of many minds. On the evening following, had a meeting at a large village. These meetings were much crowded, and many unable to get in; and many that did get in had to stand. Having now visited about fifteen families between meetings, to much satisfaction, I left them 2nd month 20th, near the setting of the sun, and rode about twelve miles, to Darlington, where I put up at a very kind Friend's house, whose name was Joseph Pease. His wife was in the ministry, and appeared to be a sweet-spirited woman, and their children such as becomes the offspring of an elder and minister. I attended their first-day meeting, where were a considerable number of Friends, many of whom look hopeful, especially the youth. The evening meeting being crowded with those not of our Society, we had a solid time, much to the refreshment of Friends and others.

On second day, being 2nd month 22nd, we had a very large meeting for those not of our society, in which the power of truth prevailed, to the tendering of many hearts; and not feeling clear, had a meeting on the day following, and one in the evening, both crowded, so that many had to stand outside around the house; and I may say we were favored to the melting of many hearts before the Lord. After these meetings, I felt much relief, and parted in love from these tender and valuable people for the present.

On the 24th, being much fatigued, having had more service than two meetings a day for near three weeks, I felt easy to rest for the present, for the purpose of writing some letters to my friends in America, having here received one from my dear daughter, Catharine Ring, much to my comfort. On looking over my travels in this land, I find my mind refreshed with sweet peace, and a hope accompanies that the Lord has blessed, and will bless, my hard labor, as he has been pleased to put me forth and go before me hitherto. Praise, therefore, be ascribed to His name forever.

Feeling clear of service in a public line, which after my writing was still the case, while in this quiet situation, I was taken very unwell, so that a physician was thought necessary, who, being called in, attended me regularly twice a day. My disorder, proceeding from a cold, appeared slow in its progress; and consequently confined me about two weeks at the house of our friend, Joseph Pease. When recovered a little, I found my mind engaged to visit a few families of Friends, which I did, as I found strength in performing it, which was at times graciously afforded to the comforting of many minds. Having visited most of the families in this meeting, I felt easy to leave the place, after a stay of four weeks, when I took leave of my kind friends, both in the Society and others. There appeared to be many seeking people in this town, and many frequently visited me on a religious account, unto whom I was enabled to impart some suitable advice; and I believe several will join the society, if Friends keep their places. My trials here have been great, yet they have been made easier than could have been

expected.

At this period, David Sands received the following letter from one of the class just mentioned:

Honored Friend—

Having, in the Friends' Public Meeting-house heard you discourse on the all-sufficient atonement for the redemption of souls, by our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, in so clear a manner to my understanding, that it gave me great satisfaction; indeed I have enjoyed something similar to this at different times for many years past, when I sat under the administration of the Calvinist doctrine, and I acknowledge I was never so happy under any preaching as theirs, judging it most agreeable to the Scriptures of any doctrine I had ever had the opportunity of hearing. Yet I think I did not experience some things in the manner you mentioned; neither did I understand some of your doctrines; and I acknowledge I have not felt easy, at different times, since I heard you, lest I should have to say, when it is too late, as the Deist said, whom you made mention of: therefore I will receive it as the greatest favor to have a little of your instruction; for I am fully persuaded in my mind you are able, through Divine assistance, to cast light upon many things that I see but darkly, which are very necessary for me to know; and I sincerely hope you will have an opportunity to do it; if not, I trust you will pardon my request, as I feel it important to the future state of your unworthy friend,

J. B.

Northsgate, February 26, 1796.

The Journal continues:—I next proceeded to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and put up at the house of Hadwen Bragg. His wife is a daughter of our beloved friend, Rachel Wilson. There I met with much kindness, and was at two meetings on first-day, and at their monthly meeting on second-day; in which meeting truth reigned in some good degree, to the comfort of many deeply-proved ones, who, though honestly inclined, yet have not been able to remove some things out of the way that have been a stone of stumbling to many seeking minds. Many things were gone into, concerning the state of the church. A committee was appointed to visit some disorderly persons. I felt easy to join in the said visit, which was performed to a good degree of satisfaction.

I then proceeded to Shields, where I visited families, to my own comfort and that of Friends. My kind hostess, Margaret Bragg, who had long been a deeply proved woman, went with me to Shields, where she appeared in a public testimony for the first time. I put up at this place with Joseph Proctor, Jr., who, with a sister of his, lives in this town, and carries on the business of shopkeeping. He is a very tender young man, and I think will yet become very serviceable in the church, if spared. His sister was very kind, but seemed loath to give up to what was required of her. Here I again entered on a visit to the families of Friends. Margaret Bragg; continued with me, and appeared in the ministry, to the satisfaction, I believe, of all. We had several public meetings, and visited all the families. We took leave of Friends and others here in much nearness of affection, and proceeded to Sunderland; and took up our

lodging with Thomas Richardson, who, with his wife and only son, were very kind and attentive. Margaret Bragg being yet with me, I again felt my mind drawn to enter upon a visit to the families of Friends, and finding much openness in their minds, it made my way more easy than otherwise could have been expected. Having finished this visit, I attended several meetings, and felt easy to take leave of Friends, and left them in a sweet frame of mind. Here Margaret Bragg left me, having grown much in her gift, and returned with her husband, and I proceeded to Staindrop monthly meeting by way of Durham. Solomon Chapman accompanied me, and Thomas Richardson, Jr., son of the Friend where I lodged. Solomon appeared under a concern to engage in the ministry, and broke forth in several opportunities in families. We reached Bishop Auckland that evening, and attended their meeting next day, which was favored with the heart-tendering power of truth, to the refreshing of several present. Friends are but few at this place; the Bishop's palace being here, the people are mostly of that sort. We next went to Staindrop.

About this time David Sands received the following kind and sympathizing letter from his friend and fellow-laborer George Dillwyn:

Dear Friend, David Sands,

Your acceptable remembrance of 2nd month 16th, from Yarm, I duly received. I had several times been asked whether we might expect to see you at the approaching yearly meeting, which I was unable to answer till within a few days past, when I understood your back and not your face was turned this way, so that it is not likely we shall soon have the pleasure of shaking hands. It is, however, a satisfaction to believe we are both doing as well as we know how, and as the religious Indian Tahpuhuany said to Anthony Benezet and Isaac Zane, when, on parting at Philadelphia, they asked him if he had anything on his mind towards his friends there, "Tell them that if they and I keep to that love which has warmed our hearts when together, it will bring us sometimes into remembrance of each other when separated." So I may say to you. The Friend who brought the account of your going north was, I believe, of opinion that you were going into Scotland. Dear John Pemberton met with open doors there in many parts, having, no doubt, the right key with him. I have been twice in that country, but my prospect not extending much beyond our own lines, I found myself more at a loss among strangers there, than in any other part of Great Britain. This shows the necessity of each one minding his own calling, and if he, dear man, had more strictly observed the Master's injunction "to salute no man by the way," it is highly probable he would have escaped those perplexities which so much embittered the latter years of his life.<sup>2</sup> But as I told him, I thought his dearly bought experience would prove a lesson of instruction to many. So I trust it has and will be to myself. For as on one hand it shows how improper it is for us, when the guiding ray of

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2 John Pemberton was a man of a very tender and susceptible mind, often fearful of omitting any duty. This led to an indecision of character in reference to some of his religious services; and he sometimes sought counsel of others beyond what they were qualified to give. This was particularly the case in reference to views of further service in Scotland and the Orkney Islands, which he afterwards greatly regretted not having fully performed. See J. Pemberton's Journal, pages 198, 200, 223, 288.

wisdom is withdrawn, to turn aside for counsel or direction to others; so on the other hand, it may convince us of the danger of an unwarranted interference with those who are circumstanced as he was.

Your affectionate friend,

George Dillwyn.

London, 4th month, 21st, 1796

He next proceeded by way of Staindrop and Bishop Auckland to Durham, where the quarterly meeting for the county was to be held, and lodged at an inn. Here I met with many of my kind friends that I had visited before. We were much refreshed together. The business was conducted in a good degree of brotherly love, and many things taken into consideration as respects society that had been overlooked before. In the meeting<sup>3</sup> for worship, I was much favored, and I believe several were convinced. The Lord's power was known to reign, and Friends' hearts were much tendered. The business of the meeting being over, we took leave of each other in a very tender and truly feeling manner.

I now proceeded towards the northern yearly meeting, by way of Benfieldside, where many appear to have been convinced by our worthy friend George Fox. And here was once a very large meeting, but at present little is to be found of that so spoken of. I passed on from this place to a meeting at Winness Hill, but found my way so shut up that I felt most easy to leave it, and went on to Allandale, where lived Rachel Wigham, mother to John Wigham, now in America; and as we had been together there, it appeared the more comfortable to this ancient Friend; and I lodged with her son-in-law, Joseph Watson, with whom she lived. I may also add, she is a living minister. Here I was again taken poorly with my old complaint, and underwent much suffering, though I was enabled to attend one meeting; but feeling a little better, I attended another meeting on first-day, where many of other societies came in, and truth reigned over all. Several came after meeting to see me, and to inquire after the things of the kingdom, who behaved with great modesty. We had a comfortable season, and parted in much love and sweetness towards each other.

On second-day morning, we proceeded to Cornwood, where John Wigham, before mentioned, was born, and lived many years. We were at his brother's, Thomas Wigham, who was also in the ministry.

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3 Note, by the Editor—I well remember the meeting here so briefly described, and the testimony borne that day, which was of a very encouraging character to the sincere-hearted traveler Zionward. He expressed his persuasion that some present were under the Lord's preparing hand for service in the church. He endeavored to strengthen the faith and hope of these, by calling to mind, the manner of the Lord's dealings with some of his little humble-minded devoted children in ancient times, as in the case of Gideon. How small was he in his own esteem, yet how eminently were his endeavors blessed for the deliverance of his people from the thralldom and oppression in which they were held by their enemies, as he proceeded under Divine direction! Such little devoted ones may not foresee the nature or extent of the service to which they may, if faithful, be called by their great Lord and Master. The Lord's spiritual house, His church, is built of living stones; each may seem insignificant of itself, but when fitly joined together, they make a strong and beautiful building. The acorn, the seed of the stately oak, is also small, but when sown and nourished in a right soil and in a right climate, in time it becomes a noble tree. These trees, fitly prepared and framed together, become a gallant ship, breasting the waves of the mighty ocean, bearing along to distant lands many a precious cargo. How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the Messengers of Peace, who publish the glad tidings of the Gospel of life and salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord! (This was the import of that remarkable testimony on that memorable occasion.)

This meeting is small, and things but low; yet I thought the seed of life was to be felt, and I may say that, through Divine goodness, we had a very favored season. Here I was much reduced and under great discouragement, as my disorder seemed to increase. I saw no way of getting forward except with great difficulty; but the next day I felt a little better, and set off for Carlisle, a distance of about twenty-three miles, where I arrived with less trouble than I expected. I stayed at the house of David Carrick until the yearly meeting came on, which is called the Northern Yearly Meeting; at which meeting I had much liberty or freedom in speaking to the states of the people, and good service in the discipline of the church, which was conducted with much harmony and brotherly love, to the edification of many, and several seemed measurably convinced. Here I was so feeble that I often thought I could not get to meetings, but was carried through beyond my own expectation; praised be the name of the Lord forever. At this meeting were a number of hopeful young people, and I thought the meeting of conference was very much owned, and tended to general advantage. After this, having taken leave of many very valuable Friends, I set forward to reach the yearly meeting in London, taking many meetings in my way, and appointing several in places where no meetings had been held for many years. On my way, I met with Thomas Clarkson, who had entered deeply into the state of the poor Africans, and has gathered many articles of their making, in order to prove to the British Parliament and Ministry their capacity for industry and knowledge in many useful branches of business; which clearly discovered their natural abilities. He appeared to be a man of a tender spirit, and much convinced of the truth of our principles. I parted with him in near love, and proceeded to Appleby, where died Francis Howgill, after many years' imprisonment for the cause of truth. The old prison is now nearly demolished, though some marks of it are left.

We proceeded to Darlington, and had a meeting about six miles off, in a meeting-house belonging to the Methodists, to much satisfaction: the people appeared kind and open. From Darlington on my way to York had one meeting, and having arrived safe, put up at the house of my old friend and countryman, Lindley Murray. Here we were once more refreshed together, and after spending one day, set forward to Ackworth, a large estate owned by Friends, purchased for promoting the education of Friends' children. Here were now near 300 scholars, 170 boys, and 130 girls, educated by several teachers. I thought I felt something more than usual of weight in sitting with them in their meeting. Having spent some time here, I left them in much love, and proceeded to Doncaster, where I had a highly favored opportunity; and so passed on to Sheffield, to Thomas Colley's, with whom I lodged; he having been in our country, made the opportunity more refreshing. Staying here a few days, and visiting several families, I set forward with my friend Thomas Colley towards London, and on our way had one appointed meeting where there had never been one before.

In London I put up at the house of Joseph Smith whose wife is a daughter of Rachel Wilson. The yearly meeting now beginning by the holding of the general meeting of ministers and elders, was very large, and much weighty advice was given. The business was managed in much brotherly love and harmony, to the refreshment of many minds. Having attended all the public meetings for worship during this yearly meeting, in which I have been silent, and often thought it was a favor to me that I was led in this manner, as it gave me an opportunity to view the labors and gifts of others, and to see the state of Soci-

ety in this land. The affairs of the church here are conducted with propriety; many things were revived and gone into respecting the state of Society, and the standard of truth was raised up in a good degree, respecting the order and Christian discipline of the Church.

The following letter, received by David Sands about this time, is without signature, but must not be omitted:—

Dear Friend—

Your letter of the 10th month 18th last, dated at Stockport, came acceptably to me; having had you frequently and affectionately on my mind; recollecting at times your bodily infirmities, it was particularly gratifying to learn from yourself that you had been favored to move in the line of duty, under the sustaining power of the Shepherd of Israel; and that through His continued mercy and favor, strength of mind and health of body was vouchsafed, so as to qualify you for the service of the day. Holy, just, and true is He. May you and I, dear friend, now in our advanced years, lean singly and solely on His Divine arm for succor and support, through every one of his providential dispensations; in heights and in depths, and in all those dippings, exercises, and baptisms which He may, in unfathomable wisdom, direct or permit for our refinement and preparation for His work and service. That light is sowed for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart, is, I believe, an immutable truth. Your fear is just, that the inhabitants of this highly favored city, at least too many of them, would so pass over the solemn visitation of the year 1793, that the sanctifying, purifying effect thereby intended, would not have the desired influence. Many, very many were, I believe, in that awful season, humbled and deeply reached; desires were excited in them, and covenants made, that if spared for a time to remain, they would bow to the power of an offended Creator, and serve Him with a more perfect heart. But alas! how have the people, at least the great bulk of them, increased in pride, wantonness, and dissipation! Have we not just cause to expect the rod will again be shaken over this ungrateful generation?

I have noticed what you have said respecting the prospect of the length of your stay on the other side of the water. By daily attention, and keeping a single eye to the hand that led you forth into the present important and dignified service; suppressing and watchfully guarding against the reasonings and imaginations of the creature—but in the depths of solemn retirement, when all fleshly wisdom is set at naught, and the sure guide, the Divine Counsellor, is with undoubted certainty and clearness heard and understood; then, dear David, will you move on in the appointment of pure wisdom, and His strength and anointing influence will not be withheld. I believe it may be needful for the servants to be watchful and guarded, who are called forth to publish the glad tidings of peace and salvation, and who have known days of abounding, and their labors crowned with heavenly consolation, that a desire to live on the dainties of the Lord's table, may not excite to any movements or extension of service, which the great Master of the family has not clearly painted out.

By this ship a valuable cargo goes from us to you: two dear women. Friends from England, Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, having, with singular diligence and very great acceptance, visited this continent, even in the remotest part, where Friends are settled, and held many meetings with persons not professing with us; and also in many places they have been engaged in visiting the families in our society. Their extensive and well-authorized labors have been so accompanied with restoring, reclaiming love, that a sweet savor will they leave in this land, and the seals and edifying fruits of their ministry are not a few. Added to these two dear handmaids of the Lord, are our endeared friends Samuel Emlen and William Savery. To give them up to the Lord's requireing herein, has been trying to many of their brethren and sisters, who are nearly united to them. I may own, as one of the little ones in the family, that it has been an occasion of close exercise to me. Nevertheless, having felt in a measure the weight of their concern, I could do no less than "loose them and let them go," though stripping indeed, and to our meeting in particular, will it be. There are also cleared out from our general spring meeting, on a like embassy, our esteemed friends, Sarah Talbot and Phebe Speakman, from Chester county, and who proceed in the same ship called the "Sussex," Captain Atkins, bound for Liverpool.

It is but lately that I returned from an arduous journey, through a mountainous and very rough country, to attend the opening of a newly-established monthly meeting, at a place called Calwessey, situate on the borders of the northeast branch of the river Susquehanna. From this service, myself and several others from this city, under appointment from our quarterly meeting, returned but a few days past; and I am now preparing to proceed to Newcastle, to see the Friends above-mentioned take ship. So I am a good deal straitened for time, but did not feel easy to let the present opportunity slip, without sending you some testimony of my affectionate remembrance of, and tender sympathy with you, under the pressure of your present allotment.

Signature lacking; but is supposed to have been from John Elliott, of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 5th month 15th, 1797.

## CHAPTER 8

*Studies the Dutch and German Languages—Arrives at Bremen—Visits Hamburg, Hanover, Pyrmont, Brunswick, Magdeburgh, Brandeuburgh, Potsdam, and Berlin—Visit to Freyenwalde, where they met Charles Albinus—Return to Berlin, and Service there—To Potsdam—Magdeburgh—Halberstadt—Wolfenbittel—Pyrmont—Letter from Major Marconnay on the King of Prussia's willingness to receive a Visit—Visit to parts of Holland, Germany, and France.*

Before proceeding to insert David Sands' Journal of his travels on the Continent of Europe, it may be proper to describe in what a remarkable manner he was rendered additionally qualified for the perfor-

mance of this important service by his having acquired, in a very unexpected manner, a considerable knowledge of the Dutch and German languages. It is thus mentioned in his papers:

While visiting the family of a dear Friend in Philadelphia, who was then lately deceased, the children, when speaking of their father, mentioned the interest he had expressed to them which he had felt in the perusal of some of the books of his Low Dutch library, remarking that the religious histories and various other matters contained in them were far superior to many books in use at the present day, and had been amongst his most valuable entertainments. David Sands inquired if none of them were disposed to learn the language, whereby these books might yet be useful. One of them replied that they were not so inclined, at which David Sands expressed some surprise. One of them queried, "Friend Sands, would you accept them?" "Most willingly," said he, "and prize them highly for your dear father's sake." They seemed gratified by his acceptance of them, as they would be cared for. Accordingly they were packed up and forwarded to his home. The prospect of a visit to Europe being then before him, was an inducement for his endeavoring to obtain some knowledge of the German language. The reader may remember that, in his youthful years, he had pursued with avidity opportunities to learn the Latin, which would now be of use to him. On his return home, he commenced with the Primer, which he learned grammatically; and in the course of three months, he could read most of the New Testament in the Dutch language; and in a short time he could read the other books. Amongst them was a history of the early Christians, which was interesting, and at the same time promoted his improvement in the language.

When he reached Germany, his knowledge of the Low Dutch so far assisted him in acquiring the German language, that, in three weeks, he could read the German New Testament, and, with a little assistance from an interpreter, he was enabled to offer his public testimony in that language satisfactorily; yet he preferred a good interpreter. Thus, by his industry and perseverance, he soon acquired a sufficient knowledge of these languages to be understood in his public communications, this being at times the medium through which he could best perform his great Master's work acceptably.

When in France also, he experienced much advantage from having acquired some knowledge of their language, as his friends often acknowledged. The spirits of some of those amongst whom he labored were so much united to him in the truth, that it tended to make their language, though imperfectly expressed, more easily and feelingly understood by each other. But a fear of making any awkward mistake, especially on doctrinal points, led these Friends to prefer a good feeling interpreter. He thus continues his Journal:

After the yearly meeting in London (1796) was over, I found my mind exercised to open my prospect to the select yearly meeting of ministers and elders, as respected going to Holland. The spreading of this concern appeared to bring a weighty exercise over the meeting, and Friends uniting with it, expressed their unity in much brotherly love and sympathy. The yearly meeting closed in a very solemn manner, to the refreshment of many Friends. We now took leave of each other in much tenderness and brotherly love; since which time I have been in and about London, visiting meetings, and appointing

many, in which I felt my mind relieved from a weight which lay upon it. The people of this city appear very open and free in attending meetings, and behave well when there. My trials appear to be many on account of my bad health, which seemed to increase those of my mind, which have not been few.

In the city I meet with many of my acquaintances from America, and several very intimate friends. Four Friends lately arrived from Philadelphia, being liberated by the yearly meeting of that city, namely: Samuel Emlen, William Savery, Phebe Speakman, and Sarah Talbot.

Having solidly weighed the circumstances attending my going direct for Holland, I felt measurably easy to unite with my much-loved friends and companions: William Farrer having concluded to be my companion through Germany, as he had been through England; and George Dillwyn and William Savery, who were proceeding to Germany by way of Bremen; for which purpose, with the unity of Friends, we took passage, and went on board of a brig of about three hundred tons, called the "Victoria."

Many have been the inward exercises of my mind in preparing for this voyage, in which I have been favored with the near sympathy of many friends, who took leave of me at my lodgings. Our parting was accompanied with many tears and supplications to Him who has all power in his hands, to whose care and gracious protection we recommended each other, as believing it most probable that we should never all meet again in a state of mutability.

My kind friend and host, Joseph Smith, with his very sympathizing and affectionate wife, his brother-in-law, George Stacey and wife, with our ancient friend, David Bacon, from North America, William Dillwyn, Joseph Savery and wife, with several other Friends, accompanied us about four miles, to Black Wall, where the vessel lay. My feelings at parting seemed to be again quickened, and I thought I never felt more reduced than at this time. Yet a little sense of that all-sustaining Arm that has ever been the support of those who trust in him was granted. Our parting was in much brokenness and great nearness of spirit. We again resigned each other to our Heavenly Father's care.

We now set sail with a pleasant wind, and sailed down the river Thames, and saw many vessels going out and coming in; with the sight of a very delightful country, highly improved by cultivation. But my mind could not enjoy it much, as my health was but poor. The wind continued in our favor for several days, which brought us in sight of land, where we had to lie for one night, in the mouth of the river or arm of the sea, at the entrance of the river Weiser, which was very difficult, and we had no pilot.

The day following, we sailed pleasantly up the river, and met many vessels outward bound; by one of which, bound to Philadelphia, I wrote to my dear wife. In our passage, my companions were all very sick; but now coming into still water, they recovered. Coming to anchor to wait for the tide, George Dillwyn, William Farrer, William Savery, and myself went on shore; where walking round to see the country and refresh ourselves with the air, we were invited to the house of a man who was secretary to the prince of this country, who treated us very kindly. His mother was an ancient woman, and appeared to be very affectionate towards us. She walked with us in their garden for near half an hour. We found our minds much united to her in near sympathy. George Dillwyn had a little to communicate to her, as

also myself, William Savery being better acquainted with the Dutch language, interpreted our communications to her, so that she understood, and replied, "God be with you and cover you, and carry you safe back to your families." Now parting with her, we returned to our vessel, and proceeded up the river to a village, and here I went on shore and found the people very civil. I distributed a few books. This country, on the west side of the Weiser, is dyked off from the river by a very high bank being cast up; on which they travel, and which appears to be the main road. They build their houses behind the bank, so that we can only see part of the houses as we sail up the river. At this place we left the vessel; but the evening previous we had an opportunity with the men and passengers to a good degree of satisfaction. About two o'clock next day, we went on board of a little boat, where we were very much crowded and uncomfortable. The wind failing, and the tide coming against us, we went on shore at a village in the Hanoverian government. We here had the opportunity of seeing how the people lived, which seemed to me to exceed all I had ever heard of or seen before; the family and the cattle living together, with little separation. After taking a view of this village, we returned to the vessel, and soon after, the wind springing up, we set sail for a town called Negesah, where we lodged at a pretty good inn.

On the 11th of 8th month, 1796, we arrived at Bremen, and put up at a house outside the town wall or city gate. Our landlady seemed to be very kind and attentive to us. Here we enjoyed the satisfaction of having things decent and in good order, as to our victuals and lodging. I went out but little, being affected with lameness in my ankles and feet, and otherwise much indisposed.

On our first landing I went into a house where a woman treated me kindly, though I could not say much to her, as she could neither speak nor understand English, and I not understanding much High Dutch, made it difficult to communicate to each other, yet I believe there was something felt by which our spirits were united in that fellowship which words cannot fully express. In this place I have renewedly found the necessity of seeking Him for counsel who is the great Counsellor of his people. Many have been the trials I have gone through in this land, yet have hitherto been supported.

Several days having now elapsed, and nothing very favorable appearing, we thought of leaving this place, after spreading a few books, and my companions making a few visits to some seeking people, who seemed to be in some measure convinced of our principles, but yet shy of entering into a very near acquaintance with us. One man, however, visited us twice, and though not much inclined for conversation, seemed to be very clear in his mind respecting our principles, and owned them freely. This city stands on the east side of the Weiser; it is walled round, and a large canal cut to let the waters flow round the city. The people seemed very civil to us, and we gave some notice that we intended to hold a meeting on the first day of the week; but none of the inhabitants came to us, and we held our meeting to a good degree of comfort amongst ourselves. The people seemed to be engaged to attend their own meetings, which, we were informed, began about eight o'clock in the morning, and they had two meetings, which were generally over about one o'clock, and the after part of the day and night appears to be spent by many in various kinds of mirth. The inns are full, some drinking, some gaming, and all kinds of vanity and folly seem to possess the minds of the people; and what made it appear more strange, was, that these people were mostly Calvinists, and profess much as to the sanctity of what they call the

Sabbath-day. Yet neither the priest nor the magistrate takes any notice of these things, as I understood.

On feeling after the mind of truth, we seemed united that it would be best to proceed to Hamburgh. After taking a solid leave of our kind landlady and her children, on the 16th of 8th month, about seven o'clock in the morning, we proceeded in a wagon and four horses, which carried us about three Dutch miles, which is about eighteen English, to Ottenburgh, where we took dinner. The people seem mostly to live in pretty large buildings of one story, with sharp roofs, the end standing to the road, with a large door, sufficient for a loaded wagon to drive into the yard. At the entrance we find an earthen floor, which is frequently all the floor found in the house, except some rooms may be paved or laid with flat stones. The front, or entrance part of the building, the cattle, horses, sheep, and fowls generally occupy; and in the back part the people live. It is not uncommon to see the racks of pewter and other household goods quite open and exposed to the view of their cows and other stock. The fire is kept in the back part, on the floor, in a kind of box, or stones laid round, without any chimney, the smoke going out at different doors. On the same floor, they stow their grain and hay, so that themselves and the cattle seem to make but one family; and which is most proper to say, that the cattle live in the house, or the people live in the barn, I have not been able to determine.

We left this place, and proceeded to Rottenburgh, two Dutch miles, where my companions drank some coffee and milk, and again proceeded on about three Dutch miles further, to a village called Tastoss. Here we lodged, and met with pretty good treatment, as we have done since entering on this journey.

We left this place on the 17th of 8th month, and proceeded. The country seems quite open as to fences, so that for many miles we see no mark of any division in the land by fences, or unploughed land between the pieces of grain, and it looks as though one man owned the whole, for many miles together; as all the land that would bear any kind of grain seemed to be occupied and full, so that riding five or six miles it was all one harvest-field, of one sort or other, but principally of rye or oats. I never saw so much of that kind of grain, or any such harvest-fields before. Though the soil looks very poor, being a kind of whitish sand, yet it produces rye and oats beyond what I could have imagined. The land looks as though they sowed it every year, and we saw none but what was in grain, or reaped. For thirty miles together, (except little pieces round their houses, and some small pieces of meadow), I did not see grass, standing or growing, or any place where it had grown sufficient to get ten tons of hay. They keep their cows up in the stable for most part of the time, till after harvest, when they are turned out and tended by either women or men in certain places, as they agree. Hogs and all are kept in this way. I saw many flocks of sheep on their barren land, where nothing seemed to grow but heath on which they feed, but they are very ordinary indeed, and mostly of the black sort; seldom seeing white sheep amongst them. The women tend the sheep, and indeed serve for the most servile purposes; they are very different from either English or American women, both as respects their figure and strength: they carry remarkable burdens on their backs and heads. Their dress is very coarse and simple, frequently without anything upon their head, more than a little kind of cap that sits close; so that they have nothing to screen them from the hot sun, and yet they appear to be of fair complexion, and seem pretty cheerful: they live in a dirty way. The country generally is very sandy, so that a wagon travels very slow, not

more than three and a half miles English, in an hour. I saw some fruit, but it was very scarce and dear. The people seem to be contented with the necessaries without the luxuries, or even many of the real comforts of life.

1796, 18th of 8th month. This day we crossed the River Elbe. After proceeding down a branch of it for about six miles English, we arrived at the city of Hamburg. Two of our companions having gone before, had provided lodgings for us at the house of a widow of the name of Seebohm, where we found ourselves in provisions, and paid two shillings a-day for our rooms and beds. Here we tarried until the 25th. During our stay we found many seeking people, who appeared very glad of our visit to them; we had several religious opportunities, and on first-day we had a meeting amongst a few tender-spirited people, and in the evening we had an opportunity with several others, at the house of a young Englishman, who, with his wife, had lately come here to settle in the mercantile line. He had been educated among Friends, but had gone out in marriage. At this opportunity were several young men of good understanding and family, who seemed well satisfied; so that I hope our coming here has not been altogether in vain. This is a very large city, and is called a free port. It contains, by information, about one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants: the buildings appeared to have much carved work about them, and many of them are very high; but their notions of greatness are so different from those of the English people, that their fine things look very tawdry and foolish. This city has many canals cut through it in various directions, for the purpose of boats coming through it, so that they want but little done by horses, and it is not uncommon to see men working in a kind of collar or harness, several together, so that they frequently draw hogsheads of sugar on carts or little low wagons. The people were civil to us, and obliging when we lacked anything. They generally attend their places of worship on first-day in the forenoon, beginning about eight o'clock, and have two meetings which are generally finished about twelve o'clock, when they go to dinner, after which many go out of town, and the greater part spend the remainder of the day in various kinds of diversions and amusements.

I went about two English miles to the city of Altona, which is large, as to the ground it stands upon, but not so full of inhabitants as Hamburg, as it is not situated so convenient for trade. On my return over a common that lies between the two cities, the people seemed to cover the ground, and in many houses there were crowds of people. Here they were entertained with various sorts of music and dancing, which was carried on in almost every house: some appeared to be dancing at the beat of drums and other sorts of music. I inquired if the priest or magistrate did not interfere on such occasions, and was told they did nothing but provide a few soldiers to ride about to prevent mobs, and see that there was no murder committed. I observed two soldiers riding very slowly amongst the people, to whom they paid very little attention. This practice having been a custom so long that it is thought very little of, by Lutherans and Calvinists, or any other religious sect; and, from what I could understand, they looked upon the afternoon of the first day of the week as a time for feasting and frolicking. In these cities there are many Jews: they appear to be generally poor, and in Hamburg there is a portion of the city set apart for them, where they may live, and in no other part. And here they are obliged to bear arms, do the drudgery of the city, and pay very heavy taxes for the privilege of being citizens. The people appear to be given to many vices, and the streets are very noisy through the night, with music and dancing.

Feeling our minds clear of this place, we proceeded to a city called Zell, where our entertainment was not very good. The people appeared strange, and our prospects were trying to us; but next morning, walking about the town, we seemed refreshed; and after some inquiries we heard of some religious persons whom we found to be Moravians, and some others who received our visit very kindly; to whom we gave books. This city seems to be ancient, and is kept very clean. Here was born George, the first King of England of that name, and here remains the palace where he resided before he went to England, which is very large, though time has much defaced it. The stones and all the ornaments about it are much decayed. After we had spent several days, we took our leave of a few friendly families and our landlady and her servants, in much nearness of spirit, and proceeded to Hanover, where we arrived on the 30th of 8th month, 1796, and put up at the Amsterdam Inn, until the 4th of 9th month.

Our accommodations were pretty good; we found a number of friendly people who received us with much joy. They were quite separated from the public worship held in that city, and sometimes met for religious conferences with each other. Some of them seemed inclined to the Moravian Society, but others had got some Friends' books, and seemed perfectly convinced of our principles, but no religion being tolerated here but the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and the Romish, makes it very difficult for such as are not joined to them to avow themselves, so as to be publicly known; as the priests of all orders, and the magistrates, are very severe with all who do not unite with one or the other. So that suffering must be the portion of those who would openly meet, though it should be in silence. Yet I believe that the time is near, when some will be called out to bear a public testimony against their false worship and bad conduct. The people here generally, as in many parts of Germany, seem to have but little sense of religion.

We visited these tender people in their families, and had one public meeting with them, to their and our satisfaction; and left a number of books with them, and parted in great nearness of heart. We proceeded to a city called Hammlen. This is in a beautiful situation. We stayed here one night and part of two days. I passed through this city, and felt my mind drawn to speak to a man standing at his door, who took me by the hand, and would have welcomed me in, but my object was to inquire after serious persons, and such as were called Quakers. And he informed me I had passed the house of one so called, about three doors; and directed me back, where I went in, and was met by a very good-looking man, advanced in years, who looked on his wife, and said, "These are my brothers;" but we found he was not quite of our way of thinking, although very near to us in the best sense. We stayed at his house, and he provided food and seemed greatly rejoiced to see us, and told us there were none of our profession in that city, nor any other than of the common religions of Germany. He seemed like one alone. The people here seem to be very dark; quite given up to the pursuits of the world. The common people appeared poor and oppressed.

On the 6th of 9th month they reached Pymont, where they had a variety of useful services, of which no account appears in David Sands' memoranda. They were serviceable in bringing about a reconciliation between those who had separated through the influence of Emanuel Brown. They had conferences with Herman Shutamire, Henry Munthang, and Anthony Shonning, who were the chief of them; and had

them together, with the principal Friends; and through the prevalence of the humbling melting power of Divine love, with which these conferences were mercifully owned, they became again united in Christian fellowship. Several Friends met them here from Minden and Boetter; they also paid a visit to the governor of the town, Klapp, with useful effect. They formed an acquaintance with a valuable Friend from Minden, Chris, Reckefus, who had suffered for his testimony against ecclesiastical impositions. One of his children dying, he had him buried in his garden. Six months after, the priest had the corpse taken up and laid in the public burial-ground, and then distrained on Christopher for his fees. This Friend undertook to drive their carriage for some weeks. They were the means of getting the monthly meeting, which had been dropped, revived, and attended the first held by appointment, which continued four hours, to edification.

They left Pymont 9th month 29th, and reached Mela, and there to Brunswick, where they paid an agreeable visit to the Duchess, sister to the King of England, (George the Third.) At Helmstead, they called on Professor Beireis, who is a man of learning, with whom they had a friendly conference, and presented him with a copy of Barclay's Apology, in Latin. They then proceeded to Magdeburgh, where they had a meeting with about seventy persons, to good satisfaction. They visited several families, and were instrumental in detecting an impostor, in whom some of the simple-hearted, serious people were placing a foolish confidence. They distributed some books, and parted in much affection. David Sands thus proceeds:

10th month 5th, 1796.—We left Magdeburgh early in the morning, and reached Brandenburg next day, which we spent in visiting several sober people, to good satisfaction; and about six o'clock had a public meeting with them, in which truth arose into a good degree of dominion, so that we had to acknowledge the goodness of the Lord in thus favoring us in that strange land to feel His power near, and to open the hearts of a remnant to receive us in much brotherly love and sympathy. After our meeting was ended, we took our solemn leave. Some of them said they should never forget the opportunity as long as they lived.

10th month 7th.—We reached Potsdam, a large city, with extraordinary fine buildings. Here dwells the King of Prussia. There are two palaces. The building and furniture of the palaces exceed anything I ever read of or saw, as they appear to be generally ornamented with gold and silver. One of the palaces, I was informed, had one hundred and forty-eight rooms, all furnished in the most extraordinary manner that money and art could contrive or invent. We spent some hours in walking about the city, and then proceeded to Berlin, where we arrived near night; and after being examined as to where we came from, and whether we had any business in the mercantile way, we were set at liberty, and went to the Inn.

8th, being first-day, we spent pretty much in our chamber, though several of our company went out and found some tender people, and one to whom we were recommended from Magdeburgh by a man there, who appeared to be very friendly towards us, with whom we left several books. This man, after we left him, changed his mind on reading them, and put up the books, and sent them with a letter to Berlin, to counteract what he had written before, directed to the man to whom he had recommended us. Thus we

found our way unexpectedly shut up, much to our disappointment. How changeable a creature is man! And how little is he to be depended on! We have met with very civil treatment as yet amongst the Prussians, except what I before mentioned, the effects of this man's so writing, which seems inconsistent with the character of a sincere-hearted man.

11th.—We still abode at our Inn, without much encouragement, as the people seemed alarmed at what had been written to those to whom we expected a visit would have been acceptable. But in the evening, seven good-looking men came to us, who at first seemed more like spies than brethren, with whom William Savery and Lewis Seebohm had a pretty open time in conversation; and the opportunity closed in a solemn time in supplication, and a few words after it, which seemed to remove the cloud from off their minds; and in tenderness of spirit we parted, with some expectations of a more general opportunity, which we requested, and they promised to use their endeavors, by consulting their brethren. We continued at our Inn most of the day waiting to see what way would open for our moving forward, either to another visit, or for us to return, which at present seemed to be hid from us. Here we found that much patience was necessary, that we might not move in our own time, or under the influence of our own spirits, but might know the putting forth of the Great Shepherd of Israel, who puts forth and goes before his humble servants. About six o'clock in the evening came two young men to see us, who appeared very sober well-behaved men. They informed us that there was no prospect of our holding a meeting with them at present, but thought way would be made in the course of a day or two; they informed us that there was to be a meeting that began at seven o'clock that evening, amongst a religious people that frequently met together, where was an elderly man that expounded the Scriptures, and sometimes preached to them; and they invited us to go, which I felt a freedom to accept, though William Savery and the other Friends seemed most easy to stay, except Lewis Seebohm, who went with me. We found the old man rather opposed to us, and he seemed not willing that we should sit with them, which was a new trial to us; but after weighing the matter, and a little more conversation, he invited us to go with them into an upper room, which we did, and found about twenty persons sitting, and after a little while came several more. The old man gave us a seat quite behind, which we cheerfully accepted. He then began his service by repeating some passages of Scripture, and then read a part of a chapter, and began to expound it to the people, which lasted near an hour, during which the people sat very quiet, though they seemed but little affected with what he said. After his time for expounding was over, he appeared in prayer, in which he mentioned the chapter and verse of several texts of Scripture; after which the meeting broke up, when I desired Lewis Seebohm to request their patience a little while, as I had something to say. They sat down again, and truth seemed to rise into some dominion, and much brokenness appeared amongst them. After standing about half an hour, I felt easy to sit down, and then all shyness that before was to be seen and felt appeared to be gone; so that we parted with them with many expressions of their love and desires for our preservation. We expressed a desire for a further opportunity, which seemed to meet their approbation. In returning to our lodgings, I was ready to say, "Strong is the Lord," and how does he make way for his servants whom he sends out on his errands. Surely the hearts of all men are in his hands, and praise and thanksgiving are due to him for evermore.

On the 12th of 10th month, we rested at our Inn; had several friendly people to see us, and one informed us of a meeting that was proposed to be held at our Inn at six o'clock, with our consent, to which we agreed. At the time proposed there came two priests, one a Lutheran, the other a Reformant, with about twenty or more of those who appeared to be principal men among them. I felt much tried, believing there were many of this company more like spies than well-wishers to us; but the Lord was pleased to look down upon us and favor us with strength; so that both William Savery and myself were preserved from falling under any censure from them, and what we had to deliver appeared to be very acceptable. Most of the meeting appeared to be in a tender contrite state, and some very much so. Thus, the Lord's power being over us, we parted in much good-will. The priests acknowledged that they had been greatly refreshed, and expressed many wishes for our welfare. We now seemed to feel refreshed also, and our spirits revived, and a hope springing up of our success, we felt our courage renewed.

10th month 13th.—I having had a prospect of going about forty miles eastward, we now thought it a proper time to proceed, which we did. We left Berlin about seven o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Freyenwalde, the place we had in view, about seven o'clock in the evening. We found it a large town, situated between the mountains. Soon after we got to an Inn, Lewis Seebohm went in pursuit of a religious man that we heard of, and soon found him, and requested him to call on his religious friends, which he did, and then came to let us know it. I thought I saw something more than common in his countenance when he first came. We went with him to the meeting, and found about twenty persons, which were the religious company that usually met by themselves. We had a comfortable room and a very open opportunity, so that they seemed much tendered, and parted in great nearness of spirit. The friendly man before mentioned went back with us to our lodgings, and appeared much refreshed by the opportunity, and informed us that the man at whose house the meeting was held was sick, and desired to see us. We paid him a visit the next morning, and found him very ill. He appeared to be a man of note in the world, and his wife also a person of good understanding, as well as a very comely woman, who the evening before seemed much reached: and we now had a very solid opportunity in the family, and parted in great love. I thought I felt more relief from this opportunity than from any I have had since being in Germany, on such an occasion. We retired to our Inn, and prepared to set off for Berlin, with the before-mentioned friendly man with us; his name was Charles Albinus. He had, not long before we met with him, resigned his post or office of Secretary to the King, which had brought him in a considerable sum yearly, but which he gave up on a religious account, and had retired from the bustle of worldly affairs to spend his days in a more retired way than he had done before, though not yet forty years of age. This man appeared to receive both us and our doctrine with great satisfaction.

10th month 14th.—We left Freyenwalde and reached Berlin that night. This day was very trying to me, having taken a heavy cold, I apprehended, from sleeping in a damp bed; so that before I reached Berlin I was so ill that it rendered my riding in a wagon very uncomfortable; but I was supported to hold out so as to reach our Inn, where our landlord received us very cheerfully, and our new friend, Charles Albinus, with us.

15th. We spent mostly at our Inn, myself in particular, being very unwell. Lewis Seebohm went out to

see if we might be at a private meeting, to be held at a priest's house, who had been at a meeting with us, and who seemed to accept us in the greatest love, and promised his assistance; but he sent us word that the magistrates were about to send us out of the city; and further, that he wished to serve us, but could not: therefore, wished us not to attend his meeting; but said, if we would hold one at our Inn, he would give notice at his meeting; which, after weighing, we found liberty so to do; and again sent him word by a few lines, which he read to the people then assembled; but after reading, said to them that we held bad principles, and that the magistrates were about to send us away, and advised them not to go to our meeting. Thus he discovered himself to be unsound, as to his former pretensions. We now again seemed to be surrounded on every side with various difficulties that seemed to threaten us, and no way opened for any escape; therefore, to the Lord only could we look and cry for help, who had hitherto helped us, and so settled down to bear whatever might be permitted as a trial of our faith.

In the course of the day, several came to see us, who seemed to strengthen us; and in the evening there came a number to hold a dispute with us, who appeared not envious, but supposed we were well-inclined men, but in error; and they wished to set us right. The subjects they wanted to converse with us upon were Water Baptism, and the Bread and Wine, by way of ordinance. They brought their Testament with them, and all prepared as to places in Scripture; but here they seemed to have the advantage, as none of us could hold a dispute in Dutch but our interpreter, who did not attend so much to what I said as not to enter into his own explanation of matters; which for some time gave them an advantage over him, and led from the points in dispute into that of the effects of water baptism; which wandering way of disputing I have never seen do any good, but that if anything is done to advantage, it generally is by attending simply to the baptism of John, and that of Christ, distinctly. But after some time, he who managed the dispute being very full of words, seemed to spend himself a little. I then desired him to be quiet; and when he spoke to the matter, to be short and clear, as I had been and intended to be. I urged a proof from Scripture for water baptism, as being the express command of Christ, and also for their mode of administering it, (as their mode must be supposed to be what they thought right.) This put him to a nonplus, and he declined it; but would hold to water baptism in more general terms. I distinguished between water baptism in the general, and their mode; which he declined to undertake the defense of, but soon grew weary of the subject, and said he must go. I endeavored to soften the matter a little, and others entered into the subject on more general terms, so the discussion ended. I thought they seemed much disappointed, as I believe they thought their ground so good that on it they could not be withstood; but they soon saw that so much could be said on the question, and that they could not withstand the force of it, that they seemed to doubt whether there was so much in it as they had thought. William Savery having offered something in the controversy, now speaking Dutch, they seemed to unite in some points; and after a pretty full opportunity I requested them to stop, which they did, as to conversation; and a reverential feeling came over us, and we had a very solemn opportunity in supplication, in which the Lord's power seemed to shine over all, and our hearts were humbled together, so that we parted in much brotherly love.

This being the seventh-day evening, we concluded to hold a meeting next day, being the 16th of 10th month, in our own room, at ten o'clock, to which came most of our friendly acquaintances; and the

Lord favored us to experience of his mercy and goodness in a very humbling manner, to the contriting of our hearts and qualifying to offer unto Him the praise of all, to whom it is due now and forever. We now had our evening meeting in prospect, to be held at six o'clock, which was very weighty upon our spirits; and being before invited to dine with a friendly man, who sent a coach for us, we went, where both William Savery and myself had some acceptable service. To this house came a daughter of one who had been friendly to us, who appeared to be a very solid young woman, and had before sent us a book, in order to receive our names; with a desire, if we found anything resting on our minds, we would write it under our names; which we did, as it appeared to me as though it was right at that time, though it may not always be the case. This, I understood, was a practice among the religious people in Germany. We had a very suitable opportunity with her and the family, and left them in a sweet frame of mind, and returned to our Inn about five o'clock. The people collected very fast, and soon filled our rooms, which brought a great weight upon us on several accounts, as the lack of a suitable place, for we could not furnish this with seats; and many of the great of this world seemed to be coming, and all unacquainted with our manner of sitting or moving in our meetings. But soon after the meeting was gathered, my dear fellow laborer, William Savery, appeared in prayer. In the exercise of his gift therein, he was led to touch on the states of many present, and a solemn silence prevailed, and ended in brokenness of heart in many. After which, I felt my way clear to stand up, and found great openness. Truth continued to rise into dominion to the humbling of many minds; after which I was easy to sit down, and William Savery rose and stood near an hour. I then found the spirit of prayer to come upon me very strong, and I yielded to its motion, and was very much favored to the solemnizing of the hearts of the people. Our meeting ended in great sweetness, and we parted in tenderness of spirit. Our rooms were full, and according to the best account we could get, there were near two hundred people present, the greater part of whom had stood three hours or more, and I think I never saw people of any description continue with such stillness. They appeared as though they were neither weary nor faint; never moving from their places, so as to make the least noise, but with weighty solemn countenances seemed engaged to know the truth in order to follow it; many of them came with expressions of gratitude and embraced us, of the youth as well as of the aged.

10th month, 17th.—We found our minds not fully relieved; at least I was still bound in spirit, though my companions seemed pretty cheerful. A sick woman had the evening before sent for us to make her a visit, which William Savery, with L. Seebohm and myself, did this morning, and found nearly twenty persons present, of the religious sort. We were favored with a very open opportunity with them; their hearts seemed tender, and we parted in great love. Still finding our minds not clear, as to leaving this place, after weighing the matter, our way opened to have another meeting; which we appointed in our chamber, to be held at six o'clock; to which came nearly a hundred people, who appeared solid. Many of them had heard of our meetings, but had not been to any of them. I found my mind set at liberty, and the Lord's power rose higher than I had known it before, since being in Germany, through my ministry. The people seemed to be melted into great tenderness, so that several wept aloud. After I sat down, dear William Savery appeared in prayer, and I thought it exceeded any that I had ever heard before from him. The meeting now ending, the people took leave in great brokenness, and we retired to take our rest.

Next morning, the 18th of 10th month, many came to visit us that had been at meeting, especially an elderly man who had been a Major in the Prussian army, and the day before had been to see us; and towards whom I felt a particular draught of love, and was dipped into near sympathy with him, and had something to offer that was very suitable, as he afterwards confessed when he came to open his condition to us. He was much contrited, and said his questions had been answered and his state opened, and he was thankful that the Lord had sent us into that land, and hoped that he should, through Divine grace, be more faithful in time to come. We now thought of another meeting, which we appointed in the evening, where came more than one hundred. We had in this meeting to labor to establish the principles we had been preaching; which, when we are led to do, never seems to raise and animate the minds of the people to that height that advocating more general views does; but having cleared our minds of what lay with some weight upon us, tenderness of spirit appeared in many, and our meeting concluded in solemn prayer, and we took leave of the tender people, thinking to leave them in the morning, in order to return towards Holland.

This morning, being the 19th of 10th month, we left the city about ten o'clock. It was a very solemn time to many who came to see us before leaving; and our landlord, with his wife and children, seemed much affected, and many others, who seemed as though they could hardly endure the moment of our parting. Indeed, it was a time to be remembered by us all. We had many portions of advice to leave with several of the family, who received it in much brokenness of heart. I had an opportunity with our landlord and his family by themselves, in which I hope I was in my place. I recommended them to God, their best teacher and guide, after which we parted in much nearness and love.

We proceeded back to Potsdam, the residence of the King of Prussia, as aforesaid, which we reached about two o'clock. We dined, without making much stay. Our company having agreed to reach Brandenburgh that evening, but yet I did not feel quite easy so to do, but submitted, and had often to reflect on my own conduct in so doing, believing I was not right in leaving this place then. I found weakness to increase upon me and on all our company. The road being bad we traveled very slowly, and reached a poor Inn about nine o'clock, where we were obliged to stop, though fifteen miles short of our intended Inn. Here we could get little to eat, and the most of our company lay upon straw, though I, being unwell, had a bed; but being covered with another it was very unpleasant; and from frequently flinging it off throughout the night I took a violent cold, which distressed me much, and made me feel very low, both in body and mind.

On the morning of 19th month 20th, we went about twelve miles, to Brandenburgh, where we breakfasted; after which Lewis Seebohm went to see our friendly acquaintances, made when in this town before; who received him with expressions of kindness. We remembered our love to him, and to all our friends in the town, which they promised to do, we being in haste to proceed towards Holland. Hitherto the Lord has helped us beyond what we deserved, or had reasonable grounds to expect. Just as we were leaving this place came the elderly man whom we visited in the morning, as we left this town before; he met us with much kindness, and told us his daughter desired her love to us. We parted in much nearness of spirit, after embracing each other very affectionately. We then proceeded to a large village

called Zelan, about eighteen miles. This day has been very dull, having felt but little of the presence of Christ. We traveled about forty-two miles to Magdeburgh, and put up at our former Inn, where we were gladly welcomed, and where we had been before very cordially received amongst a religious people called Pietists; but, as before observed, we were disappointed in some of the leading members of the Society, particularly the schoolmaster, who gave us a few lines to Berlin, as before mentioned.

I may now acknowledge the favor I enjoy in feeling better, both in body and mind, for these two days past. Lewis Seebohm having been out to see some of our former friends, returned and expressed the satisfaction that some had mentioned in hearing of our return. We hope, before we leave this city, to see matters more settled as to what has been circulated respecting the bad principles we are said to hold. 10th month 23rd.—Being first-day, we had a meeting at our Inn, where came two friendly men and sat with us; when we had an opportunity to open to them the principles of truth, we hope to their advantage and our refreshment. After meeting, we proposed a meeting among them at half-past four, when we met a number of solid people, but they seemed as though they were rather looking for our halting than to help us forward; though, as we apprehended, they had received some unfavorable impressions by the reports spread by the before-mentioned man respecting our books. William Savery appeared in prayer in the early part of the meeting, and the people kept their seats; after which I had something to offer, which they seemed to oppose for some time, but the power of truth rising and spreading over them, they were brought down, and tenderness of spirit appeared amongst them; and finding truth had gained ground, I sat down, to leave the way open to my fellow-laborer, who had a seasonable opportunity with them; and when he sat down, I felt something weighty upon my mind, and stood up, when the Lord's power reigned, to the breaking down of the stout-hearted, as one who often appeared to scoff at us, in the fore part of the meeting, broke out into many tears. On sitting down, I soon felt my heart exercised to engage in the solemn act of prayer, in which I was much refreshed. The meeting then broke up in great sweetness, under a sense of Divine goodness. After taking leave of each other, we returned to our Inn, where came several that were at the meeting; and we had some friendly conversation with them on several subjects, which they did not seem clear in; yet I believe that the light has broken forth amongst them, and will gradually arise, and finally remove those things that have been an obstacle and hindrance to the springing up of vital religion.

10th month 24th. We arrived at Halberstadt. Next morning, soon after we had taken our breakfast, came a very solid man, who saluted us very kindly and spent a short time with us, and made way for a meeting to be held at six o'clock this evening. In passing along the street, I observed the door of a Roman Catholic Chapel open; I went in, and found it greatly ornamented with images and pictures, with a great deal of carved work. The candlesticks appeared like solid gold, and many things that strike the outward senses, such as the representation of Christ, as large as life, extended upon the cross, with the Virgin Mary and one other standing near, in a very pensive attitude, and many other representations; but all seemed to be covered with dark superstition, and the people very ignorant as to the spiritual life. We found our landlord and family very friendly to us. He had a son whom he had educated for a minister, and said he was very sorry that he had not been brought up to some other business, as he had no inclination for preaching, nor for several other things that are usually done by the clergy, such as taking

money from the poor, for what they called the Sacrament. This he thought he could not do; as he said they often took it from such as needed it for their common necessities. He was very friendly to us, and went to the meeting and behaved very soberly. The number attending was small, but I was glad I was there, though I went under great discouragement. I believe the Lord owned our endeavors, and we parted in much nearness of spirit. After we returned to our lodging, the young man before spoken of, and one other, came to see us, and had much friendly conversation with William Savery, in which he seemed to be near to us in principle.

Next morning we set out for the city of Brunswick, after taking a tender leave of the family, especially the young man before mentioned. We passed through the suburbs of the city called Wolfenbuttel, where it is said Luther wrote much of his works. The people relate that, when writing, he was beset by Satan, who attempted to get his inkstand; which Luther perceiving, took it up and flung it at him so hard that he broke it against the wall, where the ink remains to be seen to this day. I did not find time to examine the matter myself, but I believe it is generally credited here.

This day we have passed through a very fertile country, where we saw many fine towns and villages. We arrived in Brunswick about six o'clock. Soon after came the doctor, who before had visited us, with another person, who received us with much love and seeming affection, and spent the evening with us. We laid our prospect before them of having a meeting, that they might consider of it and let us know in the morning.

10th month 27th.—The old man who was with us last evening came this morning, and proposed the meeting to be held at half-past five, to which we agreed; but before the time appointed, there came a friendly man and informed us the house could not be obtained that was intended for the meeting to be held in. This was a new trial of faith and patience; but through Divine mercy and goodness, I felt my mind stayed in a comfortable hope that way would be made for the meeting, which soon after was done, having information by another messenger that a house was obtained. Near the time appointed, we went to the meeting, and found a few gathered, and soon after came a number more, so that the rooms were pretty well filled, and the great Master seemed to own our assembly with the overshadowing of his love. My dear friend and fellow-laborer William Savery was much favored in supplication, in the fore part of the meeting: the savor of life continued to increase rather than diminish through the meeting. At this meeting I saw the first man sit with his hat on, since I have been in Germany, except those that profess the principles that we do; he was the doctor before mentioned. He appears to be a man of a tender spirit, and much convinced of our principles. In the meetings I thought I felt the call of Christ to him in a particular manner: he appeared tender and well satisfied with the meeting; and after it was over he came to our lodgings, and supped with us; after which he took leave of us in an affectionate manner. Thus we parted in near love, with desires for each other's preservation. I felt much peace of mind after this meeting, though my health was very poor; and after I went to bed, I felt as though my senses would leave me, and on the whole had a very exercising night; and in the morning was much straitened to know what to do as to going or staying. However, I felt a little strength to go on, though it proved a very trying day, traveling 42 miles, and taking very little nourishment; yet I was brought

through. I may here observe that many are the afflictions of us poor mortals, but the Lord delivers out of them all, as we call upon him.

We passed through the city of Hildesheim, where I before had felt uneasy, without trying to have an opportunity with the people; but my friends being now desirous to go forward, and myself but weak, I submitted to go on, which brought on me a very great burden. Having been directed to a place to stay that night, we went and found ourselves in a very poor situation, as the people seemed unfriendly, and we had to accept of very poor accommodations, and pay high for it. Here I grew worse, having also to reflect upon myself for not standing faithful to my prospect. In the morning, discouragements prevailed, so that I gave up the prospect of going forward that day; but after taking a little breakfast, I thought it best to try to proceed to Pymont, which I did; and though many were my exercises, yet I got through safe, so as to enjoy the company of my dear friends, especially George Dillwyn and wife, who still remained here, and whose labors I believe have been of great use, and a blessing to the people of this place. Here I again felt my mind humbled under a sense of my lack of patience to perform what opened on my mind. I had felt a strong desire when at Berlin to see the King of Prussia, and made some attempts to obtain an opportunity, which did not then open as I expected, and we all felt rather unsettled, and left the city, after leaving a letter and some of Barclay's Apologies with a friendly man for the King. In about two days the King received them, and an officer was sent after us, but did not overtake us. The person who had the care of our letter and book sent us the following letter:

To The Friends who visited Berlin—

My last words to you, my dear Friends, were, “God be with you”—words which evinced the fulness of my heart. I love you with all my soul. I never was so soon inclined to unite with any men as I was with you. I never felt so readily a constraint to open my mind to any men as I did to you. I have opened this sick heart into your loving souls; but yet you are not wholly acquainted with my tried condition, for there are feelings which cannot be expressed in words. It seems as if I was forsaken of God, and yet I abhor the thought. I have no desire to live or to die. For the pleasures of the world, let them be called what they may, I have neither taste, sense, nor feeling; but who will believe it, that nature can thus loathe, thus nauseate the world? Yet my heart remains shut up from higher and heavenly enjoyments: the precious sense of the communion with God that I formerly enjoyed in the assurance of faith and the consolations of the word; all this, which in my former situation I enjoyed, tasted, and felt of these gracious gifts of God, I have scarcely a remembrance. My prayers are weak and powerless; it is as if I cried to God from afar—that he cannot hear me; and this is also a thought which I abhor. Such, my dear brethren, is nearly the circumstances of my soul. Let your hearts now feel with painful compassion how it is with me, and so fall down upon your faces before the throne of the Great and Merciful Being, and pray for your poor, weak, and wounded brother, that Jesus Christ may again be beautifully formed in my heart, that I may again rightly fix my eyes upon Him; then shall I be able to stand in this heavy exercise. I shall take from his hand the bitter cup, and not murmur, but wait for his help: then I shall be enabled in the end to exclaim, “Lord

God, gracious and merciful; you are great, and your kindness and faithfulness; who was ever confounded that trusted in you!”

Yesterday, my beloved brethren, the Minister Howitz sent for me, and said that he had just now received a letter from the King, who was very willing and ready to give you an audience; and oh how gladly would I have called you back, as I wished most heartily an interview between you and our good King. I told the Minister it was possible you might have stayed over yesterday, the 21st, at Potsdam; after which he immediately dispatched a chasseur to the general Bishop Wender, to notify him that you might be there. Whether the chasseur has met with you I know not, but if it be according to my wishes, you will have an audience with the King tomorrow morning at nine; and in this case, I heartily desire, dear brothers, that you will give me, as soon as possible, circumstantial information of your conference; persuaded I shall not make any bad use of what you entrust me with. Your letter to the King, the Minister sent to him yesterday, but the book, which the messenger could not take, was sent to the monarch today. Now for the conclusion: God be with you; his light be your guide; his love and grace in and through Christ Jesus be your protection and defense in all dangers. Be of good comfort, and be filled with joyful hope. He that is with you is stronger than he that is against you. Never shall your memory be effaced from my soul; never shall I cease to love you; it will be a comfort to my weary soul if sometimes you will make me joyful by imparting a few lines of love, and nothing but death will prevent my answering your dear letter. In love I embrace you in my heart as your ever loving brother,

Major Marconnay

Berlin, 22nd Oct., 1796.

Bishop Wender is appointed to introduce all strangers to the King.

This interesting letter we met at this place, Pymont, on our return the 29th of 10th month, since which we have had our various exercises and services. We found Friends generally well, and that love appears to be gaining ground amongst them. We have had a trying time since coming here, being much shut up as to what way to proceed; but resignation being our only resting-place, we have been desirous to cast our anchor in that calm Haven to which, I trust, some of us have attained.

11th month 5th, 1796.—I this day received a number of letters from my friends in New England. They seem to be growing in heavenly things, which is a source of satisfaction and relief to me; but, alas, my journey looks long, and in my present feeble state, my return to my dear family and friends looks rather dubious than otherwise.

## CHAPTER 9

*Letter to his Wife—Arrival at Minden—At Hertford—At Hanover—Carriage overturned, and return to*

The following letter is addressed to his wife, giving some particulars of his late travels in Germany:

My Dear Wife

It is now more than a month since I have written to you, for lack of opportunity, having been far back into Germany. We have traveled since I left this place more than six hundred miles in little more than a month; in which journey I have passed through many principalities and parts of kingdoms, but principally the kingdom of Prussia. In my way there I made a visit to the Duchess of Brunswick, in company with my friends William Savery and our companions Benjamin Johnson and William Farrer, the latter of whom continues still with me, and is a great comfort in this land, having every way continued steady and attentive to me in my many needs. The Duchess, who is sister to the King of England, received us very kindly, and conversed freely on various subjects. We gave her one of Penn's "No Cross No Crown," which she received with much cheerfulness. She asked us whether there were any of our people in Germany, or if we ever knew any Germans that were Quakers; to which Lewis Seebohm, our interpreter, answered he was one, and that there were many more in Germany; to which she replied that she wished all the world were of our sentiments, then things would be better, and that though she had been married to the Duke of Brunswick many years, and had not seen England, she still retained the remembrance of Friends and their principles. We parted with expressions of love, and desires for each other's prosperity in the best things. Though uncommon for those in her station she seemed willing to let us take her by the hand, (William Savery and myself.)

We now returned, and after a little opportunity, with a few friendly people in this city, we proceeded to a city in Prussia, called Magdeburgh, the strongest fortified place in Germany. We found that it contained about 3,000 inhabitants, and those the most civil and respectful we had met with in Germany. I think I never saw so well-behaved, clean, and handsome people before, especially the female part; the goodness of their features, ornamented with modest countenances and plain dress, joined to a sweet disposition, made them to appear above the rest of mankind. This great change from other parts of Germany, made everything look pleasant, especially as we found here many tender people, who held about six little meetings: they were not broken off from the public worship wholly; but met together to edify each other. They received us with every expression of kindness, as their dear brethren sent to them from a far country. Our labors amongst them in public and private had a tendency to unite us, and the truth seemed to reign over all. We left them, and pursued our course eastward, through many cities and large towns and villages, having meetings as way opened; and I may say the Great Shepherd owned our movements in a very extraordinary manner, so that I had to admire how his own arm brought salvation, and wrought his own acts of wonder. We at length arrived at Berlin, the greatest city in Prussia, and where the king dwells; here we met with some trials

when we first came, which seemed to discourage us for a short time. But we soon found that way began to open for us until our meetings became large, and I think I never knew more solid meetings, nor anywhere greater brokenness appeared than amongst these people. They stood thick crowded for three hours at a time, without discovering the least uneasiness, and when we parted with them, a tender love appeared among them not to be equalled, but by my own children. Oh! the nearness, the sympathy and affection that was evinced amongst young and old. Here I met with several of high rank in the world, who received us in the love of the truth, and a young man, one of the king's council of war, who had left his post on a religious account, has been with us more than three weeks, and traveled with us between three and four hundred miles: he appears to be a man of steady behavior, and very solid deportment, and has declared that his sentiments are with us, both in principle and practice. We left this city a few days, and went east to another place, where we found several religious people, and had a meeting with them, to much satisfaction, and returned again to Berlin.

Here I had an opportunity to see the court of the king of Prussia, composed of many of the greatest people of Germany; their clothes appeared on most of them as if stiff with wrought gold, and far beyond what my imagination could form an idea of; but all were civil to us, from the king and his family down to the lowest subject. I have had to remark the civility to strangers is beyond anything I have seen either in England or America.

When I was farther east, the sun rose seven hours before it rises in that part of America where my habitation is, and yet, though thus far from home, I could seem to look with pleasure towards my dear family and friends, with a hope that if it be the Lord's will, I may again be restored to them. I have had my health well since being in Germany, except on taking colds, which brought on a cough, though it is better. I am now with my dear friend George Dillwyn and wife, who seem like housekeepers, having been here near two months.

I expect to leave in a few days, whether for Holland or to return again east, and to some other places that way, I cannot now determine. When I was at Berlin, I wished to speak to the king of Prussia, having something on my mind to say to him in a particular manner, which opportunity I could not obtain when there, he having gone to a seat where he sometimes dwells. And the minister of state did not open the way for us at that time. We left a few lines, and a copy of Barclay's Apology with a friend of ours, a man of high rank, who promised to forward them to the king, which he did. Two days after we left Berlin, a message was sent after us, that the king would give us an opportunity to see him, and had wished us to return; the officer did not overtake us, but a letter was sent forward by our friend who opened the way. He is a very pious man, and one with us in principle. The letter was received at this place, which increased our exercise; as we were not clear when we left Berlin. Whether I may not be excused from so arduous an undertaking, and the burden laid on some that can bear it better, I do not at present clearly see; but desire to do whatever may be right in this and all other things.

This letter seems more like a little journal than a letter, but I thought it would afford satisfaction to you and my dear children, to hear how I get on, and of the Lord's mercy and goodness to me in this land, and amongst a people of strange language. But I may say the Lord is good, and his tender mercies are over all. I hope you and my dear children can join me in saying the same. I have, by attention, learned to read the High Dutch Testament, nearly as well as English; and speak it so as to hold conversation, and have the satisfaction of knowing what is said, which is a very great comfort to me and my friends here, who cannot speak English. I have not received a letter from you for some time; but hope, though we are many thousand miles apart in body, yet we are joined together in spirit, and shall so remain; cherished by an unshaken hope, that if we, in holy appointment, meet no more here, we shall, before many years, meet again to part no more. My dear love to father and mother Hallock; tell them I often think of them, with a hope that the Lord is leading them more and more into the house of prayer, and retirement from the world, that their sun may set in clearness. We can have no sanguine hopes of seeing each other again in this world, but the animating hope of meeting in a better, is much to be preferred; where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest, in unexplored scenes of joy that lasts forevermore. I still encourage myself with a hope that I may return next fall, if I live; but must leave it at present. I cannot say that I should feel comfortable if I was now at home; as I frequently dream of being at home and am always in great distress, looking for a passage to return to Europe; so that when I awake, I feel glad it is but a dream.

I received a letter this day from Remington Hobby, expressive of the increase of Friends in his country, which is a comfort to me, when reflecting on the arduous labor and time spent in that country, by myself and many other faithful laborers. I now conclude in dearest love to you and my dear children and connections, and recommend you to him who neither sleeps by day nor slumbers by night, who is God over all, blessed forever. Your ever affectionate husband,

David Sands

Pyrmont, 11th month 5th, 1796

We have had several favored meetings here at Pyrmont, and still remain at a loss to know when we shall get clear of our service in this place.

11th month 9th.—We have made a visit to some Friends, in which we have been favored to get through to our comfort. This day I attended their meeting, which was a favored opportunity, and we found our minds set at liberty to proceed when way might open. This being a parting meeting, in which some little difficulty having happened relative to some meeting business, we were engaged to have it settled, and which was now accomplished through divine help, to our own and Friends' mutual satisfaction. I have been renewedly instructed in the necessity of attending to the little intimations that are afforded from day to day; notwithstanding we seemed clear, especially my companions, yet I felt some weight hang upon my mind that I could not cast off, but by dwelling in the patience, the way was gradually

opened to all our comfort, and now we feel our way clear to proceed. We set off for Rinteln, which, though not more than twenty miles, we did not reach till near night, having traveled over a very mountainous country: but my mind seemed much preserved in quiet through this day's journey. We put up at an Inn, where was very poor accommodation, and high charges. We found here a few tender people, who received us, and with whom we had a satisfactory opportunity, and parted in near love. This city is in the Hessian dominions: several have been banished and their property taken from them for embracing our principles; and still there appears to be an envious spirit against us. At this place there were many tender people a few years back, but now they are much scattered. The city appears ancient, and very little business doing in it, the people are mostly poor, and of low behavior; very different to those in the cities of Prussia. Having done here what we apprehended our duty, we left on the 12th of 11th month, and proceeded to a city called Minden, in the dominion of Prussia, where we found several that professed with us, and who hold a meeting in the way of Friends. We understood that there had been about sixty persons who met together, but who were now much scattered. We had several meetings with them, and found that some uneasiness had taken place amongst those that met together, which we were enabled to assist in settling. We left Minden on the 14th, and went to Hertford, where we arrived the same day, and put up at a very good Inn. Here we found a few people who seemed friendly towards us, and with whom we had a meeting, which was to our satisfaction.

17th.—We parted with these friendly people in much love, and went a few miles to a Friend's house, where a small meeting was held. The Friend's name was Christian Reckefus; he had suffered much for his faithful testimony on many accounts, and has been carried through; so that the cause of truth has not suffered by him. From there we proceeded again to Hertford. On our way we met with a tender woman of high rank in the world, who received us kindly; though her husband was not reconciled to her embracing Friends' principles. He had treated our dear friend, John Pemberton, very roughly; yet, after we entered his house, and had sat a short time, he grew more friendly, and gave up his house to hold a meeting in. Several of us dined with him, where we met a young man, a Lieutenant in the Prussian army, that quartered there, who was very kind, and also consented to our having the meeting in his room. He attended, and was much contrited, with several others. He said he was forced into the army, and had no other way of getting a living; but wished all the world were of our principles, so that there would be no more war; and that it would be a great happiness to mankind. We parted in love, and the master of the house also appeared well satisfied.

11th month 19th.—Proceeded to Bidefield, about twelve miles, where we were obliged to lodge at a poor Inn, but the next evening I was invited to a very respectable merchant's house to lodge, which I accepted. My situation was thus unexpectedly changed, and I was made comfortable. The family was very kind to me, and I had several religious opportunities with them. On first-day afternoon we had a meeting with about twenty persons, whose conduct was very good. This meeting was in the suburbs of the city. There appeared no openness to proceed further as to meetings, nor was the way to leave clear to us, which made it very trying.

11th month 24th.—This day we had a meeting at our Inn. About thirty persons attended of the better

sort, who were kind and friendly towards us.

11th month 25th.—We had another meeting at our Inn. A number attended, which was some relief; and after it we had an opportunity with several persons and families, much to our satisfaction. From this place we proceeded towards Hanover, but the way being very rough, we traveled but nine English miles the whole day. Having to walk most of the way, we felt ourselves much tried, both in body and mind; but through all, we have found the Lord near to give us patience and carry us through. This night we lodged at an Inn, much better than we expected, having given up thinking of getting more than a shelter from the cold; as in Germany, many villages have not a house where a traveler can obtain a bed. The people live in a very poor low way; their floors have little appearance of wood in consequence of their not cleaning the dirt off them.

11th month 30th.—We reached Hanover, where we met our fellow-laborers, George Dillwyn and wife, who had a meeting in the morning, and had also appointed another that afternoon, which we attended, and it appeared to be a profitable opportunity. My mind was much comforted in being here, and seeing what a growth there was among the little flock since we visited them before, both in weight and number.

12th month 1st.—The meeting was held in the suburbs. We then rested as to public labor, except to visit some friendly people; and on the 3rd of the month had a favorable meeting again at the place before mentioned, where came a larger number; and in the evening we had a solid opportunity with a number of persons who visited us at our Inn.

5th and 6th, we spent in visiting some tender people, and receiving such to see us, which took up our time fully; and in the evenings we had generally a pretty large number to sit with us.

12th month 7th.—Being first-day, we proposed a meeting, but the magistrate forbade our holding one; so that the landlord would not consent to any more meetings in his house; yet about thirty persons went in to George Dillwyn's room, that he hired of the landlord; where the Lord owned us in a remarkable manner, to the tendering of all our hearts. Near the close of the meeting, an officer came from the magistrate, who stayed a short time. When our meeting closed, we found the landlord and his wife in a very ill humor, and the officer with them. We informed him of the matter, and took the blame to ourselves. The officer went with us to our lodgings, and took one of our passports to the magistrate, to show him that we were well recommended by a Minister of State in England; after which he was satisfied; and though he had fined the landlord where the meeting was, he recalled the fine, and matters were settled.

In the afternoon we had a very large meeting for this country, of nearly one hundred people, at a friendly man's house, where the Lord again owned us by his blessed Spirit, to the humbling of our minds. Although it was thought the meeting was hurt for lack of a good interpreter, yet, on the whole, I felt much refreshed. In the evening came several to our lodgings, where we labored according to ability received to our own comfort.

12th month 8th.—We had a meeting of conference with the most solid or concerned persons, respecting holding a meeting there regularly, and some matters connected with their proceedings in future, which ended well, and they seemed replenished with the showers of love and mercy thus bestowed; so we parted in near love. That evening there came nearly one hundred to our Inn, and filled our room (which was very large) without any notice from us or expectation given. Many of them were of the respectable class. We had a very solid opportunity, which lasted nearly two hours. The people remained very quiet; no opposition appeared; after which we took a solemn and affectionate leave of each other. George Dillwyn and wife believed it right for them to abide with these tender people a little longer. Here I first saw my way open to leave Germany and go to Holland. We proceeded on our journey, but the way being bad and our postillion careless, (as they generally are), when it was about dark he overset our wagon one mile from the town. Here I met with the extension of Divine regard, in being preserved, so that my bones were not broken, though I at first thought my shoulder was broken or was out of joint, as I nearly fainted; but after recovering found it was only bruised. William Farrer and Benjamin Johnson were much bruised, and bled freely from their wounds. William Savery escaped unhurt. We felt tried, both as to body and mind, yet our faith did not fail; for which favor my soul magnified the Lord. We got to a very good Inn, where we obtained what was suitable; and, after washing our bruises, retired to bed, and the next morning proceeded on our journey to Minden, where we arrived about eight o'clock at night, much wearied, having had a hard day's travel, in much danger, as the snow was on the ground. It was difficult to keep out of the deep ruts. We went where we had before met with civil treatment, but could get little refreshment that night, as it was late when we reached Minden.

1796, 12th month 8th.—We stirred but little, being much fatigued. Under my many trials, I feel something of the Divine presence to be with me, and it bears me up through them. Oh my soul, bless the Lord at all times, and praise his holy name forever; for he alone can be trusted and relied upon: He has carried me through the deep waters of many afflictions, and hitherto has not failed in the hour of distress.

9th.—We had a meeting in the evening, attended by about thirteen sober people, and the opportunity appeared to be owned by the Great Head of the Church. Great is the mystery of the Gospel: Christ puts forth his servants and goes before them. I felt in the foregoing meeting the necessity of waiting, in much inward retirement, to feel the mind and will of the Great Shepherd of Israel.

10th.—This has been a very trying day to me; though in the morning I felt the Lord to be nearer than usual, and much sweetness covered my mind. I then thought this is a morsel to strengthen me against a trial near at hand, and which came accordingly, and was of a nature very proving. Yet, as at many other times, I was carried through, and hope to attain a greater share of patience than at times I fear I possess, as it ought to shine in a true Gospel minister. We have had the company this evening of several religious people, who seem journeying towards a resting habitation. We had some conversation with them, which seemed to be well accepted, and we found a door open to propose a meeting to be held, as a person offered us a convenient room. The people seem more open to us than when here before. Being first-day, we attended the little meeting, usually held by a small number who professed with us, and who

appeared to have grown, both in weight and number, since we were here last. I felt it my place to be silent, though my fellow-laborer had good service.

That afternoon we attended the public meeting before proposed, where about two hundred people attended, who behaved quietly during the time of meeting; and I thought the service was suitable and well accepted, and the power of truth prevailed over all, to the humbling of our hearts. Praise be ascribed forever to the Lord's holy name, who alone is worthy.

Not feeling our minds quite easy to leave Minden, we spent part of a day in writing and in visiting some families, in which service we felt our minds peaceful. One of the families were people of note in the world on several accounts, as in the administration of justice, and as one of the King's Council. This man had been formerly visited by Sarah Grubb, and then was in a tender state of mind, but had since gone much from his first love; but I felt myself drawn in Gospel love to request an interview with him and his family, which he readily granted. It seemed to be a tendering season: he said he had not words to express his satisfaction; his heart seemed much opened, and full of tenderness towards us. He invited us to take dinner with him, and sent us several presents before leaving the city.

In the evening of 12th month 13th, we had a meeting, where attended about forty persons. The Lord favored us with a sweet opportunity, which was our last there. Before I close this day's exercise, I may mention that we made a visit to the High Priest, (as he is called, being the head of the Jewish order in the city), occasioned by a report circulated by him injurious to the holy cause in which we were engaged. He appeared much confused, and gave us reason to believe it had originated with him. He informed us we could hold no more public meetings, that it was contrary to the laws. We were convinced that he wished us gone, and we left him, after laying the weight on himself. We proceeded towards Holland, and traveling about thirty-six miles, lodged at a good Inn.

12th month 14th.—Proceeded to Osnaburgh, belonging to the Electorate of Hanover. A friendly man met us at the Inn door, inquiring whether we were from England or America. He proposed a meeting on the evening of our arrival, but we were unable to procure a house. Next day, we dined at the public table at the Inn; where, as is the custom in many parts of Germany, a band of music attended, which, however agreeable to some, was quite the contrary to me. There dined with us two Romish priests and an abbess, who appeared by her actions to unite with the general conduct. She was a large woman, of hard countenance; and although her life by her profession was spent in devotion and acts of charity, yet I thought I saw little of that life which truly dignifies. This evening we had a very small meeting, though to some satisfaction. We prepared to leave next morning. Osnaburgh contains about ten thousand inhabitants. The city is very irregularly laid out, but there are many large buildings, and it appears full of business. The people were friendly, as in other places; but are divided as to religion.

12th month 17th.—We traveled about thirty miles to Rheine, in the Bishop of Munster's territory. Here we lodged at a Catholic Inn, and were well entertained. The inhabitants are mostly Catholics. We saw them going to their worship on first-day, with crosses hung about their necks, and other marks of the Romish religion.

12th month 18th.—We traveled about eighteen miles to a town called Bentheim, where the people are mostly Calvinists, and appear to be better informed than in many other parts of Germany. We have had some friendly conversation with our landlord and his family, who seemed very much of our way of thinking. This town is well built; there is a castle on a high hill which overlooks the town, but seems to have stood long, and is now on the decay. There are many of those ancient piles in Germany, which now look as though they had forgotten their founders, and were by them forgotten; both having lost their former dignity, and are going fast down to the dust, from which they were taken. We proceeded towards Amsterdam, about twenty-one miles, to Selden, one of the most beautiful situations we had seen in our travels. This town appears to have felt the effect of the war: some of the buildings are large and substantial. We crossed a bridge of boats, and passed through several fine towns. On our way we saw one of the seats of the late Stadtholder. I thought I had never seen a more beautiful place. Nature and art seemed to have united in beautifying it. The country around, the fine buildings, and the land, seemed to exceed anything we had before seen. We soon reached Amsterdam; and in the afternoon went to see our ancient friend John Vanderwerf: he received us with much kindness, as he had long expected us. Here I felt my mind easy, and it seemed as though I was nearer my own habitation, and a great weight removed from my mind.

12th month 24th.—Rested to recruit a little; but finding no letters here, either from my friends in England or America, was somewhat trying to us; yet in remembering I had taken my solemn leave of all my near connections before I left home, and committed them to the care and keeping of Him “who only has immortality, dwelling in the light,” I felt easy.

25th.—Being first-day, we had two meetings, to a good degree of satisfaction; though the weather being cold made it uncomfortable for the people to sit, as they have no fires in their meeting-houses; and from several passing in and out, they were not as quiet as we could have wished. Not feeling relieved, we had another meeting on the 26th, which I thought the most favored; several present seemed much tendered, and the meeting parted, I trust under a covering of Divine love. Our ancient friend John Vanderwerf has been as yet our interpreter. We have spent most part of this week in writing to our friends.

1797, 1st month 1st.—Being first-day, we had again two meetings, to some satisfaction. Though the present race of Friends are pretty much run out, yet there seems some ground to hope the candle will not go quite out. There are some who seem looking towards Friends in this city. I found a young man, whose father had disowned him on account of his religious principles; he seemed tender, and often lamented the great lack of a father in the church. This city is very large, containing about three hundred thousand inhabitants, mostly Calvinists. Here also are many Jews, a great part of whom seem to be poor. They appear in all parts of Europe to experience, and to feel to be true, what Moses told them, “That if they did not keep the law of their God, and walk in his covenant, they should be the tail and not the head, they should go bowed down always.” Our opportunities here have not been extensive for lack of an interpreter, though I thought I felt as much love towards these people as any I had met with.

1st month 11th.—Being first-day, we had two more meetings, to good satisfaction; the people behaved very well; and we parted in much nearness of spirit. 9th.—We spent this day in finishing our letters, and prepared to leave this city. In the evening came two young men, one of them from Manchester, that had been convinced of Friends' principles. We had some conversation with them, and parted in much love. 10th.—We took leave of our friend John Vanderwerf and his son in near love, and went to a very beautiful city called Haarlem, about ten miles from Amsterdam. To describe the country of Holland is beyond what I can attempt or pretend to do, as it exceeds, for improvement and beauty, any part I have seen in Europe. We passed on about twenty-two miles, to the city of Leyden, which appeared to be no great place of trade, but very beautiful for situation, and much famed as the seat of learning. The people seem, as in other cities, friendly towards us, as far as we could discover. It contains, by information, about seventy thousand inhabitants, is very clean and quiet, and the people appear to be very moderate in their dress and very neat. I felt much love towards them, though I had not any conversation with them on religious subjects. We stayed a short time, and proceeded to the Hague, about twelve miles, and put up at a very good Inn.

1st month 11th.—We visited the American Minister, John Quincy Adams, from Boston, who received us very kindly, and appeared disposed to do anything for us he could, in the line of his appointment. We were desirous that William Farrer should have a line from some one in power but as he was an Englishman, we could not obtain any toleration from him for William Farrer to go to France: he recommended us to the French Minister, and sent his servant to show us where he lived. When on our way I was conducted into the place where the National Convention sat. About two hundred were present, who appeared in great state, some of them with their hats on. They required ours to be taken off, which we refused, and after a short time withdrew. Not finding the French Minister at his house, we were conducted by our guide to see the gardens and houses or palaces of the late Stadtholder's wife and daughters, which indeed were very beautiful, and are now occupied by the French Ministers. On viewing these works and buildings, I was led to consider the uncertainty of all human grandeur and acquisitions; and with the King of Israel to say, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." True it is when our hearts are set upon earthly things, however flattering the prospects. The French Minister received us very kindly, and served us as far as was in his power; but said he could do nothing for an Englishman, though he thought he might pass without much danger, being in company with us. He appeared to be of an open disposition, and expressed a regard for us as a religious society.

This city is said by some to be the most beautiful of any in Europe; and as we passed through, we thought we had not seen anything to equal it. The canals are many of them wide, and rows of large beautiful trees, all trained alike, on each side. Some streets are so wide as to have two paved ways for carriages; and between them, a fine walk for foot people; so that here are fine rows of trees that make it look like a city rising on the edge of a large wood. There are, by information, about fifty thousand inhabitants, and they generally appear very respectable. It is the seat of government. There are none of our society in it, nor did we hear of any religious people in the place, so that we saw no door open for religious labor.

1797, 1st month 12th.—Left the Hague, and proceeded about twelve miles to Rotterdam. We passed through several fine towns and villages, a most pleasing country, and arrived about two o'clock. Here I found a young man from America, of the name of White, a native of Pittsfield, thirty miles east of the North river. He seemed to be a kind-hearted young man, who said he thought our business very laudable, to seek the poor and afflicted; as I had informed him that we had Friends in France, and were going to seek after them. The mental exercise of this day has been after more patience, and a disposition to make the best of whatever happens; to hope all things, and believe all things, so far as to take, in the most favorable light, what we meet with, which is our duty, and as such must tend to our happiness. I am also concerned that I may see with clearness what will be right to do next, in the line of our service.

13th.—We spent in visiting some English families, and found many who appeared glad to see us, particularly a man named Shadrach Jones, who, with his wife, showed us much kindness. Cornelius Lloyd, a descendant of Friends, and a widow of the name of Tafield, with her son-in-law, were also kind to us. Many of the inhabitants speak English, as many English and Scotch have settled here. The navigation is carried on with more ease than in any city we have met with in Holland; as ships of burden come up into the heart of the city by their canals. The river, the Meuse, is navigable above twenty miles above the town, and is banked off from the town, as is generally the case in Holland. The banks are very large and expensive, but the people appear very rich, and their city beautiful and clean. We found the people generally civil.

1st month 15th.—First-day, we had two meetings, in the meeting-house belonging to Friends in London, as all the Friends are dead or removed that formerly occupied it. The first was not large, but we were favored to feel that the Shepherd of Israel was near, and the meeting concluded under a sweet covering. In the afternoon the number was much increased, and the power of truth arose, to the tendering of many minds. Our acquaintance having increased, we felt easy to propose a meeting for second-day evening. When the people had gathered, many could not get in, and the Master of our assemblies favored us with a refreshing season. The next evening, being the 17th, we had a meeting in the Episcopal Church, where the people behaved well, and the Lord was pleased to favor us with a degree of his life-giving presence, and I left it much comforted. I had been growing poorly for two days, and could not walk to the meeting, being so weak and unwell. My disorder increased so as to confine me to bed most of a day, attended with fever, and I could take no food with comfort. Many have been my secret exercises, not only from being in a foreign land, but without any that professed with me as to religion, except my companions; and confined to an Inn amongst Roman Catholics, who knew not anything of me or my religious character; and no female nurse to call upon. But this was made more comfortable than I could expect, as I often felt some secret springs of Divine love opened, that gave me comfort; though I could not see how it might turn with me. The families before mentioned were very kind and attentive to me, and brought several things that they had prepared after the English fashion, deeming that most agreeable.

1st month 20th.—I am rather better, and hope springs up that I shall be out again soon.

21st.—I still continue to increase in strength, and my physician thinks I shall get out in a few days. I still find much lack of patience and resignation to the Divine will.

29th.—I have attended several meetings, which gave me much relief, and on the 30th and 31st visited a number of my friends, and took leave of them in much brotherly love and affection.

2nd month 1st.—Left Rotterdam and proceeded in a passage-boat towards Flanders. There appears to be a number of tender people in Rotterdam, who seem as a seed hid under many of the cares and concerns of this world. My going on my present journey has been attended with many exercises, as I have parted with my kind companion Willam Farrer, who has borne me company nearly sixteen months; in which time we have traveled through many exercises, and as I have often been unwell, he has attended me with care and affection. At Rotterdam I received a number of letters from my family and friends in America, which afforded me much comfort to find they were all in health, and my family blessed with the continued care of Infinite Goodness, and desires prevailing with them to be found in the way of well-doing. This has been a great comfort to me in my lonely state, while I am as a pilgrim in a strange land. The people here, as in other parts of Holland, are very industrious and careful; they appear to live comfortably, and many of them are wealthy. They are a people not inclined to much intimacy with strangers, as they seem happy in their own way, and among themselves.

2nd month 4th.—I have had many secret exercises which have been of a most trying nature, on entering a land whose language I was altogether a stranger unto, and whose laws and customs were also strange; there was war also, and a probability of its increasing. All these circumstances made my way look more gloomy, and at times tended to weaken my faith with respect to our getting along; yet as I apprehended I should not feel easy without making a trial, I gave up to it, and what may be the event is uncertain. I have several times conversed with the passengers, who are mostly from Flanders, or on its borders, and who speak Low Dutch, or a mixture of Dutch and French. They appeared kind towards us, and seemed willing to help us forward. Our way of traveling being by water, at this time of the year, it was very trying to my weak constitution; being in the cabin without fire, and much damp and foggy weather; but He that commands the winds and seas has hitherto helped; in whom alone I humbly trust and depend for strength of body and of mind, and to whom be the glory and praise forevermore.

2nd month 5th.—We landed at Sluys, a town about one hundred and thirty miles from Rotterdam, formerly belonging to Holland, in Flanders; but now under the direction of the French Republic. This town withstood the French army more than twenty days, but was finally obliged to submit. During the siege it suffered much; many of its inhabitants were killed, and many of the buildings much defaced by the bombs, cannon, etc.

After being landed, I felt desirous to get where I could rest and nurse myself until I got better; and being conducted to an Inn, found a very obliging landlord and his wife, and everything very comfortable and convenient, which tended very much to my comfort. Yet exercises of mind remained, being amongst a strange people, and where a law existed that required every person, both male and female, to wear a cockade in their hats, as a mark of unity with the Government, and the war then carrying on

between several of the powers of Europe; but knowing that we had a testimony against war, we could not do this, which made our way look dark; as the people told us we were in danger from the mob, and of severe imprisonment if we did not comply; and also that it would be impossible to proceed unless we would comply with the laws of the country. But faith in Him that can and does overrule the nations, and makes a way beyond what we can reasonably expect, sprang up.

There appears a great difference between this place and Holland, both as to the manners of the people and their buildings; and they seem to be less cleanly than the Hollanders. The religion here is that of the Roman Catholic. I understood there were no Protestants here. After spending two days, we set off for Bruges, twelve English miles, where we lodged, and found the people very civil and kind to us, making no inquiry about our not conforming to their laws respecting our hats. On our way we stopped at a poor Inn for our coachman to feed his horses, where a very good-looking young man came to the coach where we were sitting, and spoke to us in English, and informed us that he knew our friends at Dunkirk, and that he was an agent from some part of America. He invited us into the house. We informed him what we had heard respecting our hats: he told us a law had existed, but that they had exempted our Society, and that we might proceed without molestation. He openly told the people then present that we were not under that law, and offered us all the service that lay in his power: informing us where he resided, and to make his house a home.

We reached Dunkirk about five o'clock, and soon found our friend Benjamin Hussey, who received us very kindly; his wife being a kind friend and good nurse, I soon felt altered for the better. I took lodgings with these kind friends; but my companions, William Savery and Benjamin Johnson, went to the widow Gardner's, a Friend from Nantucket, where they were very kindly received. We rested here two days, in which time William Savery was taken ill with a cold.

2nd month 17th.—They left Dunkirk for Paris, where, as William Savery relates, they had an interview with Thomas Paine, to little satisfaction. They had to lament over the vice and infidelity which abounds in that city, and found little opening for religious service. From Paris they reached Fontainebleau, 2nd month 25th, and Lyons on 3rd month 6th.

David Sands remarks: As we entered Lyons we saw the ruins of many large buildings on the side of the river, and the rocks seem almost perpendicular; for more than a mile there is but little room for building on level ground; and where it is in the power of art to form a place to build a house, there is one; so that in some parts of the city they appear to be one above another, until they reach the top of the mountain. The houses on the level parts of the city are most of them from three to six stories high, and very thickly crowded, so that there is but little room left for passengers. This city is called the second in France, and suffered much in the dispute with the Republicans, during a siege of several weeks, before they submitted to the general government; but now they appeared very quiet and in business; so that things amongst themselves are, I hope, growing more comfortable. It contains about one hundred and forty thousand inhabitants; its situation is very wild and beautiful; they appear to be a wealthy people. We tarried here one night and part of two days.

3rd month 8th.—We took our passage down the river, in a flat kind of batteau or shallop, with many other passengers. At night we landed at a village, where we lodged, this being their custom, as the river is difficult to navigate, winding through amongst mountains: there are many shoals, on which our shallop often struck. We continued to pursue our course through a very mountainous country, though mostly under cultivation; and to a stranger it looks almost impossible for human beings to climb and work on places nearly perpendicular. Many families build a kind of house or cave where they dwell, in the side of the mountain, in their vineyards. In every small opening, where the mountain does not reach the bank of the river, is a village. One night we lodged in Montlemart, a very ancient city, the wall of which was said to have been built by Julius Caesar. The manner of building appeared very plain and strong. There was not much appearance of business, and the people being poor, we found much difficulty in obtaining lodging among them.

The next day we passed within a few miles of the Alps, where everything wore the appearance of the depth of winter. We met with a man of note in the world, who told me he had once attempted to ascend the highest of them; he traveled five days, though still he found himself far from the top, and so became discouraged from further attempt to gratify his curiosity, in seeing that line of the Alps whose tops were never known to be clear of snow. On the third day, we left our shallop, as the wind blew too hard for us to continue, and traveled about twelve miles, to a very ancient city called Pontesprit, in a carriage belonging to the person before mentioned, who had been very kind to me in particular. He was a man of good education and manners, and seemed much interested in our favor, and said he owned our principles and approved them, and that he had some thoughts of going to America. He informed me that this city had stood for more than two thousand years, and was built by the Romans, and a bridge of stone which we crossed, near forty feet high, of great length, was built by Julius Caesar. This city is strongly walled, with many other indications of having been held in high estimation, but is now much neglected. The houses are high, and so crowded together, that a common width carriage could not pass through between them. The people looked at us with a kind of pleasing astonishment, and some spoke as we passed them. We intended to have gone farther to lodge, but were informed it was very dangerous traveling at night on account of robbers, who frequently both robbed and murdered people. We concluded to tarry there that night, and had very comfortable entertainment. Next morning we set forward with our friend, and went to a city called Bagniol, where we tarried a day and night. In this place, several people of some note in the world visited us, with whom we had some friendly conversation, and to whom we gave books, which they appeared to receive very gladly. Here we parted with our friend who had brought us thus far, after having given him some books, which he received very kindly.

We then set out for Nismes, in a small cart, which was very fatiguing, as it traveled slow, and was crowded with passengers. Most of the day was dull and rainy.

## CHAPTER IO

*Arrival at Congenies—Giles's—Nismes—Return to Paris—Dunkirk—London—Letter to M. Linskill—*

*To Isaac Cooke.*

3rd month 12th.—Reached Nismes, where we lodged, and finding none of our friends there, after paying a visit to the mother of John de Marselac, who is now in America, we took a conveyance to go to Congenies, which we had traveled so far to see, and where we arrived 3rd month 13th. Lewis Majolier came to the Inn and took us to his house, where we met several of those called Friends, who were pleased to see us. To express the feeling and exercise attending my mind since I left Paris is out of my power; but this I can say, the Lord is good, and his loving-kindness has been abundantly and renewedly manifested to me from time to time; and I have been strengthened beyond my expectation; having traveled in rains and all kinds of weather, and been preserved from taking cold, or being otherwise indisposed so as to lay by one day, and am now in better health of body, and more peaceful in mind, than I have been since being on the Continent. The hope of being soon at liberty to return to my friends in England, and, if the Lord permit, to my family in America, affords me a sweet comfort beyond what words can set forth. The state of the friendly people here whom we came to visit appears low at this time: many have flinched from the religious profession that they once made, during the present war; yet there remains a small number who appear concerned for the cause of righteousness, who are made near to us in Gospel love; and a hope remains that many of the scattered ones will be again brought to the fold; and that the Lord will yet raise up a people here, who shall show forth his praise.

3rd month 14th.—We had a meeting, where most of those who had been considered friendly attended. Both William Savery and myself having something to offer, though in a broken manner; as there were none who could interpret for us except my young friend, Benjamin Johnson, who, understanding a little French, assisted another Friend, who could speak a little English; so that the substance of what was delivered was not lost. After we had relieved our minds, Lewis Majolier spoke at length to them; and after him, another arose and took off his hat, which had a cockade on it; he also had much to say, and was followed by an ancient Friend, who spoke for a length of time; and though it appeared singular, a solemnity seemed over the meeting, and we were favored to part in much nearness of heart. We spent most of the next day in visiting families; though we could say but little, yet something very solemn attended, and they were often much broken. We found about fifteen families who called themselves Friends, whom we visited, which occupied our time until first-day, the 19th, when we had two meetings, attended by about seventy persons. We prepared in writing what we wished to say: we had it translated and read at the close of the forenoon meeting, which affected them much, and the meeting parted without much more being said, except by their own members.

The afternoon meeting appeared still more solemn, as there were many things brought forth of which they gathered the substance; we parted again in a very tender and broken manner. We found that in their troubles, during this present year, they had dropped three monthly meetings; which brought an exercise over our minds, and a concern to propose the reviving of them again; this we found many of them desirous of; and having proposed the time for the meeting, there came about forty of those they called members, who appeared solid. None of them were plain in their dress, so as to hold up our testimony in that respect; yet they acknowledged the propriety of it, and seemed under some concern for an

improvement in that and other respects; so that a comfortable hope was experienced that they would make such alterations as were necessary for their own present good and the honor of their profession. They are a very kind hospitable people, though generally in low circumstances, and we felt much sympathy for them. They live in a very beautiful valley (the mountains lying on the north and east) which is under cultivation with vines, almonds, olives, and figs, which affords a beautiful prospect from the small adjoining mountain. We saw mountains covered with deep snow, while others were in a flourishing state. South of the village, we had a view of the Mediterranean sea. They work in the sides of the mountain with great labor and pains: it is said the best olives in France grow there. The people here keep no cows, but are supplied with milk from the sheep and goats.

Having done what we apprehended was our duty, we took leave of our friends in much nearness of spirit, recommending them to the Shepherd of Israel; as not expecting to see them again in this world; and I felt a full reward for all my trouble. I may, in much humility, mention that, before we took leave, I felt drawn to supplicate the Great Father of the family, which was a new trial, as there were none to interpret; having submitted to the intimation of the Divine will, I thought I had seldom had more strength given, and the people appeared much affected; so that the Lord works by his Spirit when and as he pleases, even where the words spoken are not understood by the outward ear. We parted from these tender people after spending eighteen days with them, being a longer time than we intended; having been detained by the illness of our young friend Benjamin Johnson. The Lord was pleased to raise him so far that we felt it safe to leave him a few days to rest, and to meet us at Nismes.

3rd month 80th.—We left Congenies, and reached Giles's near night, traveling over a very rough way, which fatigued me very much, as my horse was poor and myself feeble. We were conducted by our friends to the house of Peter Massignon, who received us very kindly; several others soon came, who call themselves Friends, though they had no appearance of it by their dress, yet seemed very glad to see us. In the evening we had a meeting with them, where about fifty very sober kind of people attended, who seemed acquainted with sitting in silence. The meeting seemed to be owned by the Lord's presence, and several short testimonies were borne, though I felt it my place to keep silence, as I have done most of the time since I have been here; the meeting parted solidly. We visited some of them in their families, which was a time of favor. Next day we had two meetings; that in the morning was attended by about seventy persons, and several testimonies were borne. One by a young woman, Mary Ventigole, who had acceptably appeared in the ministry; and two of them were lively in their gifts. They seemed to have a very great influence on the people. Our meeting in the afternoon was not quite so large, but appeared to be a tender time. In this meeting I felt drawn to prayer; it was a season that greatly refreshed my deeply-tried mind; and though the people did not understand my language, yet they felt their hearts humbled much; and soon after I arose, a young man appeared, in ministry, in a very tender broken manner, it being the first time, and the assembly was much affected. Thus our meeting was crowned with life, and we parted under the solid covering that had been felt to be over us. In the evening we assembled a few of the most concerned men and women, to lay before them some things affecting their society, which they seemed willing to take into consideration.

4th month 1st.—This day being wet, we have not been able to get out; but, at seven o'clock in the evening had a meeting, which the most of them attended, and we were favored to feel our minds measurably baptized by the one Spirit into one body; and after opening our prospects to them, respecting the necessity of keeping up their meetings in the authority of truth, they appeared sensible of the necessity of dwelling near the Fountain of Life. We then felt easy to inform them that we intended leaving the next morning, when most of them came to take leave of us. It was a season in which our hearts were tendered, not expecting to meet again.

Proceeded three leagues to Nismes. This city has many places of antiquity. That which most particularly struck my attention was one said to have been built forty years before the birth of Christ; and one other building, which appears very ancient, as the pillars, though of hewn stone, were much wasted by time. Here is a fountain which rises at the foot of a mountain that lies on the west of the town, and affords an abundance of water, which runs through the city: it is about three rods wide and five feet deep. This appears to have been a place of great repute in the time of the Roman government, which was its most flourishing period, more than a thousand years since. We here met with several people who treated us respectfully. We parted with our friends of Giles's at Nismes, who had stayed with us in much nearness of spirit, and proceeded on our way. We reached Lyons 4th month 9th. Here we tarried two days, for Benjamin Johnson to recover his health, which he did sufficiently to travel. The country, since we left Lyons, looks very fine and highly cultivated; the valleys spread wide, and are the most beautiful I have seen in France. The cities and villages are near each other, and all seem flourishing. Having pursued our journey, as Benjamin's health would permit;

4th month 20th.—We arrived at Paris, where we again met with our former friends, and I believe we were rejoiced to meet again. After staying a night there, we laid our intention of leaving before the American Consul, who engaged to provide us with a passport, and forward it to Dunkirk.

On the 25th, we left Paris, after having taken leave of several of our countrymen, amongst whom was a kinsman, a son of Comfort Sands. On our way, we met with an Englishman, who invited us to his house, as we could go no further, owing to our carriage having given way. We found him of an open disposition, but in his principles he inclined to Deism. He signified he wished well to all men, but as to a hereafter, he did not trouble himself about it. We proposed having a meeting, as there were several Englishmen there; but he thought it would not be expedient at that time, considering the state of the French nation; as they were living among them, and they were already very jealous of them. We tarried until the next afternoon. He invited us to take breakfast and dinner with him, which we accepted; and took a walk with him to see the seat of the Prince of Conde, who had fled, during the troubles, into Germany. The situation and buildings, I thought, exceeded anything I had seen in France. It looked as though nature and art had united to render this place every way desirable; the waters around it, with an abundance of fish; the various walks winding through woods, with beautiful plains and delightful meadows, all unite in one view, rendering it desirable to possess, and highly pleasing to look upon. Yet, what is it, when compared with the expected joys of an eternal inheritance, when the honors and distresses that attend the things of this world are felt no more? This place now lies desolate, though some

part of the estate is occupied by our aforesaid friend, whose name is Potter; he carries on the making of china, and many other branches, and has in his employment about one hundred men. We found several here who were called Quakers, who have come from England. We left some books with them, and took leave, after having a little to offer by way of advice, of a religious nature.

4th month 24th.—We arrived at Dunkirk much fatigued: having traveled seven hundred miles with but little stopping, we were glad of a little rest, but my prospect was to go to Geneva. I felt but little satisfaction or rest here; yet as I did not act in willful disobedience, and as Benjamin Johnson had been long sick, and William Savery under the necessity of keeping with him, we came to this city, where we have been waiting for an opportunity to get back to England.

We have had two meetings that were in a good measure favored seasons, to the renewing of our strength, and that of the few Friends in this place, and some others who attended the meetings. We waited many days before receiving any passport; during which time we had several meetings to general satisfaction. A way was opened for us beyond our expectation, as the mayor and some of the principal people became concerned for us; and after proposing many plans with which we could not feel easy, such as passing under the names of others (which was frequently done) in order to get away, as no vessel could leave for any English port. However, we could not feel easy without letting the magistrates know it was our intention to go to England, if we could get there; that we would not clear for any port; only wishing to go on board a ship to get out of their ports, which was not taken ill by him; but seeing our uprightness, they were the more loving towards us, and made matters so as to be quite easy to us.

5th month 14th.—We left Dunkirk with Captain Johnson, who agreed to land us in England, where we arrived the next day, after a pleasant passage; but we soon perceived that we had a new trial to encounter, as the captain told us he was obliged to land us in the night or secretly; as it was against the laws to land any from France. We objected to proceeding in this way, and while consulting what course to pursue, a small fishing boat came alongside; and we agreed with the captain to land us at Margate; or if they objected to our landing there, to carry us to Gravesend. We therefore left the ship; and the fishermen landed us at the former place, where, being examined by an officer, we told him our business and from where we were come. He said we could not land, and that the boatman who brought us was liable to be fined. We told him we had no intention of landing contrary to law, which made him easy. Several of our friends came to see us, particularly a young woman with whom I had before a near acquaintance. They were very anxious for our landing, but considering our delicate situation, we chose rather to go to Gravesend. Our dear friends gave us up, after furnishing us with some necessaries, which we stood in need of. After a trying passage, considering that we had scarcely a place where we could lie down, through the goodness of the Lord we were favored to land safely next day, about ten o'clock. After resting a short time, (having left our dear friend Benjamin Johnson at Margate, where he was permitted to land as he was very sick), we took passage to London, without any questions being asked, where we arrived

5th month 16th, 1797, and were received with much openness by our beloved friends. The following

letter, addressed to M. L. of Whitby, affords lively evidence of the humble yet confiding frame of his mind at this time, in the review of his Continental travels:—

Dear Friend

Our beloved friend George Saunders being here, by whom I have been informed not only of your health, but of many others of my near friends in the north, which has afforded me much satisfaction. I have been favored much as to my health since I left England, and am at present much better than when I was traveling in the north of England. I often think of you as a sister who has been made near in the best sense, and who, I believe, travails with me in desire for the prosperity of truth. I sometimes find my mind turned to look towards Whitby, and I think it may be possible that I may break bread under your roof; but as to the time, I must leave it for the present. I may inform you that I met with much openness in many places, when on the continent, amongst different nations and classes of people; so that, in looking back, I feel a comfortable hope that I have not run wholly in vain; yet have abundant cause to reflect on my own unfruitfulness and unworthiness; but I am supported so as to move forward as way may open, in humble hope that I shall be as one accepted; if not for my own sake, for the sake of the Beloved of souls; in whose name, and by whose righteous Spirit, I expect to be justified.

I lately heard from my family, who were all well, and, I believe, endeavoring to do well every way. Dear George Saunders is waiting, and meeting time near; I must therefore conclude, and in near affection and tender love to you and Friends in Whitby, I do desire that the Lord may bless both you and them with the choicest blessings of the goodly mountains; that, under his care and protection, we may all journey forward; and at last be admitted into those beautiful mansions, where the morning stars sing together, and all the sons of God shout for joy.

Farewell, my dear sister in Gospel fellowship: your affectionate brother in Christ,

David Sands

London, 6th month 5th, 1797

The following extract of a letter from David Sands to Isaac Cooke, of Manchester, though not in the order of date, yet having come to the hands of the editor, is thought worthy of a place in these pages:

Dear Friend—

In much sympathy and true brotherly love I present you with these lines, being much disappointed in not meeting you here. I hope you are on the mending hand, and that I shall yet be favored to enjoy under your roof, and amongst your very affectionate children, a few more of such agreeable hours, of which I have already passed so many; when we had, added to our family comforts, that of a most agreeable circle of dear brethren and sisters; and above all, the Divine Master's presence to crown our little assembly; when our parlor became as the school and nursing-room for the disciples and children of Christ.

As to the business of the day, you may be better informed than by me at present; but may let you know I am nearly through the visit to the families of Friends, except to those in this place; and though it is a work which has required much patience and perseverance, yet it now affords me a secret satisfaction, and I seem clear that stopping amongst you, and visiting the families in this monthly meeting, has been the way of peace.

Now, dear Isaac, I have little more to say than that I wish you to keep above sinking under your varied exercises; as I think you have no just cause to distrust the arm that has always borne you up under all your former troubles, and brought you up as from Jordan's bottom, more fit for the Master's use than when you were going into it. You have my little help in spirit, which will not hurt you, if it does you no good. If the state of your family did not prevent, I should write you to meet me at Langtree meeting tomorrow. You are still near and dear to me, with your companion and children. I take leave in much love and affection, and rest your affectionate friend,

David Sands.

P. S.—My love to dear John Thorpe, with whom I have felt much since I heard of his trials in his family, followed by his own indisposition: and to all my friends in your freedom, in Manchester: for sure I am, I love you, and you are near to my best feelings as a meeting. I often look back with a humble hope of your growth in the best things.

David Sands

Warrington, 12th month 15th, 1795.

## CHAPTER II

*Attends the Yearly Meeting—Quarterly Meetings at Banbury—Buckingham—Reflections on Visit to Jordan's Burial Ground—Woodstock—Letter from Ebenezer Cresson—Travels in Wales—Arrival at Waterford—At Clonmell—Letter from James Bringham—Visits Cork—Limerick.*

Before resuming the Journal kept by David Sands, of his labors and services in England and Ireland, it may be proper to remark, that for the last twelve months he had been subject to frequent threatenings of serious interruptions to his health, which involved him at times in deep trial and anxiety, especially when traveling amongst people of a strange language; yet, during that journey, he was generally soon recruited again. It is highly probable that his long and hard travels in the newly settled parts of his native land, where proper accommodation was scarcely to be had, and his deep trials by shipwreck and at sea, which were both of a bodily and mental character, had impaired his constitution, and affected his nervous system. Hence it will be found that, in his subsequent travels, there were frequent interruptions to his progress, having sometimes to lay up for several weeks together. We shall now proceed with his own account:

1797. The yearly meeting coming on, I was glad of an opportunity to rest a few days. The select meeting began the 20th of 5th month. This was a very solemn meeting, and I have sometimes observed that the yearly meeting throughout has been very much of a similar character as the select meeting has previously been, and I have sometimes called it a “forerunner;” as indeed this was, in the opinion of Friends, a very favored one. Many matters were brought forward, and the state of Society gone into very weightily; and Friends appeared to be preserved under a humbling sense of their own insufficiency to transact the affairs of the church, but as they were favored by Him who has hitherto been the stay and strength of his people. My health was such as to enable me to attend all the sittings of the meeting, which continued, by adjournments, until the 30th of the 5th month. The business being over, Friends parted under a sense of Divine favor. I continued in and about London, visiting my friends and the different meetings, until the 23rd of 6th month, when I felt easy to move towards Bristol; my kind host, Joseph Smith, bearing me company.

On the 25th, had a meeting in Oxford, a place long esteemed as the seat of learning. Here are a few Friends, but they do not hold a meeting. From this city I proceeded to Banbury, where the quarterly meeting was held for the counties of Berks and Oxford, which was a favored meeting in many respects. I was much spent when it was over, but soon recovered, so as to attend the quarterly meeting at Buckingham, which was also a favored one. After the close of this meeting, my friend Joseph Smith left me, and John Lury became my companion.

6th month 30th.—I had a meeting at Jordan's; on my way I called to see the place where Thomas Ellwood had lived, called Hunger-hill. The house appears to have been but poor in its best day, and is now much decayed. It was long used for the monthly meeting, or one room of it, which now serves as a kitchen. Taken together with the thought of the worthies who used to attend meetings here, it was a lesson of instruction. I was ready to say, “How is the gold changed!” Though there is a very convenient meeting-house at Jordan's, and a beautiful burying-ground, with stable and walks in a small wood belonging to Friends, there are now but two ancient men, who attend to keep up the meeting. Notice being given, many attended, and we had a meeting to some satisfaction; but such places seemed to be but dry spots, where Friends have been thriving as a society and are gone. After meeting, I went to see the graveyard, and one of the old men showed me where lay William Penn, his two wives and eight of his children; Isaac Penington and wife, Thomas Ellwood and wife, and several others of the most worthy of our Society, who were useful men in carrying forward the Reformation. This graveyard is kept in the neatest manner; the graves are raised so as to be seen distinctly, and most of them are known by the aged Friend. I observed all whose names I have mentioned were in one row, very close to each other, with many others who had been laborers in their day. I thought there seemed to be something there more than I had ever seen or felt before, in visiting the sepulchers of the worthies who were gone; yet I was ready to look down and say, is it possible that this little spot contains the mortal remains of all those great men who once made the world wonder; some of whose talents were rarely equalled, and whose tongues were so capable of setting forth the work and the way to obtain an immortal crown, and the joys of it? But alas! so it is, and will be. “Man is of few days, and vanishes away with all his parts and powers. After taking a view of these sods or spots of grass, I returned to my kind friend Adey Bel-

lamy's, at High Wycomb, a place often mentioned by Thomas Ellwood, where now live several Friends who hold meetings, and seem likely to grow. I had some service here among several families.

On first-day morning, I was at a burial, to which many people came; it was a time of favor, as was also a meeting held in the evening, at the same place. From there I returned to High Wycomb, where I had a public meeting, to much satisfaction; and had several opportunities among Friends, and was at the monthly meeting. I attended a meeting appointed by Ann Alexander and her companion, held near Jordan's, much to my own and their satisfaction. Many persons attended, and much of the service fell on me.

From this place I again proceeded towards Bristol; stopped on my way at Oxford, and had much comfort with the few Friends who live there. I then went to see a large library erected by Dr. Ratcliff; the building and books said to have cost forty thousand pounds, which I thought very poorly laid out, as most of the books seemed more for ornament than use. I also visited All-Saints' College, but saw little worthy of remark, except having been treated civilly by the scholars and inhabitants. We then proceeded towards Chipping Norton. On our way we stopped at Woodstock, where is the seat of the Duke of Marlborough; and where was the residence formerly of several of the kings; but the building was pulled down before the present one was erected. Here I was led to view the shortness of all human glory with a kind of astonishment, as I looked back, and remembered what I had read and heard relative to many who had lived at this place, as all seems to be not only removed out of sight, but no marks of their feet left.

I visited Fair Rosamond's Spring; it still bears her name, and is very beautiful, flowing from the side of a pretty hill; but her fine buildings, and all her fond delights are no more, except a few shattered remains. The delighted monarch, his cruel queen, and fair favorite, are all now laid in dust; no more jars or disputes are heard amongst them. A stone covered with moss, and sullied by time, is perhaps all that remains for the traveler to look upon; and even these have almost abandoned their charge, as the persons who had the care seemed weary of relating who laid beneath. Worn by time, they speak with a faltering voice, so that it is difficult for the traveler to understand what they say. The palace is very large, and beautifully surrounded by fine gardens and sheets of water. It seemed very interesting to me, while contemplating how many had walked there before me, who now were no more; and I was brought by these considerations to reflect on my own situation; how, in a short time, I also should be known among men no more, by any part I should take in human concerns.

Next day I attended a meeting at Chipping Norton, where I was favored to open some points of doctrine, to the satisfaction, I believe, of some present not of our Society.

The following letter from his friend Ebenezer Cresson, of Portland, Maine, was written about this time, and probably received soon after:

Dear Friend—

Feeling, I trust, a degree of that uniting love which time, nor distance, sea or land, cannot extinguish, to flow towards you, I seem willing to write you a few lines, remembering that love is one of the most valuable things. It is now about fourteen months since I have undertaken this pilgrim's life, with our endeared friend John Wigham, (except for about six weeks), in the course of which time we have been through some parts of New York Government, and the greater part of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware States; some parts of Maryland and Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia. We reached Newport in time to attend half the yearly meeting. We have since been on the Island of Nantucket, and attended several meetings on the Main. We are now accompanied by your old companion Joseph Wing, on a long journey to the eastward, perhaps as far as Halifax. I have need of the prayers of those who are favored to approach the Throne of Grace, that I may, through all, be enabled to stand. This is often my prayer, desiring to be preserved from asking any great things, but only that preservation may be vouchsafed from falling, on the right hand or on the left.

Dear friend, remember me; I have often remembered you with affectionate regard, and I trust in sympathy, according to my small measure. Oh! that Zion's borders may be increased; her posts and her cords strengthened; that she may more and more arise and shine in her ancient splendor, and put on strength in the name of the Lord. It now looks as though a considerable shaking was coming over Christendom, so called; and oh! that we may be able to endure the turning and the overturning; that that which cannot be shaken may remain, being founded on that immutable and eternal Rock of ages, against which the very gates of hell cannot prevail. Your wife and son attended the New York yearly meeting, and were well. You have perhaps heard of the sudden and affecting removal of Mary Gray, by a fall out of a chaise; not being sensible after it. What an awful instance of the uncertainty of men's continuance in these poor tabernacles, and an alarming call to others, "Be you also ready." But how often does it sorrowfully happen that such impressions are as characters written in the sand, which are obliterated by a blast of wind! The accounts from Ireland look increasingly awful. How sorrowful is it that nothing but scourges will keep mankind on any dutiful terms! and it is cause of rejoicing when even these have a proper effect. May they be more and more sanctified. The prospect looks gloomy also with regard to England; and what shall be the fate of this country, in the bustle, is behind the curtain. Dear John Wigham desires his love to you.—Farewell; and may we all fare well in the best sense, is my ardent desire.

Ebenezer Cresson.

Portland, Maine, 7th month 10th, 1797.

7th month 16th, 1797.—Went to Burford and put up with Thomas Minchin, whose wife is in the ministry, and appears to be a very valuable minister. From this place I attended many meetings that lay not far distant; in all which I was favored to experience some help, so that I was enabled to get through, to a good degree of satisfaction; and on the 27th I reached Bristol, and was kindly received at the house of my dear friend John Lury, where I tarried until the 20th of 8th month, visiting meetings and families in

Bristol and thereabouts. There are many Friends in this city, very respectable, and many very promising youth. I felt my mind much attached to them, and thought I had not felt a greater nearness to my friends since being in this land; and I believe they received me with much love, especially my much-loved friend James Harford and family.

8th month 20th.—Left Bristol and traveled twenty-four miles, and lodged at a town called Usk in Wales. The following day, traveled about fifty miles through a very mountainous country. We passed many towns, but they, with the inhabitants, appeared far inferior to the towns and people of England. The inhabitants are mostly in low circumstances. We lodged at Llandovery, where the half year's meeting was held for North and South Wales. It continued three days. The sittings of this meeting were attended with a good degree of satisfaction, and Friends parted in much nearness of spirit. Here I parted with my much esteemed friends John Lury and his daughter Lydia, who had been very affectionate to me; and joined in company with my much-loved friends James Harford and his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and his son John. The company of these dear friends made my way look more pleasant than otherwise it would have done.

On the 25th, left Llandovery and proceeded to Llangadoch, where a meeting was held in a barn; and in the evening, attended another at Llandillo, where we lodged.

26th.—Went to Swansea. 27th.—Attended a meeting at Friends' Meeting-house, and in the evening had a meeting in the Town Hall. Swansea appears to have been a place where was a considerable number of Friends, but now they are very much reduced. From this place we went to Neath, a market-town distant eight miles, to the house of our kind friend Evan Rees, who, with his family, are the only Friends in this place. Here we had one public meeting, and attended their fifth-day meeting; and after taking an affectionate leave, set out for Swansea, and arrived on the 31st. Next day, called on W. Padley and had a public meeting.

9th month 3rd, being the first day of the week, we went to Friends' morning meeting, and to an appointed one in the evening. Left Swansea on the 6th, and in the evening arrived at Carmarthen, a sea-port town, twenty-seven miles from Swansea, where once was a considerable number of Friends. On the 7th we had a public meeting; and proceeded to Haverford West, and attended Friends' meeting; and in the evening, an appointed meeting. After visiting some families, attended the week-day meeting in the morning; and in the evening, another appointed one.

9th month 14th.—Had a meeting at New Milford, and returned in the afternoon to Haverford West; and having visited the few families of Friends and a few friendly people, we went to Milford, where we had several meetings amongst Friends and other tender people, to a good degree of satisfaction. 9th month 25th.—I took leave of my dear friend James Harford and children, who had been very kind to me, and went on board a packet bound to Waterford, in Ireland, where we arrived next day, about five p.m. Our passage was unpleasant, through the roughness of the weather; but I suffered little on that account, my exercises being of another kind, which reduced me very much, yet I was graciously preserved above despair. After we landed, I went with my beloved friend, Abraham Jackson, to the city of Waterford,

and took lodging with Thomas White, who received us very kindly. The next day, attended their meeting, where were gathered a large body of plain-looking Friends. I felt quite shut up in the morning meeting, and was very low in the afternoon, yet had a few words to offer, and proposed a meeting to be held in the evening. There was assembled a large body of respectable people, and I thought that some help was experienced; so that the meeting was in some measure comfortable. I attended their weekday meeting, where also was gathered a large number of people, and I had some labor amongst them; yet the power of truth did not seem to rise high. Since this time, being unwell, I have traveled but little, except to visit a few families, and attend their meetings, as they came in course. As I seem bound to remain here until the quarterly meeting, I have continued to visit families, though but few in a day, as my health is poor.

10th month 14th.—The meeting for ministers and elders began, which I attended, and found some relief in opening my mind to them respecting some matters, especially relating to ministers and elders dwelling in unity, in order to the maintaining a harmonious labor. The quarterly meeting continued five days, as there were many matters brought before it, which required the deep and solid attention of Friends. The business appeared to be conducted in a good degree of brotherly love, and concluded under a solemn weight, that had attended more or less through the several sittings thereof. I have had several satisfactory opportunities, though in general I felt very low, and mostly sat in silence in their meetings for worship, and seemed to feel myself the most like a pilgrim of any time since I left America.

The situation of the people here seems very distressing, as the greater part appear pinched for both food and raiment; and what they call comfortable living seems little besides potatoes and salt, with some milk, and sometimes a meal of fish or flesh. The beggars are very numerous, and seem to be of the most distressed of that sort of people that I have met with. I often found myself straitened in eating more than I thought nature required, and that of the common kind of food. I left Waterford and went to a bathing place (Tramore) that had been recommended by my kind friend and physician Joseph Hoyland, of Waterford. There I spent several days, in company with Mary Dudley and her husband, the latter having come here for the purpose of bathing also. We had a meeting amongst the people of the town, to some satisfaction; Mary Dudley being a very valuable minister, and had, I thought, good service in this meeting.

After having made trial of bathing, and finding myself a little strengthened, I left my near friends and proceeded to Clonmel, and took lodgings with Isaac Jacob, who keeps the school that was established by Robert and Sarah Grubb. They left much of their property for the support of the school; an example for others, to look forward to the welfare of another generation. I seemed much shut up in several meetings, not finding it my place to open my mouth. After spending a little time here with Friends, I went to the place where lived my companion, Abraham Jackson's father, with whom I lodged; who, with his family, were very kind. He had lost his eyesight, but appeared to bear his loss with great patience. At this place I found my mind much relieved, and my body strengthened; and after spending a few days, I returned to Clonmel, and attended a monthly meeting, and one public meeting, to which came many of

the inhabitants; and although the power of truth did not rise as high as in some meetings, yet I felt relieved by it, and returned again to A. Jackson's, where, after tarrying a few days, and visiting some families, I went to Youghall, for the purpose of bathing, but found it would not do for me, as the season was so far advanced.

At this place I found myself much tried with my former complaints, but was enabled to attend meetings as they came in course; but passed them mostly in silence, and with my mind often much exercised. Mary Dudley was here with her husband, for the purpose of bathing, he being very unwell. She was sometimes favored with strength to communicate something to the people: her gift being suitable to administer to those of other societies. I lodged, while here, with William Harvey, whose kindness was very great, with that of his children, he having lost his wife some time before. I tarried here about two weeks, and visited most of the families of Friends, and some of other societies, in company with Mary Dudley, and had several appointed meetings, which I believe were satisfactory to Friends and others. Here my dear friend John Lury, from Bristol, came to join me as a companion, in visiting the nation of Ireland. While at this place I had often to look back on the many trials I have had to pass through in the course of my life; and more especially since I joined the Society of Friends, and have been called to the work of the ministry; and on taking a retrospective view, I am ready to say, how little has been my progress! What need to double my diligence in advancing life! I have read much, and traveled more than most others, yet have advanced nothing to what I apprehend many others have, that have been called long after me. A sense of my own infirmities has of late much impressed my mind; but I hope that a greater improvement will be made, so that when the time of my dissolution comes, I may be found ready. Youghall has a number of promising young people, to whom I felt much nearness. This place appears to have been settled by people from England and Wales; and they having retained something of their forefathers' customs, made it more agreeable to me than in some other places.

11th month 27th.—I left Youghall and came to Cork; distance thirty-two miles. The country is more pleasant than many others; being better cultivated, and the people appear more comfortable. I have been at four meetings. There appears to be a large body of Friends; but I have been ready to conclude there has not been that faithfulness that ought to have been; as they appear to have been a highly favored people. In this city lived Samuel Neale, who had once visited America, and appeared to have been a chosen instrument, and died a few years since.

I received here several letters from my family, expressive of their health, which has given me much comfort; not having heard from them for several months. I have had several public meetings in and about Cork, and two at Kinsale, a seaport town about twelve miles distant; and one at a town called Bandon, also twelve miles distant; all which were to a good degree of satisfaction.

At Kinsale I visited the French prisoners, who complained much of the lack of provisions, as they had lately had their allowances shortened. Here I had a view of the fatal consequences of war, as many of these poor prisoners seemed very ignorant as to knowing why they engaged in a dispute with any nation or people. Oh Lord! when will the time come that an end will be put to these things; when the

earth will enjoy her Sabbaths, and mankind become more as brethren!

Since being in this city I have been much afflicted with various complaints of body, and much exercised in mind, having sat most of the meetings in silence. This city lies very low, and is often overflowed by the rivers which pass through, the principal of which is the river Lee. I have visited many families of Friends here, to a good degree of satisfaction. My esteemed friend Mary Dudley has been at most of the public meetings, as a partner in the work, and her company has been very agreeable. About this time, David Sands was cheered by the receipt of the following valuable letter from his friend, James Bringhurst, of Rhode Island:—

My dear Friend, David Sands—

Under a deep feeling sense of that uniting love which extends over sea and land, cementing together in spirit those who are desirous of becoming the sincere followers of Christ into one bond of fellowship, do I now desire to address you, my beloved friend; and acknowledge the receipt of your very kind and acceptable letter, dated at Dunkirk in the 2nd month last. I was rejoiced to find you were favored to get from place to place with some degree of satisfaction, in these perilous times; and where you and your dear companion, William Savery, had to travel, as at the risk of your lives, through much danger: yet wherein I have not the least doubt that the never-failing arm of Divine Sufficiency was at times experienced, sustaining you through every difficulty, although there were some seasons of sore dismay. Faith might sink to a low ebb, and you be scarcely able to perceive it. Oh, how have I felt and sympathized with you, and have greatly desired you might be yet farther strengthened and abundantly qualified to go through it all, in the heights and in the depths, to the honor of your Great Master, and the abounding peace of your own minds. How have I wished at times that I could in the least degree become assistant in holding up your hands, and in any manner help the work forward; I feel as if I should very gladly do it, I well know there is great need of Aarons and Hurs in the present day. But there are often too many hindering things suffered to take up our minds, filling them with the cumbers and cares of the world, and thereby preventing our truly and earnestly becoming such fellow-helpers in promoting the spread of the glorious everlasting truth.

My dearly beloved friends, for such I can sincerely call you both; I at this time feel much love towards you, as at many other times; you being often in my mind in my lonely walks on the road, and through the fields, where at times I take solitary steps, thinking on the many dangers and various difficulties many of my dear friends have to pass through; and how many there are who, like Gallio of old, “care for none of these things,” though I do believe it is not the case with all. Impressions are made, and I hope lastingly so, on some minds by the preaching of the Gospel, in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power, pulling down and destroying in some, the strongholds which sin has made; those high imaginations in which they were building; bringing all down as under the cross, in true subjection to that holy Spirit of Christ in

them; and thereby we see that, after a thorough change is witnessed, and patience has had its perfect work, such are sometimes mercifully raised again, and made as fellow-helpers in the good work; and this proves a means of encouragement to those who have faithfully labored with them, in seeing the fruits of their earnest endeavors so brought forward and blessed. Thus it has proved in some very dark parts of this continent. At West Harford, in Connecticut, there are now about twenty valuable Friends. They hold their meetings for worship twice a-week at present, in one of their dwelling-houses. They are members of Oblong monthly meeting. I have several times been to see them, and have sent them many Friends' books: many of the people of that State are very desirous of reading such publications.

On our way to Philadelphia, last fall, my wife and I called and spent a day or two with them; and as a strong testimony in their favor, one of the principal men in the Government, Jeremiah Wadsworth, Senator in Congress, meeting with us soon after, in Newhaven, said if he had known we were going to West Harford, when he saw us passing, he would have come out there on first-day, to have spent the day with us. He had been very desirous of being at one of their meetings; saying, some of those people had been valuable men in their lives and conduct, and were not worse now; but that others had been addicted to vices, but were greatly reformed since they had joined with Friends. One had been a deacon among the Presbyterians, who is now become a useful Friend. One has his aged father living in his family, who yet remains in the old bitter persecuting spirit. I told him, when at the house, that I had a hope that his valuable son's good conduct would be a means of convincing him, and of bringing him over to the same wise care for himself

I believe of late many have been shaken from their false rest and love of ease, and that others will be, or at least I hope so; as a fresh visit of sickness, called the yellow fever, has been permitted to remove many of the inhabitants out of the world, in many places this summer; as at Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, etc.: and at Providence, and the town of Bristol, in this State, the people have been greatly alarmed, and some have been aroused to a sense of their duty. But there is danger of these feelings too soon passing away, like the morning dew. The wickedness in many places is become so great that it seems as if good impressions could scarcely be lasting, or fix deep in their minds; the people are so vain, light, and airy. May these afflictive visitations be permitted to have their proper effect, is my earnest desire. Our great and kind Almighty Benefactor seems to be trying many ways to bring the people to himself I firmly believe the preaching of the everlasting Gospel has its part therein; and whether the people will hear or not, the Lord's dedicated servants will be clear; who are concerned to labor faithfully with them. Often, very often, have I thought of that dearly-beloved Friend, the late Job Scott, who laid down his life while abroad in the cause; whose memory is very dear to me. Perhaps it may prove encouraging if I here insert a small part of one of the many valuable letters I received from him, a little before his close.

[After mentioning a Friend whom he thought near his end, he says,] "Oh! how often I think

what a blessing it is to have lived to advanced age in the life of truth; to have almost weathered the storms, probations, and manifold temptations of this life, and to be nearly arrived at that happy shore, and at that haven of eternal rest, where Satan himself can no more assault us; where the wicked, who oft in life molest us, must cease from troubling, and where the weary, tried, and often tribulated soul, forever finds the holy rest. Oh me! what unknown conflicts, perils, and snares have I yet to encounter. Oh my God! my only helper, keep, I pray you, and preserve my soul; lest, after all I have known of your love, your aid, your wonders in the deeps, and the turnings of your mighty hand and arm, in many, yea in mighty waters, I unhappily should let go my hold on you, and slide, as many have slidden before me, from the line of your holy commandment. But where, my dear friend, has the unexpected effusions of my heart transported me? Well, forgive me if I deviate from the common law of letter writing. I have my ebbings and flowings, and may be too much influenced by them; but what shall I do with such tender emotions as I sometimes feel when looking at the faithful who have almost run their race, and are (as lively hope is representing it) nearly arrived at the fruition of endless enjoyment. My soul expands at times, under the lively sensations hence arising, in a manner better felt than described.”

Job Scott had his fears respecting himself, yet was enabled to hold out, as a valiant in Israel, to the final close; and, beyond all doubt, is now in that exalted state of bliss, enjoying the fruits of a life spent in toil, for the benefit of others. May you both be encouraged steadily to hold on your way, and I feel no doubt but you will be abundantly blessed through all, to the end, which will then crown you with glory unspeakable. In deep-felt love I remain your sincere friend,

James Bringham

Tiverton, Rhode Island, 10th month 25th, 1797.

12th month 21st.—My valued friend William Savery, with William Farrer, having come to Cork, we had two public meetings, which were, I believe, satisfactory; William Savery having most of the service: and after having the company of each other a few days, we parted, he going to Youghall.

12th month 28th.—Parted with my much-esteemed friend Mary Dudley, and many other friends in Cork, which was trying, as they were made very near to me; but I believed that He whose tender mercies are over all his works, would still be near to those who went, as well as to those that stayed. My kind friend and host, Edward Hatton, accompanied me to Limerick, about fifty-six Irish miles, where we arrived on the 30th.

In coming to this city we passed through many towns, and a fine tract of country, but the people here live in a poor dirty style; their Inns are very indifferent, and provisions but poorly dressed; but they were friendly towards us, notwithstanding there were great commotions, and the spirit of war amongst them.

31st.—Being the first day of the week, I attended both meetings, in which I was silent; but proposed a meeting in the evening, which was large, and I hope to some advantage, as a very solemn calm seemed over it. Spent the next day in visiting some families of Friends in the country. On third-day, attended the meeting, in which I had a satisfactory season; and in the evening had a public meeting, and many attended who appeared sober, and the public labor appeared to be well accepted. Not finding my own way open to leave this city, I have spent this day in writing and visiting a few families. There appears here a very goodly company of young Friends, and there is a prospect of more joining them. This city has been strongly fortified, but was surrendered by the natives to Oliver Cromwell; since which it has been under the British Government. Part of the city is called English, from the great number of English that are settled there.

1st month 4th, 1798.—I left Limerick and went to Birr, (now Parson's Town), where a small number of Friends reside, who appear hopeful. We reached it on the 5th, and have had three meetings, one in Friends' meeting-house, and two in the Town Hall, which were very large, and, I believe, satisfactory.

On the 8th, I left this town in much nearness of spirit, both towards Friends and others, and went to Roscrea, and lodged at the house of John Pim, who received us kindly. Next day we had two meetings, both to a degree of satisfaction.

1st month 10th.—Attended a meeting at Knock, to satisfaction; after which we went to Monrath, and on the 11th had two meetings, one principally with Friends, and the other more of other societies. Here is a pretty large number of Friends. I lodged with James Walpole, who, with his wife, was very kind, and had a comfortable opportunity in his family. I went to a meeting about six miles distant, where was gathered a pretty large company of Friends and others, which proved a favored time. I had a little meeting in the evening, and one the next day, on our way to Mountmelick, was very satisfactory. The people who attended were mostly of other societies. I have often admired that they should be so kindhearted as many of them appeared to be. We reached Mountmelick about five o'clock, and took lodging at John Gatchell's, where lived our friend Mary Ridgway, who had visited America, but she was not at home. We stayed there three days, and were at two meetings on first-day. Next day visited some families, and one school; and before we left we visited all the schools, (as there are a number), to good satisfaction. We went about fourteen miles to Rathangan, where Jane Watson resides, who also has visited America.

## CHAPTER 12

*Illness at Edinderry—Arrival in Dublin—Breaking out of the Rebellion—Ravages of War—Quarterly Meeting at Enniscorthy—Letter to his Wife—Conversion of a Military Officer.*

Having been unwell for some time, I did not attend their meeting at Rathangan. Here I met with Mary Ridgway, who I was glad to see. From hence I went to Edinderry, and attended their monthly meeting, which was small, and things appeared low, though there are several who were active, and the meeting for worship I thought was much favored. Being unwell before, I now increased my complaint by taking

cold, so that I could move no further for the present; and in a few days my disorder increased to such a degree that I consented to call in a physician, who, after several days' trial, could do nothing to my relief I became so reduced I could not help myself. I then sent for Dr. Bell, of Dublin, who, after spending some time, could not do much to my relief, though I considered him a man of judgment. In about three weeks I recovered, so as to be carried in a canal boat to Dublin. To give an account of my sufferings while in Edinderry is out of my power; they having exceeded all that I ever met with before. I was at the house of a kind Friend, whose name was Isaac Jackson; his wife was also very kind, though unacquainted with me or my complaint. The people here being generally of a hardy make, it was more difficult for me; yet I met with kind sympathizing friends, and those who had a near feeling for me, particularly a young woman, who attended me with much kindness and nearness of spirit; and having cast myself on Him who is above all, I experienced His goodness, in manifesting His care and regard towards me.

I reached Dublin, and was carried in a sedan to the house of Thomas Bewley, where I continued near ten weeks, without getting out, except a few times to meeting, having several attacks of my disorder. The aforesaid Dr. Bell attended me through the whole of my illness. My confinement was in every respect a most trying one, it happening that while I was in Dublin the Rebellion broke out, and the people of all descriptions and ranks were much divided, and confusion and bloodshed appeared daily. Many were taken up and found guilty, and suffered death; and many others were put into prison, and some were sent on board of king's ships, and others transported to penal settlements. Many also fled to England and America for protection. Thus new scenes were daily opening of a most melancholy nature, so that I seemed like one plunged into sorrow for myself, and on account of my fellow-creatures; many painful circumstances taking place.

6th month 20th.—I left Dublin, in order to attend the Leinster quarterly meeting, which was held on the 23rd, at Enniscorthy, (several Friends accompanying us.) We stopped at Ballitore, where we held a meeting on the 21st, which place had been greatly distressed by a battle fought a few days before, between the insurgents and the British army, in which many of the former fell. At this place is kept a boarding-school for the tuition of Friends' children, formerly by Richard Shackleton, and now by his son Abraham. From Ballitore we proceeded to Carlow, where we lodged. A number of the slain having lain a few days before in the streets, their blood was yet to be seen. But Friends and their property were wonderfully preserved. From there we passed to Enniscorthy, through a desolated country, the towns and villages mostly burned. When we arrived we were presented with a view of all the horrors of war; the houses had been set on fire the day before, the inhabitants mostly having fled, and those who remained were without the common necessaries of life. On our arrival at Enniscorthy, we were met by a number of officers, who inquired from where we came, and after being informed from Dublin, they asked what we came for; we replied, to attend our quarterly meeting. They queried how we expected to hold it, when the town the day before was in possession of the rebels. Our reply was that we believed way would be opened, at which they appeared satisfied.

We then sought after our friends, as some of them had remained during the siege, this town having been

in possession of the insurgents four weeks. I shall not attempt to describe all their sufferings, but just remark on some of their closest trials, one of which was the frequent, solicitation to change their religion, and embrace the tenets of the Romish church, being told "There must be but one religion in Ireland," (that is, the Roman Catholic.) And I was informed by many Friends that many Protestants did suffer death, and others turned to save their lives. Of the number who suffered were two young men who frequented our meetings, though not members. These stood steadfast, and departed this life with calmness, after saying that, though they were not members of the Society of Friends, yet they could not change their religious opinions, which were those of the Society. After visiting our friends who remained in town, we went into the country about two miles, to seek some others. In our way we saw great numbers of dead bodies, that were slain the day before, some of which we had to remove, to make way for our carriage to pass. Thus destruction appeared in every place, both of lives and property. Many horses, sheep, swine, and goats, were killed. The insurgents' camp was entirely broken up.

The next day we met, and held our select meeting, which, though small, was favored with the overshadowing wing of Divine love; and I believe I may say that the several sittings of the quarterly meeting were also favored: and though we came through many discouragements, yet we rejoiced, not only in seeing our friends, but under a sense of the Lord's goodness, who had made way for us through many troubles. Having concluded our meeting, after taking a solemn leave of each other, I proceeded towards Waterford, taking meetings in my way that lay in the county of Wexford; and had many opportunities with Friends in their families, who had been greatly distressed by the insurgents. And I had also many public meetings, wherein I was often favored to hold forth the truth in a good degree of clearness, and some conviction appeared to take place.

At Ross, I found my friends pleased to see me, and after a short stay I went forward to Clonmell, and to the quarterly meeting held at Limerick, for ministers and elders; where I found some strength to clear my mind. After it concluded I returned to Tencurry (the residence of Abraham Jackson), and after having some public meetings, went to Cork; where I tarried for several months, visiting families, and having public meetings in Bandon, and at several other places. During my stay in Cork, I met with my dear friend William Savery on his return to America; the vessel in which he took passage, putting into Cork harbor to wait for a convoy. During his stay here we had many opportunities together, to our mutual comfort. On board this vessel was Elizabeth Hoyland, a Friend bound to America in order to settle. She appeared to be a worthy woman, and had a valuable gift in the ministry.

The following letter from David Sands to his wife belongs to this period of time:

My dear Wife—

In that love that changes not I most affectionately salute you. In my last I informed you that I was recovering from a very severe fit of sickness, which prevented my traveling for nearly four months, which has detained me in this nation to witness an awful scene of distress and destruction, both of lives and property. I had previously a prospect of what was likely to come upon this nation, and much desired to make my escape before it did come, but was not permit-

ted; and can now say that I believe my being here at this time, is in the ordering of best wisdom; as Friends seemed quite unacquainted with such trials, which have come upon them from various quarters. And though they were often warned of what was coming, yet all would not believe. But now they need no orator to change their minds. I have had many trials in this land, yet have been carried through all thus far. I am now favored with better health than I have been since arriving in this nation. My return this fall seems doubtful at present, but for your comfort I may say that I have met with many things that have been as seals to the propriety of my present detention, and of its being in the appointment of the Head of the Church. Some convincement has appeared in the course of my late journey, and that amongst the men mighty in war. A person who had long approved himself one of the most fearless and undaunted, and an officer of no inferior rank, having sat with us in several meetings which I had in a town that had been besieged, and many lives lost, and from which the clergy had fled, invited me to his house to breakfast, which I felt easy to accept. After it was over, I had a religious opportunity with himself and his family. He was much tendered and reached, as he had been in meeting before. He arose, and stripping off his military clothes, and laying by his sword, asked for some other garments, saying to his wife and children, "I shall never fight more, for I am convinced it is not in accordance with the spirit of Christ. I am a Quaker." Since this, he appears very solid, and I hope he will make a valiant man in the cause of Christ. Many others seemed inclined towards Friends of late. I mention these things for the encouragement of yourself and our dear children, whom I long to see; but whether I ever shall, is uncertain; and I hope, if I never do, we will persevere onward in that line that will bring us together in a better world. I think a more tried man is scarcely to be found, though I do not wish to magnify my difficulties. I know there is no such thing as being a soldier and not having to undergo hardship.

Farewell, my beloved wife: affectionately yours,

David Sands

Waterford, Ireland, 8th month 11th, 1798

## CHAPTER 13

*Letter from Joseph Wing to Clementina Sands—Letter from David Sands to James Harford, of Bristol—Case of Meditated Suicide prevented—Return to England—Letters from Richard Reynolds. The following letter from Joseph Wing to Clementina Sands is deemed worthy of a place in these Memoirs:—*  
*Joseph Wing to Clementina Sands,*

Dear Friend—

Having you and your dear children so fresh in remembrance at this time, I felt a freedom to communicate a few lines, in a sense of that love which changes not. To give you a particular

account of all my travels since I saw you, would swell this to a large bulk; but I may just inform you that it has been my lot to travel twice through Nova Scotia—the last time was with John Wigham. I was three months from home, and traveled by land and water one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five miles. Some part of the journey was very fatiguing. Once we laid at night on the sea-beach, by the side of a fire, and had our saddle-bags to lay our heads on, with our greatcoats to cover us, (amongst swarms of mosquitoes.) Once we lay in the bottom of our boat; and on another occasion we expected to have lain in the woods, without the advantage of fire or food; but just before daylight left us we reached a house. But, fatiguing as it was, I have felt a great satisfaction in it, firmly believing that it will be the lot of those who travel in the work of the ministry, to visit that land oftener than it has been visited. And I thought there was a perceivable growth in some places since last year, or since I was there before: and I do believe that there will be meetings set up in several places in that land. And I think I have very satisfactory information of the growth of our Society in our Eastern country; in particular, where the lot of your dear companion, David Sands, was cast.

Five meetings are now set up within the compass of Vassalborough monthly meeting, since he was there; and two in other monthly meetings. Those within the compass of Vassalborough are, Sidney, Holywell, Bristol, Broadcove, Camden, and the East Ponds. Three meeting-houses are building this summer, thirty feet wide and forty feet long; that at Bristol I think will need an addition in a few years. The information I gave in regard to the spreading of truth, where David had traveled, was thought by some to have been rather exaggerated, especially by those who were ready to take him by the shoulders and haul him home, or push him across the Atlantic Ocean. Such judges as these, who presume to get into Moses' seat, without being in his spirit, I think must be very dangerous persons as to the progress of truth. I trust I shall see one of them in a few days, and if I do, he will hear the truth told him. But to return, and give you some further account of our travels. When we had gone through the howling deserts of Nova Scotia, and had reached that meeting at Vassalborough, I could compare my feelings to those of a man who had traveled on such a small allowance of food, that he was almost ready to faint. My pen is not capable of setting forth the wide difference there was to be felt. We had a highly favored meeting; indeed, never to be forgot by me. Here are now five meetings, under the care of committees, and so many requests for membership, that they (the concerned Friends) are almost always traveling. Such an exercise of labor I believe is not to be found upon the Continent. I have at times been ready to conclude that it is owing to the great extent of their labors here that they are so much favored.

The meeting of Camden, which is within six miles of the place where David Sands embarked, is about seventy miles from Vassalborough. I have visited those meetings twice since I parted with David, greatly to my own satisfaction, although nearly five hundred miles from where I live. At this meeting of Vassalborough, lives our dear friend, Remington Hobby, who has had a double share of labor in those parts. I believe he is more than half his time from home, ever since David left. He has a fine family of children. Micajah Dudley, a minister, who was con-

vinced of our principles by David Sands, has been removed by death. His labors will be greatly missed. Vassalborough is more than three hundred miles from our yearly meeting. We have a number of members who live four hundred miles beyond them. I may inform you that I saw the man last summer who commanded the vessel when David Sands and I were cast away. We were glad to meet. I must now take leave of you, and bid you most affectionately farewell,

Joseph Wing

6th month 29th, 1798.

The following letter, from David Sands, is supposed to be addressed to James Harford, of Bristol. Some of the trials to which he so feelingly alludes in this letter are explained afterwards. The defection from sound doctrine was creeping in, though more fully developed at a subsequent period:

My very dear Friend—

I returned to town this evening, where I met with your kind letter, which was a cordial to my tried mind and fatigued body. Since I wrote you last, I have been mostly employed in visiting the families of Clonmel meeting, which has been a laborious service both to body and mind, as they are pretty numerous; but I feel a hope that it will tend to the furtherance of Zion's cause. I have also had many public meetings with those not of our Society, which appeared to be favored opportunities; one, I think, it will not be unpleasant to you to hear of: it was with a large company of soldiers, from Lancashire, who are mostly men of good families, and appeared to be well-bred. They accepted the offer of a meeting with apparent gladness, and during the time sat with great composure of mind; and the Friends who were with me observed they had seldom known a more solemn season. Many of them, after meetings, acknowledged it had been to them a time of favor, which they hoped never to forget. It may seem, from what I have written, that I am stationed in a land of favors, where I might sing a song of Zion oftener than the returning light of the morning; but, my dear friend, it is far otherwise with me. I feel myself surrounded with many discouragements; and did I not believe, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that I am here in Divine appointment, my situation would be insupportable; as I feel much of my time like a sparrow alone on the house-top; yet I do not desire to complain of Him who has not only a right to dispose of his servants as he pleases, but knows how to do it for their good and His glory. Therefore, I can only say, "Your will be done," which I am often unable to say in that humble manner I could wish. Your continued brotherly care, with that of your dear children, joined with your near sympathy, is very strengthening to me; as I have every reason to believe your desires are for my preservation, and that I may endure through all storms; in which I trust you are joined by many brethren and sisters, who have expressed a near sympathy with me, since being in this land.

I came here with a hope I might be set at liberty to return to Milford; but this at present seems uncertain, as I have not yet been in the North, nor has there a way clearly opened for it. Traveling remains to be attended with many difficulties, as robberies are daily committed on most

of the roads throughout the nation. Yet, should that now appear to be the way cast up for me, I hope I shall still persevere therein with a becoming cheerfulness, nothing doubting: knowing that I am safe always, while He whose name is "I am that I am," is with me. I often think of the time I spent in company with you and your dear children, which appears as a day of feasting, and of drinking wine refined from the lees of insincerity, which greatly abounds in some parts of the world. The value of the choicest comforts are best known by the lack of them. Oh, could I have an opportunity of opening my sorrows, and to pour them out to a bosom friend! I believe I should often find relief; but that I cannot, at least am afraid of doing it. I must, therefore, conceal my grief and hide my trials for the present until I meet my dear friend and his beloved children, when my sorrows will be turned into joy. Until then, farewell, my tenderly beloved friend.

David Sands.

The Journal proceeds:—After parting with my friends at Cork, I returned to Youghall, and tarried some days, visited several families, and had some meetings. From this place I went to Clonmel, and from there to the quarterly meeting at Waterford, which was large, and owned in a good degree with the overshadowing of Divine love. From Waterford I returned to Clonmel, and joined Ann Broadhead in a visit to the families, which we accomplished in much nearness of spirit; after which I had many public meetings in and about Clonmel, which were favored seasons. From this place I returned to Waterford, and tarried several days, and visited some families, when able.

Here I received many kind letters from my friends in England, towards whom I felt my mind drawn, as they seemed very near to me, and with whom I greatly desired to spend a little more time; yet no way opening to leave Ireland at present, I must still obey my best Guide, though it is hard to my natural inclination, as traveling here is in every respect unpleasant, the country being in general thinly inhabited as to respectable people, and now these are driven into garrisoned towns, for many have been murdered, or have fled to some other country; so that poor Ireland at this time exhibits a mournful appearance; yet I have been permitted to pass along without any obstacle or hinderance. At Waterford, I met with my dear friend Elizabeth Usher, whose kindness was very great; as she furnished me with a comfortable carriage, of which I stood in need.

12th month 28th, 1798.—I left Waterford to attend the quarterly meeting at Carlow, in Leinster Province, which, though not large, we were favored with Divine help. Here I met with my kind friends Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson. After the quarterly meeting, I felt inclined to visit the famines of Friends in this monthly meeting. During my stay, I had several public meetings, which were attended by many very respectable people, and were solid opportunities. From there I went to a town called Athy, where a few Friends reside, and there are many seeking people. I had several public meetings with them, much to my comfort. From this place I went to Baltimore, and visited the few families of Friends at that place, and had one public meeting. This was once a place of note as to Friends, but is now much on the decline.

During the latter part of the time in which David Sands was engaged in the visit to Ireland, he appears to have discontinued his Journal; so that from this period we can only notice his movements from the brief biographical sketch prepared by some members of his own family, and which has already been largely quoted from in the early part of these memoirs; or from letters or other fragments.

During the time of the Rebellion, Friends in Ireland were very careful that nothing should pass from one to another in writing, which, if it should fall into improper hands, could be construed to their disadvantage. Another consideration might possibly have weight with David Sands about this juncture, arising out of the agitated state of the Society, from the dangerous defection from the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, which several who had been high in profession gave way to; and which ended in the secession or separation of many of them from the body. Deep were the mental conflicts and depression of spirits which he had to pass through for a length of time on this account; believing himself often called upon to unite with the sound Friends in earnestly contending for the faith of the Gospel, against those who denied the Godhead of Christ, and the efficacy of his propitiatory sacrifice; as well as embracing other foolish and unsound opinions. His labors and services were a great support to many of his friends in this critical juncture; though it drew upon him some unfriendly and improper animadversions from some, who attempted, through the medium of the press and otherwise, to maintain the cause of those who were caught even in such great delusions.

After visiting Ballitore, as noticed in his Journal, he visited the families of Friends in Dublin; and proceeding to the north, engaged in other services in the Province of Ulster.

In the course of his service and travels in Ireland, the following very remarkable circumstance occurred; proving that the ways of Providence are frequently inscrutable, in his gracious interposition for the deliverance of his creatures from the power of the enemy, and in leading his ministers and messengers by a way that they know not, in the simple obedience of faith, that so he may make them instrumental in effecting his wise and gracious purposes. As he was riding along he felt a concern to stop and appoint a meeting, to which his companions offered some objections; as it was a place but thinly peopled, and the night very stormy; so that probably few would attend. But David Sands did not feel easy to give it up, saying, "If there are but few, the great and good Shepherd has promised to be with us, and I shall feel clear in having done what appears to be my duty." They yielded to his concern, and notice was given. At the time appointed a greater number assembled than was expected. The meeting became settled in much solemnity. He arose, commencing his testimony with these words,—“Resist the devil, and he will flee from you. Turn unto Him who is able and willing to save; although your sins be as scarlet, He will make them white in the blood of the Lamb. He is still waiting to be gracious, and though you have strayed far from the fold, He will lead you as unto pleasant pastures, where streams of living water flow forevermore.” He had much to offer, all pointing and leading to the one great Fountain of Mercy; and then added,—“I am bound to express my feeling and impression, (though I know not for whom it is intended), that I believe there are those present who have been so far led astray by the Enemy of their soul's salvation, as to be ready to take their own life.” Soon after this the meeting broke up, when a man of a respectable appearance, under great distress of mind, approached him, say-

ing,—“Your message is to me; it is true that I now have the instruments of death in my pocket. I have become weary of life, and have no resolution to withstand the Tempter, so as to face the cruel blasts of adversity, and had determined this night to commit the fatal deed. Yet I felt the awful responsibility; and having heard of this meeting, and knowing that Friends often sat in silence, I believed that I should be enabled to become calm and composed before the awful close of life. But now I have abundant reason to bless God, in that he has made you the instrument of saving my life, as also my immortal soul; which, but for this interposition, would have rushed unbidden into the presence of an insulted God.” His heart now overflowed with gratitude both towards David Sands as the instrument, and unto the Lord, by whom he was thus sent to save a fellow-creature from destruction. It is stated that soon after this wonderful providential interposition, this person became a changed and greatly improved character.

The time of David Sands' travels in the north of Ireland was a period of deep exercise to rightly concerned Friends, with whom he sympathized, and largely partook of their trials. He felt that great care was needful that he might be preserved from giving any just cause of offense, so that no advantage might be given to the adversaries of truth; while he was desirous to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints. It was the truths of the Gospel, as taught by our Holy Redeemer, our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Apostles, for which he contended: and he was enabled to discharge his duty as a faithful messenger, charged with Divine authority, to the comfort of many minds. Thus he felt the necessity for daily watchfulness, depending upon that Divine power and support which through all his trials and exercises had never failed; but which, like the manna by which the children of Israel were sustained in the wilderness, had to be gathered daily. After feeling released from further service in Ireland, he returned to England with peace of mind, about the 5th month, 1799, and was received with much kindness and affection by many Friends, who truly sympathized with him in his unwearied labors, both amongst Friends and those of other societies; in his extensive journeyings in the cause of truth, and in his love to his fellow-creatures, that they might receive the word of eternal life. The unity of his friends he felt to be very precious, and cause of thankfulness to his great and good Master, who had preserved him through so many close trials, had so graciously owned his ministry, and favored him to return to his friends in England with the reward of peace. There does not appear any memorandum of the exact date of David Sands' arrival in England; but it is apprehended that it was a little previous to the London Yearly Meeting of 1799.

The unsoundness in doctrine which had manifested itself in Ireland was now attempted to be infused into the minds of some of the inexperienced and unwary amongst Friends in England, (chiefly through the influence of Hannah Barnard, who came over as a minister from America, and her adherents.) We shall again have occasion to revert to this individual. These insidious attempts deeply affected the vigilant and tenderly concerned mind of David Sands; to whom the truth, as it is in Jesus, had ever been very precious; and some allusion will be found to them in the following letters from Richard Reynolds:

Dear Friend—

By your acceptable letter of the 6th instant, I was glad to find not only that you are better in

health, but that you so remember me as to inquire if I am still in the land of the living. I continue to breathe the air of this world; but such has been my spiritual poverty and desertion, that if I may yet be written “among the living in Jerusalem,” the strongest indication of it seems to be that I am not always insensible of my own lacks and weakness, or indifferent to the cause of truth, or to those who are engaged in the propagation or promotion of it. And amongst them, you have been frequently remembered by me, though I admitted that your late arduous engagements might sufficiently account for your appearing to have forgotten me. I have heard, and was grieved as well as surprised, to hear of the departure of some in Ireland from the faith of their forefathers—may I not say from the faith once delivered to the Saints: of some to whom I looked up, not only as being further advanced, but more established in it than myself. But I rejoice that some have returned; and earnestly desire that your hope for the rest may be accomplished. By a letter received this week, I understand William Savery has been ill, owing to his great exertion in his vineyard, which he found in great disorder when he returned from Europe. He had been confined, but was then getting better.

Of those in this land from America, I hear that Thomas Scattergood is in London, being lately returned from Kent, where he attended the funeral of our ancient Friend, Sarah Beck, at Dover; that Charity Cook and Mary Swett had nearly concluded their visit to the families in Gracechurch-Street monthly meeting; and that Sarah Harrison was yet detained at Mary Alexander's, at Needham, poorly in health. I hope this will find you well on your way in the important service of visiting the families of Friends in Dublin; and if, at the completion of all that is or may be required of you in Ireland, you should find freedom to visit your friends in Old England once more, I shall rejoice; and more especially in the hope you permit me to indulge, that you will come pretty directly to my habitation, where you may depend on a cordial reception; and that many will be glad to see you at the Dale, where I think you have not yet been. I shall address this to the care of Joseph Williams, to whom please give my love; and I hope he has received a few lines, by which I took the liberty to request him to procure some books for me that were printed in Dublin.

Your affectionate friend,

Richard Reynolds.

Coalbrook Dale, 2nd month 26th, 1799

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Richard Reynolds to David Sands.

Dear Friend—

I am glad to find my letter of 2nd month 26th, was acceptable to you, that my very low state of mind obtains your sympathy, and, I trust, your prayers likewise; for certainly very few, if any,

stand more in need of every help; as I also confess as few, if any, are less worthy of it. Your speaking of me as an elder brother, and to me as qualified to admonish one I so justly prefer, is humbling to me. Alas! how little you know of my weakness. So far as love to the good cause in which you are engaged, and to you, as one laboring in word and doctrine, can qualify for sympathy with you in your present arduous engagement, and very trying situation, I am not altogether deficient. I am much grieved by the account you give me of the state of society in that part of the country where, perhaps, I might have expected the greatest soundness of faith and purity of manners: the nearest approach to primitive simplicity, and the most exemplary compliance with the (Society's) recommendation to the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures; and a conformity in the other particulars, which most conspicuously distinguish us from other professors of Christianity; as well as in the maintenance of our more important testimony against war, oaths, and all ecclesiastical impositions, which are inconsistent with the freedom and spirituality of the Gospel dispensation. The pleasing expectation of the returning of those who had strayed, which I indulged from your former account, is much lowered by your last representation; yet I desire to be enabled to pray for their restoration, and confiding that, by the superintending providence of the Almighty, all things will work together for good to those who love him; and to unite with you in your comfortable hope, "That he who only could support his own cause, and carry on his own work, will lift up a standard against every attempt of the enemy, however artful or hidden his design may be."

I am obliged by your caution against the reading or spreading of mixed books; though I think the supposed occasion originated in a mistake. You says Joseph Williams told you I had given him an order to purchase the writings of Lady Guyon, which did not feel pleasant to you. In my letter to Joseph Williams, I informed him that I had seen some extracts from the writings of the Archbishop of Cambray, published in 1797, by our ancient and well-esteemed friend, John Kendall, who told me they were taken from an edition of two volumes octavo, printed at Dublin. Those I requested J. W. to procure for me; but if he has misunderstood me, and purchased any of Lady Guyon's works, I shall be much disappointed—not to say mortified. I think neither her name nor opinions are once mentioned in the extracts, though there may be coincidence between them and some contained in the book. I am also of opinion with you, that reading certain books, though written by men acknowledged to be pious and sincere, has retarded the religious advances of some, and prevented them from receiving the truth in the simplicity and love of it.

Some painful instances you have mentioned, and I am far from being offended by your cautions: though I trust to be preserved from grieving or offending any brother who may not think exactly as I do, or who may not concern himself at all with the opinions or practices of others. Your faithful friend,

Richard Reynolds.

## CHAPTER 14

*Interview with King George the Third—Visit to the Southern, Western, and Northern Counties—Meeting at Berwick—Visit to Scotland and Carlisle—Letters from Margaret Jecto—Richard Reynolds—Lindley Murray—Case of H. Barnard—Letter from D. Darby.*

It was probably soon after his return from Ireland, in 1799, that David Sands was permitted to have an interview with King George the Third, at the Royal Palace; when he was received by the king with much kindness and friendly feeling. The king remarked to him that he had a high esteem for the Society of Friends, and that they ranked amongst his most valuable subjects.

In the latter part of 1799, David Sands was engaged in some of the Southern counties, particularly Sussex and Surrey; and partly on account of the delicate state of his health, he appears to have spent some months about Bristol. In the first and second months of 1800, he visited some of the Western counties, as Devonshire and Cornwall; and after attending the yearly meeting in London, he, in company with his kind friend, James Harford, and his daughter Mary, proceeded northwards, by way of Doncaster, York, Darlington, and Newcastle, to Edinburgh. The writer of these memoranda well remembers his labors during a part of this journey, having been appointed to accompany him as guide from Newcastle to Edinburgh. His service in Newcastle was lively and edifying. On the way from Newcastle to Edinburgh, his mind seemed vigilantly awake to the pointings of duty; and evincing a concern to have a public meeting at Belford, a large room was prepared, and was well filled with an attentive audience.

At Berwick-on-Tweed he had also a public meeting. The Town Hall was prepared and seated, and notice was well circulated. By the hour of meeting, a rude rabble assembled; and there being no Friend but his guide to attempt to keep order, a scene of confusion was presented, such as he never witnessed elsewhere on such an occasion. They even attempted to break the deals which were used in seating the place. When David Sands and James Harford arrived, he repaired to the seat provided for him, and, without sitting down, proceeded to remonstrate with the people with regard to their rude behavior, especially on such an occasion; and as he proceeded, his love to souls rose above their perverseness, and he passed from expostulation to persuasion, and to the inculcation of the precious truths of the Gospel, in such a manner as riveted the attention of many, who listened with devout attention. But the room being large and very full, and not being sufficiently lighted, there continued to be annoyance from unruly people during nearly the whole of the meeting. Notwithstanding these unfavorable circumstances, the writer left the place, thankful in the persuasion that the power of Divine mercy and truth had prevailed to the edification of many, and to the honor of the Lord's holy name, who enabled his servant to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ.

There is reason to believe that David Sands paid a general visit to Friends in Scotland, and attended the general meeting at Aberdeen.

In 1801, he again visited some of the Northern counties, and at Carlisle in Cumberland, his labors appear to have been peculiarly blessed to some, as the following letter evinces; we trust it may be read

to profit:—Carlisle, May 13, 1801.

I trust, my dear friend, (for such I shall ever esteem you), that it is unnecessary for me to apologize for the liberty I now take in addressing you. You have, since your departure from Carlisle, employed much of my thoughts; and I have frequently meditated with pleasure, and I hope with some profit, on the discourses I heard you deliver, and the serious conversations I have held with you. I have regretted that I had not resolution to lay my heart open to you, and to acquaint you with all my doubts and fears respecting my own situation. I have the most earnest desire to serve God, in spirit and in truth. I feel myself so much weaned from this world that I have not a wish concerning it, but that I may use it in such a manner as not to abuse it. My daily prayer to God is, that I may feel more and more what a poor, blind, helpless, dependent creature I am; and that He would strengthen me by His mighty power, to do His will on earth, even as it is done in heaven. I bow with submission to His fatherly corrections, being well assured that they are intended for my good. I have been a rough oak, my dear friend, and required much hewing; and it is still a source of great grief and sorrow to me to find that my heart is far from being so humble as I wish it to be. I am perfectly sensible of my own weakness, and the proneness of my heart to be led away by the seducements of the world, which has made me strictly adhere to the resolution I had formed, on my first entering on a religious course of life, of withdrawing myself entirely from its allurements and fascinations. This perhaps is the cross I have to bear; as it is the only thing in which I meet with opposition from my husband. Yet I dare not give up this point; fearing if I did I might fall back into that lukewarm state from which, by the grace of God, I have been delivered. I have now no enjoyment in the society and amusements of my former gay companions. The sweetest hours I spend are in my own closet, in meditating on the rich mercies of God, in holy contemplation of Him; in a delightful survey of the person and offices of Christ my Savior; and in offering addresses of praise and thankfulness to Him, and in devoting my whole soul to His service. Yet I am often harassed with doubts concerning the safety of my state. I see so many defects in myself daily, so much unlikeness to God, so much working of sin, so much coldness of duty, and so many enemies to struggle with, that I frequently feel quite discouraged; and I am sometimes tempted to believe that a Divine change has not yet been wrought in my heart.

This, my dear friend, was what I wished to communicate to you. Can you give me any comfort? I can with the utmost sincerity declare that my inward desires are toward God and His glory, in the present life, and towards the enjoyment of Him in the world to come—that I have a settled aversion to sin, and a restless breathing of soul after likeness to God, and communion with Him. I love his Saints, and delight in their society; and much of my time is spent in prayer and supplication, that he would sanctify by his holy Spirit, and assist me by his grace, to prepare for that eternity to which I am hastening. The severe affliction with which I have lately been tried, has loosened me from the world. Oh may my whole concern for the future be “so to number my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom.” Religion has indeed afforded me the strongest consolation, under this afflicting dispensation of providence. I have been

enabled to say with the sweet Psalmist of Israel, "In the multitude of my thoughts within me your comforts delight my soul."

I am afraid, my dear friend, I have trespassed too long on you, therefore I must hasten to conclude my letter by assuring you that you are daily remembered in my prayers before the Throne of Grace; and if it should please the Almighty that we should see each other no more in this world, I trust and hope we shall meet in a better, where all tears shall be wiped from all eyes; where there will be no more cloudy seasons or gloomy hours; where we shall enjoy uninterrupted happiness in the presence of God. Pray for me, my dearest friend, that those clouds that hide the love of God from me may be dispelled; that my faith may be strengthened, and that all hardness of heart may be removed.

(The conclusion lacking.)

Margaret Jecto

The following letter from his valued friend, Richard Reynolds, is deemed worthy of preservation:—

Dear Friend—

I am pleased to find I still retain a place in your friendly remembrance, and share your brotherly sympathy, under my conflicts of mind; which, though as I trust you truly observe, are more about things of an enduring nature than of this transitory world, yet some outward occurrences have increased; and which bodily indisposition at times, with the rapidly increasing infirmities of old age, have made me less able to bear. Still I have to acknowledge, with humble thankfulness, that hitherto I have been so supported that I faint not; and though I am still surrounded with trials and temptations of various kinds, and seem as weak as ever I was; I endeavor to derive some confidence from experienced though unmerited preservation; and some consolation from the certainty that the time of my probation and of my sufferings, whether on my own account or that of others, must soon terminate, and that if I do but hold out to the end I shall be saved. For this I doubt not your prayers will be united with mine, when so engaged I may be brought to your remembrance; and to be told so by you, will at all times be cause of rejoicing. My sister, Deborah Darby, is to accompany Rebecca Byrd from London into some of the Eastern counties; as is our beloved friend Priscilla Gurney, (her former companion), Ann Dymond of Exeter. Susannah Appleby has been some time attending upon our esteemed friend Mary Ridgway, and will, I presume, continue for some time longer. We are not without hope of seeing dear Samuel Smith and his companion, on their way from Ireland to London, but if we do not, and you meet in London at the yearly meeting, I hope you will unite in remembrance of and prayers for me, as you are united in the regard, and so far as I am enabled, in the prayers of your affectionate friend,

Richard Reynolds.

Coalbrook Dale, 4th month 30th, 1801

The minds of many Friends at this period were deeply concerned for the maintenance of the standard of truth as always held by the Society; and the following letter from Lindley Murray to David Sands evinces in what manner the subject obtained their attention:

My dear friend David Sands—

About the time you will receive this, I believe your mind will be much exercised by the prospect of the approaching trial, to the faithful and upright minds, at the ensuing yearly meeting; but I hope you will be strengthened to lend your hand to support the standard of truth, so that the great cause will receive aid from your exertions, and your own mind be comforted with the retrospect, even after many days. It is a time when the standard-bearers are called on to display it, in the sight of men; and I believe this can be done in the meekness of wisdom; and if so done, will find an advocate and witness in the breasts, even of opposers. I am comforted to find you are where I believe it is your place to be; and I rejoice in believing that your firm, but gentle, loving, and Christian-like spirit and deportment, on this great occasion, will do much for the cause of truth, and the peace of your own mind. The resolute support of our Christian principles, and the pulling down the strongholds of sin and Satan, are very consistent with love to the souls of those who are in error, and with a tender desire and labor to reclaim them.

It will be a comfort to hear of your welfare, and of the prosperity of the good cause you are engaged to promote. I am sometimes apprehensive that your feeble frame will suffer considerably from the vicissitudes of climate, traveling, etc.; to which I think you will be exposed; and that the mind will at times partake of this suffering, and be disposed to attribute to more affecting causes the discouragements which arise only from nature and the languor of the oppressed body; but I trust that whatever you may be permitted to undergo, you will cleave to and feel that support which will carry you through every difficulty; and make you rejoice, even in the sacrifice of spending and being spent for the promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth. If this sense and evidence is with you, then it is enough: mountains will be leveled and valleys filled up before you, and you will be enabled to go on your way in faith and peace. When we reflect how much you have known of ill-health, disappointment, and affliction, and how manifestly the Good Hand has been underneath to support and encourage you, we trust that confidence, even strong confidence in His goodness and faithfulness, will never forsake you; but the language of your heart, even in deep probations, will be, "Lord, you have been with me from my youth; you have redeemed me from the vanities of this world, and set my affections towards your blessed kingdom; you have sustained me in sore trials, and when in sadness, have been about my bed and my path. You have opened a way where I could see no way, and have raised the language of holy confidence and triumph in your goodness and love. Such marks of your fatherly care bind me in submission. I will not dishonor you, and wound

my own spirit, by distrusting your protection and favor. All the evils of this life are not only transient as the morning dew, but they are as the drops in the bucket, in comparison of that joy and crown which you have given me to believe will, through your unutterable mercy, be my happy reward and portion.”

It gave us much pleasure to perceive, by the tenor of your letters, that your mind was favored with more comfort and cheerfulness than is often your portion; I hope it will continue to be your lot, if not altogether, yet with few interruptions; because it is better for the spirit and the body, and not only invites beholders to enlist under a Master who so visibly makes his servants happy, but makes the servant more effectual to labor in promoting piety and virtue amongst men. The depressed mind goes heavily on its way; and sometimes by the livery of sorrow, may discourage some from entering or persevering in the service. You have often to tell others that “wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness, and that all her paths are peace;” and when you are living examples of this happy truth, you beautify and forcibly illustrate what you say. There are few persons who have greater cause to rejoice in the Lord, or to joy in the God of their salvation, than my beloved Friend. He has been with you from youth to gray hair; He has caused you to labor abundantly in His vineyard; He has given you a multitude of seals, attesting your ministry; and He has on many Occasions supported and protected you in the midst of danger and discouragement. When, therefore, the moments of distress approach, and cast their sickening gloom around you, it will be good to remember the condition and language of the Psalmist of Israel, who was in similar circumstances, “Why are you cast down, oh my soul; and why are you disquieted within me.” “I will remember the Lord from beyond Jordan,” etc., where he had received strong tokens of Divine favor, the recollection of which renewed his confidence and strength. I hope to have the comfort of hearing from you soon; and in that love which changes not, remain your affectionate friend,

Lindley Murray

York, 5th month 16th, 1801

The yearly meeting of 1801 was now approaching, in the proceedings of which David Sands could not but feel deeply interested.

The reader will have observed an allusion to Hannah Barnard. She came as a minister with proper certificates from America, and during her travels developed unsoundness in doctrine, similar to that which had been manifested in Ireland. Her case obtained the attention of the Morning Meeting in London, which took proper steps to prevent her further traveling in the ministry; and she was dealt with for her unscriptural opinions. She appealed against the disciplinary proceedings which had become necessary in thus restricting her, to the yearly meeting in 1801; which, after a weighty and solemn deliberation, decided against her; and she was ultimately disowned as a member of our religious society by the monthly meeting in America to which she belonged. A few were carried away by the plausibility of her public addresses, during her stay in England: but they were in several instances known to be unsatisfac-

tory to those of other religious denominations, as well as to Friends. The Society generally was too well persuaded and convinced of the importance of faithfully maintaining our testimony to the doctrine of the Godhead of Christ, and his propitiatory sacrifice; and of the Divine authority and inspiration of the Scriptures of truth, to be greatly shaken.

In the latter part of this year, David Sands appears to have been engaged in the southwestern counties, and after the yearly meeting of 1802, which he attended, and had some acceptable service, he visited Essex and Suffolk, and in the 10th month he appears to have been engaged in Sussex and Surrey quarterly meeting; also in Northamptonshire; after which he spent some time about Bath and Bristol.

The following letter from Deborah Darby is worthy of preservation, though short; the rather because nothing has yet been published respecting the long and arduous labors and travels of this dedicated handmaid of the Lord, whose labors in the gospel were blessed to many, even to the awakening and convincement of some who in afterlife proved eminent instruments in the Lord's hand, in proclaiming the everlasting gospel of life and salvation through Jesus Christ, and that to many and distant nations. In her travels in America, and subsequently, her friend Rebecca Young, afterwards wife of William Byrd, was her fellow-laborer:

My dear friend and brother, David Sands—

I am obliged by your kind attention in writing me. Your fellowship is precious to me, and your sympathy reviving. I have felt my mind nearly interested in your exercises, and sincerely desire your support and comfort under them; and trust that He who has been with you in six troubles, will be with you in the seventh, and give you occasion to commemorate His goodness in the language of "Return unto your rest, oh my soul, for the Lord has dealt bountifully with you."

I have esteemed it a favor that I have been permitted to attend the late yearly meeting. It has tended to the revival of my hope that the Lord is still waiting to be gracious unto a backsliding people, and is willing to turn our captivity, so that Jacob may rejoice and Israel be glad. But be that as it may, "Those who suffer with Christ will also reign with him." When you write home, please do convey my dear love to your relations, and accept a large share yourself, from your sincere friend,

Deborah Darby

Godalming, 5th month 30th, 1802.

William and Rebecca Byrd's love to their beloved friend David Sands; they nearly unite in the above affectionate salutation, and sincerely desire that best support and direction may continue to attend him in all his steps; that whenever a retreat is sounded from the present field of arduous labor, it may be attended with the possession of that peace which the world can neither give nor take away.

In the spring of 1803, David Sands was at Worcester, and on the 10th of, 4th month he attended two marriages there. During the rest of that year he appears to have spent much of his time about London, Bristol, and Bath; at the latter place chiefly on account of his health; which appears to have been greatly benefited by the Bath waters: but he was often industriously engaged laboring in his high vocation as a minister of the Gospel.

In 1804, he appears to have been laboring in some parts of Yorkshire, and in Cheshire and Staffordshire quarterly meeting, also in Lancashire. There is amongst his papers the substance of a testimony which he bore in a public meeting at Macclesfield, on the 24th of 5th month, 1804; and as there is frequent allusion in it to his own religious experience in the early part of his life, it is deemed worthy of a place in the Appendix to these Memoirs. It may be regarded also as affording lively evidence, not only of the style and character of his ministry, but also of his soundness and clearness in word and doctrine. It appears to have been taken down in shorthand by a person not of our Society.

In the spring of 1805, the time arrived when this devoted servant of the Lord saw his way clear to leave the shores of England, where he had been engaged to labor in promoting the glory of God and the good of souls for so many years, and to return to his family and friends in America. It may be seen, by the letters which from time to time he wrote to them, that he not only often had them in tender and affectionate remembrance, but that, from the second year of his travels in Europe, he cherished the expectation of joining them after a moderate lapse of time. In the lengthened period of service which was allotted him, great at times must have been his trials both of faith and patience. In the course of his arduous service, both in his own country and in Europe, he frequently felt the absolute necessity, in order to ensure true peace of mind, of obeying the Scripture injunction, that when “the Lord was pleased to show him light” upon his path, it then became his duty to “bind the sacrifice as with cords to the horns of the altar,” and humbly and reverently follow his Divine Leader in the way of his requirings, however much in the cross to his natural inclination.

Much sympathy was felt with this dedicated servant of Christ in the course of these his trials, by many of his friends, both in England and America, which was evinced in a variety of ways. Previous to his embarkation, he received the following kind and brotherly salutation from his long-trying friend Richard Reynolds. Many of his dear friends in England felt deeply interested for his preservation and welfare.

## CHAPTER 15

*Letter from Richard Reynolds—Arrival at Home—Letter from James C.—David Sands' Reply—Visit to Philadelphia and to Canada—Letter from James Neall—Letter from John Murray, Junior—A Remarkable Occurrence—Conclusion.*

My dear Friend—

I was duly favored with your kind letter of the 6th of last month. You were pleased to express

a willingness to hear from me, but did not tell me where you were likely to be, previously to your embarkation for America; nor from what port, although you expressed a thought of your getting away, and most likely from Liverpool. I received information on the 6th instant that you were about to sail from there. I avail myself of the first opportunity to express my sincere desire for your preservation; and hope that you will find your dear family and friends well and comfortable, after so long a separation from them; and that you will be permitted to rest from such exercises as have been your portion in the latter part of your stay in this land.<sup>4</sup> I rejoice with you that your mind is so much relieved, and your health better than for some time past. I am sorry that any part of your late trials should have arisen from the person you mention. If he would have been advised by me, it would not have been so; and as I could not prevent the publication, I thought it best to be silent; insomuch that though I had a visit from him the latter end of last summer, not a word passed between us on the subject of his book. But I have expressed my entire disapprobation. I shall be glad to hear from you, whenever you have freedom to write to me, on either side of the Atlantic; and wherever you are you may assure yourself of my true love and regard. I am become an old man, and feel increasing infirmities, from which, in the common course of nature, death only can release me; and in that course, probably will soon release me. Nor am I without a hope that, through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, I also shall then be admitted where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest—everlasting rest—with those who have been near and dear to us in this world, and who are already entered thereinto.

Farewell, dear friend: continue to remember me; and as you shall be enabled to approach the throne of Divine mercy with acceptance, forget not your affectionate friend,

Richard Reynolds

Bristol, 4th month 8th, 1805

After taking a general and solemn leave of his many tender and affectionate friends, he embarked at Liverpool, on board the ship “Washington,” bound for New York, where he arrived in safety after a boisterous passage, and was received with unfeigned love, and with sincere thankfulness to that kind and overruling Power who had supported him through many close trials, and much bodily weakness, and who had brought him safely back to his connections and friends. After spending a few days in New York, where part of his family resided, he reached his beloved wife and children and other friends. He rested at home for some time; having often the company of many friends, who participated in his peaceful enjoyment of the reward of faithful dedication to the service of his Lord and Master Jesus Christ.

The following letter, with David Sands' reply, though without date or full signature, is thought worthy

<sup>4</sup> William Hodgson, in his Historical Memoirs, speaking of the firm testimony which David Sands bore against the errors of the Seceders, remarks that he “had been drawn, in the love of Christ, to visit Ireland, and being led into very plain dealing among them, in imparting the whole counsel of his Divine Master, he became a principal mark for their enmity. Many of them refused to acknowledge his ministry, by uniting in the usual orderly practice of standing up and taking off the hat, while he was engaged in meetings for worship, in the solemn act of addressing the Most High.”—Page 391.

of insertion; and may most properly be introduced here:—

Most worthy and honored Friend—

Will you forgive the liberty I have taken in thus addressing you. Feelings of gratitude and love will not permit me to remain silent. I bless God, who has in mercy sent you, his faithful servant, amongst us, to administer to my necessity by pouring out, as it were the oil and the wine into my wounded spirit; and to you, my precious friend, I can acknowledge you have been as it were my guardian angel, to pluck me as a brand from the burning; and to plant in my bosom a hope that I may be found among the redeemed. Your mission is one of love and good works; to lead the souls of your fellow-men from sin and darkness unto the bright and shining light of the holy Jesus, their Savior and Redeemer. None feel the weight and benefit of your holy calling more than myself I was a poor benighted traveler, wandering in darkness and doubt; often querying with myself, who is Jesus of Nazareth, whom they call Savior and Redeemer? I have never known him, or seen his works, though it is said he wrought miracles, raised the dead and even gave up his life for the redemption of sinners. I heard and read all this, but still queried,—Is it not a fable? what have I to do with him? His blood, if it was shed, is nothing to me. I was, like Paul, a persecutor. I cried peace, while peace was a stranger to my heart; I wandered up and down the earth, in search of rest to my weary soul; in the bright allurements of folly I believed I should find it; but like a phantom, when near, it eluded my grasp. Thus I passed my days in seeking pleasure, my nights in mourning; and while my Heavenly Father was striving with me, and knocking gently at the door of my heart; though I was ready at times to cry out with anguish, I still rejected him, saying, as it were, “Go your way for this time, at a more convenient season I will send for you.”

Thus I mused on my situation, reasoning with myself after this wise,—“Is this earth our only abiding place, or is there another?” I had been taught, in early life, to look only to this world for enjoyment, as anything beyond was only ideal. Mistaken belief! leading to ruin and disappointment. I tried to believe there was no accountability; but the good Spirit was still striving with me, inviting me to the Fountain of Living Waters. I turned from the world with disgust, and endeavored to seek rest for my weary and sin-sick soul. While wondering which way to turn my steps, I heard that some people called Quakers had arrived in our village, and were going to have a meeting in the schoolhouse that evening. I had heard that yours were a self-denying people; singular in dress and address; and I determined to go, being more prepared to receive amusement than instruction: in truth, I tried to be an unbeliever in the things of God, and of His heavenly kingdom. When I entered the house, I was struck with the awful solemnity that overshadowed you. It was vain to attempt to describe my feelings, while we sat in this solemn silence.

It seemed as though my poor tempest-tossed spirit would have burst its confines, and deserted its earthly tenement. While in this state of conflict, you arose, and commenced with those

ever-memorable words—"Come unto me, all you who are weary and heavy laden; take my yoke upon you, for it is easy, and my burden, for it is light." Oh! that blessed invitation of our dear Redeemer unveiled the darkness, and I could see, as in a glass, the very depths of my soul, and was ready to cry out, "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner." Never shall I forget the sweet words of hope, which flowed from your tongue, words of eternal life; your countenance became radiant with the theme of the goodness and glory of the Almighty God and Father, who gave His dear Son, that through him we might be saved. Oh! how soon the glimmering of hope dispelled the darkness of infidelity! I felt the invitation was to me, and most joyfully accepted it, for I was indeed weary and heavy laden, and longed for rest. I returned home, my heart filled with praises to God; the image of my suffering Savior was before me, and I felt I could suffer and die for His precious sake. Oh! that my brethren, who are blind as I was, could see as I now do; and oh! that there were more like you, commissioned, as I believe, from on high; true and faithful servants, to bear the olive branch of peace to the soul, and give glory to God our Father. I have no objection to your showing this; I would that all the world should know "that whereas I was blind, now I see;" and most fervently I pray, that infidelity may be no longer a foul stain on the earth; but that all should come, "taste and see how good the Lord is:" that though their burdens are grievous to bear, they may cast them upon Him and find rest.

I hope not to weary your patience with too long a communication. My feelings on the subject I can liken only to an ice-bound spring, now penetrated by the warm rays of Gospel love, which has gushed forth, and will flow forever. I know your valuable time is much occupied; but could you feel freedom to write, if only a few lines, it would give me much comfort. May you go on in the glorious work, and may the great Lord of the harvest bless and crown your end with peace, is the fervent prayer of your unworthy friend,

James C.

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David Sands' Reply.

Dear Friend—

Your letter of the 20th I received, but not until some time after its date: the contents were truly comforting to me. To know I have been the poor unworthy instrument made use of, to bring even one sinful soul to the foot of the Cross, is an evidence of my being rightly directed. But, my friend, give to God all the glory; I am as nothing without His aid. Praise His great and good name; yea, exalt it forever. Oh, what a grievous sin is infidelity; the mark of its footsteps may be traced by the desolation and misery which follow close upon its train. It brings a blasting mildew over the fair face of nature; its poisonous influence spreads far and wide, like the deadly Upas: all who venture near, feel its sickly withering effects. I grieve to say there is much of it abroad in our land; and though partly concealed under the cloak of Christianity, its

hideous deformity will sometimes appear; but there is a healing balm for all who will apply it, and seek it while it may be found. None ever were refused who (rightly) asked for mercy; for the great attributes of His Majesty, who is Lord and Ruler over His people, are justice, love, and mercy. I rejoice with you, my brother, who have found the gracious Savior: and I trust that, as you have sinned much, you may love the more. As you abide in Him, He will be to you a strong defense: as a mighty rock in a weary land, and a refuge from the pitiless storms of life, wherein you shall find safety and rest. Though the tempest may beat outside your dwelling, there will be sweet peace within.

You have great cause to bless the goodness of Almighty God, who has dealt mercifully with you, in opening your eyes, that you may see the dangerous path in which you were journeying. He wills not the death of a sinner, but that all should repent and live. He is a careful Shepherd, who daily watches over His sheep: and should they wander from his fold, He will gently lead them back again, chiding them only as a tender mother does the child of her bosom. I also have abundant cause to reverence His holy name; He has been to me strength in weakness, riches in poverty; and though I feel my frail bark to be weak and shattered, I trust it will be strengthened to outride every tempest that may be allotted it. I know where strength is, and hope ever to be favored to wait patiently for it, and thankfully to prize it above all the joys and sorrows of time. I could say much more in praise of His goodness, but time will not admit at present.

I recommend you to the good Shepherd of Israel; and my earnest desire is, that above all the comforts of this world, you may find in your own bosom, as you journey on through life, that sweet peace and consolation which will enable you to bear up your head in joy, above all the storms and billows of this tempestuous and transitory scene. Therefore, journey on; persevere in the good cause of Christ; be ever on the watch, lest the enemy of your soul's peace may assail you. Pray that the heavenly manna may be daily administered, to nourish and support you; and that you may, when your voyage of life is finished, be favored to be found among his jewels; worthy of the language, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter you into the joy of your Lord," is the fervent breathing of my soul for you, my friend.

David Sands.

After David Sands returned from his long visit to Europe, he continued to take a lively interest in the welfare of the Society; visiting occasionally many meetings and Friends in the neighborhood of his residence. He also paid another visit to Philadelphia, spending several months in visiting Friends in that city and parts adjacent.

His general health being very delicate, he was not concerned to pay many very extensive visits, except one to Canada in the year 1812.

He was led to labor amongst the French, and by the river St. Lawrence, and had many meetings in Que-

bec and its neighborhood; and was favored to return with the consoling persuasion that he had been endeavoring faithfully to perform what he believed to be his religious duty. He had often to travel in much bodily weakness, and in the winter season. His last journey was to New England, where, in many places, he found comforting evidence of the fruit of his former labors, when traveling through the wilderness parts of that country before his visit to Europe; and when he had frequently to labor where no Friends' meetings had been previously held. Now he had the satisfaction of finding monthly and quarterly meetings established. At some of the meetings which he now attended there were sixty vehicles (of different sorts) for the conveyance of Friends, in districts where, on a former occasion, he had been the first Friend known to have traveled in the work of the ministry. After his return from this journey, he seldom went farther from home than New York, where he paid his last visit about six months before his decease. His increasing indisposition of body prevented his going much out, except to meeting; and to visit some families in his own monthly meeting, which he felt concerned to do.

The following letters evince the sympathy, unity, and interest in his welfare which continued to be cherished by his friends. The first is from his old friend and fellow-laborer James Neall; the second is an instructive communication from John Murray, junior, of New York; which, though originally a confidential letter, yet now, after the lapse of so many years, it is apprehended may suitably find a place in these Memoirs, for the edification and instruction of others.

Dearly beloved friend David Sands—

Having opportunity, I may say you are often in my remembrance, and I among thousands should be glad to see you, in our land, not doubting but that you will be clothed with the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. I write these few lines to renew mutual love; and to say I have lived to see the bread that you cast on the waters, in the region of the East, returning after many days, to the glory of God; breathing peace on earth and good-will to men; although some sturdy oaks and tall cedars have failed every way. You may remember, dear David, how we passed along among the people during the inclement season of the year; over ponds and lakes, hungry and cold; and sometimes inwardly stripped and baptized for the dead; all which cannot be fully expressed in this silent way so plainly as felt experience gives it. Although there have been great overturnings, yet the Divine Parent causes the sun to shine, and the south wind to blow, as the extended sceptre of his continued mercy; watering the garden of the soul that loves him, and even continuing to make himself manifest, at times, to them who inquire not after him.

May the Lord of the harvest clothe your tender mind afresh with a concern again to visit the churches in our land. I have seen little children turn a snowball, and it grew bigger so fast by turning that they would call for help. As of old the fishermen did, when, by their Master's orders, they had cast the net on the right side of the ship; even so, when the sun warms the snow, and the north wind breathes upon it, the last turning will collect more weight than several preceding ones. You will understand my simple hints. I conclude with a feeling of more

love than can be expressed in this silent way, and remain your assured and affectionate friend,

James Neall.

Brunswick. 6th month 6th, 1808.

I have written to you one or two letters since your return from Europe, but have not had any answer. I wish to receive a line from you, and an intimation of your mind when you look towards us. From John Murray, Jr., to David Sands.

My dear Friend—

Since you left the city, I have been very much indisposed with an attack of cholera morbus. The frequent attacks of disease, together with the debility which pervades my constitution, are a continued memento or intimation, that “here we have no continuing city;” hence the necessity of being prepared, and of seeking an inheritance in that city which has foundations, whose maker and builder the Lord alone is. Under these impressions, we are put in remembrance of duties still unperformed, and that delays are oftentimes unwise and dangerous. These reflections having at this time been renewedly brought into view, revives a conversation we had together, on a subject seriously interesting to myself, and perhaps in some degree to the Society of which I am a member. Your communications were no less calculated, than I presume they were intended, to stir up the pure mind by way of remembrance, in order that whatever religious service may be required, there may not be an unwarrantable reluctance, or consultation with flesh and blood, but a surrender to those requisitions which, in the unfoldings of Divine wisdom, may be called for. I assure you, my dear friend, I have often recurred to seasons of favor, when the light of truth shined upon my understanding with, I apprehend, indubitable clearness; and as often have I had to regret the lack of faith, and my aversion to become a fool: hence weakness and dimness of sight clothed my mind, and rendered me less susceptible of those impressions which were mercifully intended to enlarge the field of religious labor, and perhaps open the way for moving in a sphere more repugnant to the wisdom of the creature than any other service in which he had been previously exercised. Thus, in retracing my steps, and in contemplating the path of duty, (which I have believed was intended.) I feel at times very much discouraged, and so much embarrassed with many doubts and difficulties, as to apprehend that, as the right time appears to have passed by, it requires very clear evidence, and nothing short of the “woe,” ought now to induce a movement which at any period is awful, and on all occasions should be accompanied with life and power.

It is improbable that I should have hazarded an exposure of my sentiments and feelings in this way, had not your sympathetic mind led you to a communication which unfolded sensations that could not but excite in me some very serious and awakening reflections. They met with something in my heart which so corroborated former impressions, that I was ready to conclude you were favored to judge, and that not altogether from the seeing of the eye or the hearing of the ear. Perhaps I have said enough on this subject; consider it a very delicate one, and only to

be handled by a skillful workman. I am now willing to leave it, and in case you should believe it right to impart farther counsel and advice, I hope I shall feel grateful for every word which may be dictated under the influence of that wisdom which is profitable to direct. I feel desirous that, as you are advancing in life, and infirmities are increasing, you may be favored to witness an unshaken evidence that all will be well in the end. And as a foretaste of the joys to come, I wish you may enjoy that calm and tranquillity of mind, which is very desirable in the decline of life, even as it relates to our comfort and welfare while in the body.

I am affectionately your friend,

John Murray, Jr.

New York, 7th month 21st, 1811.

### *A Remarkable Occurrence*

Many interesting incidents might be related of this truly devoted servant of his God, David Sands; through whom the power and mercy of God to man, through Christ Jesus, was often made manifest, in causing the lofty head to bow, and the knee to bend in submission to his holy will. The following is preserved as a remarkable evidence of it, which none should dare deny:

In the course of one of his early journeys in the work of the ministry, he arrived at a town or village where the Society of Friends or their principles were unknown. He put up at an Inn where was to be a large ball or assembly that evening.

Being their custom, on such occasions, to invite strangers who might happen to be there, to join them; and his appearance being new to them, and very singular, they invited him to attend; perhaps to add to their amusement as a subject of ridicule. He accepted the invitation, and after they were all assembled, and their mirth and music commenced, he walked into the midst of them. His solemn and impressive demeanor struck the company with awe; the music and dancing ceased, and they all stood in silent amazement, waiting the result; when he commenced addressing them to the following import: "My friends, for what purpose is this gay company assembled? Is it to worship Almighty God; him from whom all your favors and blessings flow; who, in his love and compassion, gave the dear Son of his bosom as a ransom, that through him you might have eternal life? Or have you rather allowed yourselves to be led captive by the enemy of your soul's peace, who, for a season, may hold out bright and pleasant allurements to tempt your unwary feet to stray from the true fold of peace, revealed in and through Christ Jesus your Savior and Redeemer; he who suffered his precious blood to flow to wash away your sins? Oh! be persuaded by a brother who loves you with that love which flows from the Fountain of all good, to turn from these follies and devices of Satan, which will lead you astray. Oh! be persuaded, I say, to seek the Lord while he may be found; turn to him and he will turn unto you; knock, before the door of mercy is eternally closed, and he will receive you and encompass you with unbounded love, and lead you gently into pleasant places, even into the kingdom of heaven, where you

will rejoice forevermore; singing praises unto the Lamb. Yea, he will be unto you as a shield and buckler; and as your strong defense in times of trouble. Permit him not to stand knocking at the door of your hearts until his head shall become wet with the dew, and his locks with the drops of the night." Thus did he continue to address them until the power of the Most High was so made manifest among them, that they listened to his communication with deep interest; and, as some of them afterwards expressed, he appeared as a messenger from heaven, sent to warn them of their danger. Many of them were brought to tears while he was speaking; and after he concluded, acknowledged, with gratitude, their sense of his solicitude for their welfare; saying, "We have heard this night what we never can forget." After taking a tender leave of them, they separated, almost forgetful of the cause for which they had assembled.

## CONCLUSION

In the year 1818, the infirmities which now increased upon David Sands, subjected him at times to great bodily pain; but his mind was supported with an unshaken hope that all was well, as respected a future state; saying that he had no fears, except that he might not bear the pains of his departing moments with as much patience as he ought. His greatest anxiety seemed to be for an increase of the kingdom of Christ, and of the religious Society of which he had long been a deeply-exercised member; and to whose religious principles, identical as he believed them to be with genuine Christianity, he was deeply attached. He declared, in these solemn moments, that these considerations were dearer to him than his natural life.

About this period a number of Friends met after a monthly meeting at Cornwall, to which he belonged; and he requested a religious opportunity with them; when, after communicating suitable counsel and encouragement, he said; "I wish my friends everywhere to know, that I am like the children of Israel, when passing through the wilderness; my shoes are not waxed old, nor my garments rent; but the same living exercise and travail of spirit that I have witnessed in early life, is yet my experience; and the prayer of my heart often is, that my sword may remain bright, and that I may go down to my grave in my harness." And this his request seemed in a remarkable manner to be granted; as much of the last part of his life was spent in visiting the families of his own particular meeting: and when he had completed this service, he attended the meeting on first-day, and was remarkably favored in testimony, having much to communicate on many subjects, though in great bodily weakness. When returning home, on passing by the burying ground, he queried with his wife if everything did not appear unusually pleasant; remarking, "I do not expect to pass this place again." and though he was then in nearly his usual health, within a week, his earthly course was terminated; and we believe it may be said, with his sword bright, and duly harnessed. The powers of his mind appeared bright, and his zeal to increase. He often expressed that he believed his time in this world would be very short, and that he wished to improve every opportunity, both public and private, and to encourage all. He knew that nothing could take away the sting of death, but freedom from sin and transgression, through the power of the Holy Spirit, and the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus.

His nights were painful; and he was often heard supplicating at the Throne of Divine Grace, that they who sat in darkness, might be brought to have faith in that Divine power which caused the blind to see, and the lame to walk. Thus the exercise of his mind for the good of souls continued almost to his latest moments.

On his return home from the last meeting he attended, he said he had taken a final leave of the meeting; but that there were a few individuals on whose account he still felt some anxiety, as they were not enclosed within the pales of our church. But that his prayers were, that others might be raised up to feel for those, and to bear the weight of his concern, and labor with them. He feared that many felt a disposition to withdraw their necks from under the yoke of Christ; and that though he should be removed from works to rewards, he believed the cause would make progress, though many might “fall out by the way;” but the truth was the same that it ever was, and that all who were clothed with it, would rise superior to all the power of an unwearied adversary.

He remarked that he had never felt such happiness before,—that he felt himself surrounded with heavenly spirits—that his sensations surpassed description. “I think,” said he, “that some great change will soon take place with me. Come life or come death, my joy and happiness seems complete. My cup this day has been made to overflow. I never experienced such a meeting as I have had this day.” On second-day morning he was very feeble, and his general appearance indicated the approaching change. It was proposed to call in a physician, to which he consented; but said it was to gratify his friends, for he considered his case beyond the reach of medicine. He remarked that his day's work was done, he had nothing more to do, as respected a future state: he had not left his concern for that to a dying hour. He desired that all mankind would be willing to labor as he had. “Behold, I have left all to follow you, the only true God; and you alone have I worshipped and adored. You have been my morning song; and my evening prayer has been to you. How is my soul replenished with your sovereign grace!

You have preserved me by sea and land: You have never forsaken me, though my trials have been many.” He proceeded to speak of his experience saying,—“I have also been persecuted by false brethren, and many proving dispensations have been allotted to me; but blessed are they who are persecuted for Christ's sake. I have rejoiced that I was found worthy to suffer in so glorious a cause. If I know my own heart, from the commencement of my religious exercises, I have preferred the experience of the mercies of a gracious God to all other things. By Him have I leaped over the walls of opposition that at times have encircled my path. But now the time draws nigh; the curtains of the evening of this life will soon be drawn. I have many precious friends who will lament my loss; and I am sensible that I have had their tender sympathy, though many of them are in a far distant land; yet I seem to feel their tender spirits hovering round my dying bed. But I must resign them, with a confident hope of ere long meeting them in the realms of endless bliss.” In the afternoon, a neighbor who frequently attended meeting, called and was desirous to see him; but feeling too feeble, he objected to engage in any further labor, aware that probably he might feel anxious to say something to him; but on reflecting a little, he seemed desirous to see him. When he was introduced, David Sands made some very close remarks; advising him to pursue for the future a different course of conduct, if he wished for happiness here or

hereafter.

After he left, David Sands observed that he had been closely tried; but found he must not withhold what presented; probably it might be the last of his labors; and so it proved, except in his own family.

He had often expressed a desire that he might be released from the suffering of much bodily pain in the closing hour; and he was favored to have his desire granted. In much quietness and composure he breathed his last, like one falling into a sweet sleep, on the fourth day of the same week, being the 4th of the 6th month, 1818; and on the 7th of the same, after a large and solid meeting held at his own house, his remains were interred in his own family burying ground; aged seventy-two years and eight months; a minister about forty-four years.

### *Appendix*

#### *Address to a young Friend—On Silent Worship—Testimony delivered at Macclesfield.*

The following remarks, from the pen of David Sands, appear to be the fruits of experience, and are worthy of preservation:—

To a Young Friend.

I felt easy to communicate some observations that I think will not be disagreeable to you, nor unprofitable for you to consider of and weigh, as they may be found useful in your journey through life. The subjects are,—Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude. I shall begin by a quotation from a great man, who, speaking on these subjects, says, “that the richest endowments of the mind are temperance, prudence, and fortitude. Prudence is a universal virtue, which enters into the composition of all the rest; and where she is not, fortitude loses its name and nature.” Self-denial is the most exalted pleasure; and the conquest of evil habits is the most glorious triumph. A wise man stands firm in all extremities; and bears the lot of his humanity with a divine temper. Virtue is made for difficulties, and grows stronger and brighter by such trials. Men will have the same veneration for a person who allows adversity without dejection, as for great works demolished; the very ruins whereof are revered. There is a heroic innocence as well as there is an heroic courage. It is a maxim of prudence to leave things which are not useful before they leave us. The true way to advance another's virtuous example, is to follow it; and the best way or means to cry down another's vice, is to decline it. The greater the difficulty, the more glory in surmounting it. Skillful pilots gain their reputation from storms and tempests. To be valorous is not always to be venturous. As fortitude permits not the mind to be dejected with any evils; so temperance allows it not to be drawn from honesty by any allurements. A warm heart requires a cool head. Courage without conduct, is like fancy without judgment; all sail and no ballast. No man ever was cast down with the injuries of what is called Fortune, but who had allowed himself before to be deceived by her favors. Judgment is the throne of prudence; and silence is its sanctuary. Nothing would fortify us more against any

manner of accidents, than possessing our souls with this maxim, that we can never be hurt but by ourselves: if our reason be regulated by truth, and our actions according to it, we are invulnerable. A virtuous and well-disposed person is like good metal, the more he is fired, the more he is refined; the more he is opposed by some, the more he is approved by the good. Wrong may well try him and touch him, but it cannot imprint upon him any false stamp. It is a maxim amongst the Spanish,—he who loses wealth loses much, and he who loses a friend more; but he that loses his spirit, loses all. The virtue of prosperity is temperance; the virtue of adversity is fortitude; which, in morals, is the more heroical virtue.

Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New; which, when patiently and submissively endured, carries the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favor. A virtuous habit of the mind is absolutely necessary to influence the whole life, and beautify every particular action; and overbalances all the gilded charms of folly and vice. The prerogative of good men appears plainly in this, that men bear more sorrow to the sepulcher of the virtuous, than to the boasted palace of the wicked. To conclude, I may boldly venture to say, a man of virtue is an honor to his country, a glory to humanity, a satisfaction to himself, and a benefactor to the world. He is rich without oppression or dishonesty, charitable without ostentation, courteous without deceit, and brave without vice.

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*An Address to Religious Inquirers,  
On the Subject of Silent Worship; or Waiting Upon God.  
By David Sands.*

Our Lord Jesus Christ has told us, John 15:5, “Without me you can do nothing.” We therefore cannot perform divine worship acceptably without his assistance. This assistance is to be received in spirit; for, says the Apostle, Eph. 11:18, “Through him we (both Jews and Gentiles) have access by one spirit unto the Father;” and as our access is through his Spirit, which is not to be commanded by us at our pleasure, we must necessarily wait for it. This waiting must be in silence from the expression of words; and also in stillness of mind from carnal thoughts and wandering imaginations. For the utterance of words in worship is acting, not waiting; is discoursing to others about God; not seeking him in such a manner as that we may haply feel after him and find him; agreeable to the Apostolic doctrine in Acts 17:27. We, the people called Quakers, look upon the worship of the Omnipotent God, the creator and judge of all, to be the most solemn engagement the mind of man is capable of being concerned in. And in consideration of his high and inconceivable majesty, think it our duty to approach him with the greatest awfulness and reverence; we therefore sit down to wait in silence; seeking to have our minds introverted and collected from earthly thoughts, and wandering cogitations, into a single steadfast looking towards him.

And herein we fail not to feel the gracious condescension of divine love to touch our hearts, less or more; which humbles our spirit, enlightens us to see our present duty, and quickens us to perform divine and solemn worship in the presence of God; either imperceptibly to the outward eye or ear,

under a continuation of silence, or by audibly breaking out into vocal exercise; as we apprehend it may please the Holy Spirit to lead. Thus we really witness the verity of that gracious declaration of our Lord, Matt, xviii. 20, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." We also experience, according to the Prophet Isaiah, 40:31, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength;" and Lam. 3:25, "The Lord is good unto them that wait for him; to the soul that seeks him." The Royal Psalmist was no stranger to this silent waiting, for he adverts to it, Psal. xxxvii. 7, "Rest in the Lord," or according to the marginal correction, "Be silent to the Lord; and wait patiently for him." He also practiced it, Psal. 62:1, "Truly my soul waits upon (or is silent upon or before) God;" which, in the modern phrase, may be thus rendered truly,—My soul is engaged in silent attention upon God: coherently with the wise man's cautions, Eccles. 5:2, "Be not rash with your mouth, and let not your heart be hasty to utter anything before God; for God is in heaven, and you on earth; therefore let your words be few." He well knew, as he expresses it, Prov. 16:1, that, "The preparation of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue, is from the Lord." Silent waiting was in practice amongst the Prophets, and those that attended them; as appears particularly in the Prophecy of Ezekiel. We find the spirit of the Prophet engaged in divine visions, while the elders of Judah sat before him; as it is described from the 1st verse of the 8th chapter to the 4th of the 11th chap.; during the time of which visions it cannot be consistently supposed he was either speaking to them, or they to him, or to each other.

Permit me now to say, in answer to inquirers, that we, the people called Quakers, do not wait with expectation of any supereminent influx of the Holy Spirit; nor profess to be actuated by a very superior degree thereof, to what we believe others may experience as well as us. We do not, nor ever did, pretend to appropriate it exclusively in any degree to ourselves. We have constantly inculcated (1 Cor. 12: 7) that "The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal;" and what chiefly makes difference and contrariety amongst mankind is, that some believe in it and obey it: others do not, but reject it; first in themselves; and through the blindness and enmity which inevitably ensues thereupon, oppose the effects of its appearance in others. Let even such honestly put the question to themselves,—Is a gloomy lethargic sleeper the necessary consequence of solemn silence? Is there no such thing as mental worship, or worship in spirit and in truth, unless the tongue be audibly employed? Is it yet to be told (or made known) that the essence of worship is in the soul; that bodily exercise is nothing, but as it is a consequence of that which is mental? Of itself it is but form without substance. It may amuse, but cannot profit; neither can it bring honor to the Holy Spirit, for he is honored by his own fruits. The essential honor thereof consisting in its having the pre-eminence in our hearts, demonstrated by our obedience. Was any virtue in the expression of words sufficient to bring down the Holy Spirit amongst us, they might be right in pressing them upon us. But as the heat which may be raised in the mind, merely by external sound, is not a divine influence, but sparks of man's own kindling, so may we read their termination in the Prophet's expostulation with Israel in ancient times, (see Isaiah 1:11), which, when applied to the present dispensation, and seriously and candidly considered, will leave us conscientiously to follow what we have found right. As the subject is weighty as well as extensive, I feel it best to leave it for the present, and refer the inquirer to the 10th and 11th Propositions of R. Barclay's Apology for the People called Quakers.

*The Substance of a Testimony*

Delivered by David Sands at a public meeting held at Macclesfield in Cheshire in the year 1804, and taken down in shorthand by Thomas Mollineaux.

[Note by the Editor.—Although the Society of Friends, as a religious body, have never sanctioned or encouraged any of their own members in taking down in writing, during their meetings for Divine worship, the public testimonies delivered by their Ministers; believing that the mind of a true worshipper would not feel at liberty to be so occupied; yet in the various periods of the Society's history, it has at times happened that persons not holding our religious views, being present on such occasions, have taken down in shorthand the substance of testimonies or sermons so delivered. Some of these having been published, have been regarded as valuable evidence of the soundness in doctrine of the Ministers of the Society; and esteemed not only on that account, but as being of an instructive and edifying tendency. In this way, we have preserved to us the substance of several testimonies delivered, both in the early periods of the Society and a few of later date. Several volumes of them have been printed and reprinted; and are well worthy of a careful perusal. But it should ever be borne in mind that there is often much Divine power and unction accompanying the ministry of the Lord's servants and ministers, which cannot be preserved in writing; and in many cases it has been this, to which the most beneficial and lasting effects must be ascribed. There is reason to believe that this often, in an especial manner, was the case, as regards the ministry of David Sands. We may easily conceive it to have been so when the following communication was delivered. It was taken down by a person not of the Society of Friends; and though from the appearance of the manuscript, it is evident that it does not contain the whole of what was so delivered, yet it is thought well worthy of preservation, and may be regarded as a fair specimen of the convincing, persuasive, energetic character of the ministry of David Sands.]

It pleased the Lord in the early part of my life to afford me some awakenings or visitations of his love; and caused them to operate, at least so far as to set me on thoughtful inquiry. I was like those mentioned by one of the Prophets, whose faces were turned Zionward—they were asking the way to Zion. In this passage the way to heaven is alluded to, as a way that we are to seek and inquire about. We may remember that the church unto whom the Apostle wrote, were called “pilgrims and strangers,” and they are often represented in Scripture as “travelers.” The Apostle beseeches them, as “strangers and pilgrims,” to “abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul.” Now, strangers have great need to be careful; if they are not careful, without intending anything but good, they might miss the road, and get out of the way. I say that they must be careful in their inquiries, in order that they may not miss their way. Not only to ask one another, but, as far as they may be enabled, to inquire of such as are able to instruct them. Strangers are often exposed to false information; they must therefore direct their inquiries in such a way as that they may not be deceived, lest they be led astray by such as undertake to be their guides, that are not themselves perfectly acquainted with the true way.

They may also be led into unprofitable paths, and directed to wrong stages; and this may lead them into unprofitable company, whose communications may have so much weight with them, especially if they take them for friends, as to stop their progress, and induce them to take up with a false rest; I was going to say, to stop at a half-way house. We read of a people that had been in captivity, and while in that state they became mixed; they lost the pure language of the true Israelite, and spoke a mixed language that was part Jew and part Ashdod; they were not wholly either the one or the other, and when presented in order to be examined before the Judges of Israel, they could not stand in judgment; they were not approved, but driven away, as such as would defile the priesthood and the sanctuary.

It appears also that there was something like this in the days of the Apostles; for we read there were those that had begun well, and had run well for a season; that they had begun in the Spirit, under the influence of the Spirit, and had no doubt felt something of its power; but, from some cause or other, had fallen away. And we also find that some bad guides had got in amongst them; that as there were false Prophets amongst the people of Israel, so were there false teachers, even amongst the primitive Christians. They were false, because they taught false doctrine, and undertook to do what they were not qualified for; and thus imposed on the people whom they undertook to guide; and instead of leading them in those paths in which the faithful had advanced forward, they turned them from the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to visible fleshly things; so that they became so altered in their views as to imagine they were able to become perfect by carnal notions and bodily exercises. These things are recalled for our learning; so that even in this generation we may remember our Lord's caution, "Take heed how you hear;" and not only so, but what and whom you hear—whom we receive as our guides. We read that the time would come when many would cry, "Lo, here is Christ, or Lo, there is Christ" but, said our Lord Jesus Christ, "Go you not after them, for the kingdom of heaven is within you." As though he had said, "Do not look abroad, with an expectation of finding that which you must find at home." This seems to be implied by our Lord's exhortation also, when he revived that passage in the Prophet Isaiah, "All your children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of your children. In righteousness shall they be established." This is what I believe to be the privilege of the children of God in the present day; they have a Teacher and an Instructor that will never lead them astray. This pure guide teaches them to profit; and leads them in the way that they should go.

But now to return to my own experience. I was deeply engaged with earnest desires that I might come to a state of certainty, and be settled upon a foundation that would stand sure; and I found by experience that in this was involved a work that required a great deal of inward labor, for, as our Lord said, speaking of the hearers of his word, he distinguished between the mere negligent hearers and the truly obedient disciple. The latter he compares to a wise man, who dug deep, and laid the foundation of his house upon a rock. My earnest desire was to find this Rock, and to know what it was. This digging seems to me to be digging through our own works and wills, and getting deeper than our own thoughts and reasonings; in a word, it is coming to a state of strippedness—to be of the poor in spirit. This is the state those are in who have no will of their own, no righteousness of their own; nor do they wish to have any thoughts of their own, as it were; but that all the powers of their minds should be brought into an entire subjection to the will of God; and into that course which is consistent with his will concerning

them. They know, as said the Apostle, they of themselves cannot think a good thought or do a good action without the Lord's help. This state of inward poverty and strippedness is blessed: being stripped, they are empty also; and being empty, they become partakers of the promise; for "blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled:" they that hunger and thirst after the true knowledge of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ. The language of their minds seems to be this: "Oh Lord, give me yourself; nothing short of yourself can satisfy my soul. I want to be settled in a land of certainty, that at all times I may be able to address you as 'Our Father in Heaven.'" These are true seekers, and the promise is, that they shall find. They do not ask things of God to consume them on their lusts; or to make themselves appear respectable, as did the Scribes and Pharisees of old, "to be seen of men;" but they ask those things because they feel the real lack of them. Now God knows your heart, and he is not guided by words, or the sound of the voice; but he answers mankind according to the sincerity of their hearts; for God loves a sincere and upright heart; and the prayers of these he answers, sooner or later; he fills them with the very things that they need. I hope, my dear brethren and sisters, that many of you know what it is to be filled with things suitable to your respective states. The Lord fills his own children with good things; he loads them with benefits. Those that are poor, humble, and that are brought, as it were, out of themselves, he causes them to say, as did a female on sacred record, "My soul does magnify the Lord, my spirit has rejoiced in God my Savior." Oh, you that are poor, you need not be uneasy, for he fills the poor with good things. But the rich thought they had plenty, and at the same time were really "poor, wretched, and miserable, and blind, and naked." Instead of being rich, they were blind; they did not see their nakedness; they did not wish to see themselves in the glass; they could not say in sincerity, "Lord, search me, try me, know my ways; and if there is iniquity in me. Oh Lord, do you take it away. Let not your hand spare, nor your eye pity, until you make me fit for your holy kingdom." But the rich and self-righteous do not want to see; they would rather have an outside garment than an inside holiness. If they can but pass along and be esteemed of men, they care little about anything further. Thus they bring blindness upon themselves, and hardness of heart: for a blind hypocrite is always hard-hearted; and being hard-hearted, you may observe how they could handle our dear Redeemer—He who went about doing good; healing the bodily diseases of poor mankind. And while doing those gracious acts, He comforted the widows; often speaking a word of instruction and comfort for their poor souls. All that came to Him in faith, He was willing to help: and when of the ten that came, only one was right-minded, yet He healed them all. When I touch upon the character of our Redeemer, all the powers of my soul seem to be immersed in the spirit of my dear Redeemer. My heart at times has melted when I considered the steps that he took: weary and fatigued, while thus doing good. The birds of the air had nests, the foxes had holes: but the Son of Man had not whereon to lay his head. The unbelieving Jews knew and examined his works; they were constrained to acknowledge his notable miracles; that man never spoke like this man. His works, like his garment, could not be picked to pieces. They sifted the poor parents of the man that was born blind, whether he was their son. We find they confessed that he was; but by what means he was restored to sight they said they could not tell. This shows how the fear of man operates, in those who give way to it. They said, he is of age, ask him. Thus they avoided confessing to the power of Christ. But the poor but grateful man spoke as every true Christian should do: "I know that whereas I was blind, now I see;" as though he had said, "I was a

poor benighted creature, but Jesus met with me, I have found him; Jesus of Nazareth. I needed to know him for years past; and whereas once I was blind, now I see.”

Well, my dear brethren and sisters, I have come to you in a large measure of gospel love. Some of you can say we do know, and can certify that Jesus is the Son of God, because he has given to you of his spirit. I hope it is under the influence of the Lord's good Spirit, that I feel free to make this remark—to call upon you—to inquire of you, whether you can say as much,—” This I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see.”

But I am not merely concerned for the little flock of Christ; I love them, I own them as brethren; but I am sometimes concerned for those who are still at a distance; and I like when I am favored with strength to call upon these, to consider their own situations. You may be good neighbors, good fathers and mothers, at the same time you cannot say, “This I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see.” Even your associates amongst professing Christians may not be such as will help you to heaven, but rather lead you from the strait gate. Remember the foolish virgins in the parable. The time will come when it will be in vain for you to beg of the wise. Therefore now put away the evil of your doings: turn from all your wickedness: look to Him who is able to pardon your sins. But perhaps the Lord's servants have stretched out their hands to gather you in vain; “will you also be his disciples?” It is not the mere talkers about religion; yet we may talk on suitable occasions. Come taste and see how good the Lord is. Come hearken, and I will declare what God has done for my soul. This love wants all mankind to be happy. To come to the feast of fat things in the Lord's holy mountain. Lord, visit the nations; not only to convince and convict them, but let your power go forth to convert them! This is the language of a Christian; I learned it from my Master. I did not spring from a religious family; I was called out alone, and had none to look to but God. He set my feet upon a Rock; not a shadow of a great rock in a weary land only, but a Rock from which I might drink in the wilderness. This Rock was higher than myself He established my goings. In the sufficiency of faith I have stood: I have not been shaken by the winds; my foundation has stood firm and sure.

Yet even this reverent trust and confidence was nothing too much, in my early days, when I had to appear in the character of a preacher. But under the constraining power of Gospel love, if, through my labors, I might but witness the drunkard becoming a sober man, and the rich weaned from putting their confidence in uncertain riches, my soul would leap for joy sometimes; and it will this night. I feel as if the Lord was near to comfort; and I hope you will be comforted. May the Lord's comfort make your souls like a watered garden; that you and I may unite in offering to him thanksgiving and praise; not merely from our mouths, but with our hearts. It has been a valley of tears to many of you, but will he not put your tears in his bottle, and give you to see an end of all your trials. Blessed are they that follow Christ. Come, you fathers and mothers; come, you widows and orphan children; come, you mourners and heavy-hearted: you have had your seasons of bitterness in this world. He can clothe you with the garment without spot or wrinkle, and lead you to where none can steal from you. “Come, you blessed of my Father.” I want you to be comforted, dear young people; such of you as have been in the school of affliction, and that are yet struggling to overcome. Be good soldiers; do not be afraid; stand firm; for

the Creator of heaven and earth is your friend, your father, your God, your king, and he will save you with a present and with an everlasting salvation. Come boldly; it is for you, you poor; you who can say, "I have left all to follow you. You are my morning song and my evening praise."

Now I find freedom to tell you that the "Spirit and the Bride say, come; and let him that hears say, come; and let him that is athirst come; and whosoever will, let him come, and take of the waters of life freely." Come, you rich, come, you poor, that lean upon the staff; come, these blessings are offered to you; even for them that lie on the dunghill: I invite you to come. May you all flock as doves to the windows this evening. Come to Christ; may you go home with your souls satiated with the things of God's kingdom.

I had no more view of what I should say when I came here than any one in this company; it was from a sense of duty. Five words spoken from the heart and to the heart is, in my view, better than five thousand from the head only. I was not brought up to the ministry; and though what I say may be very broken and incoherent, yet it matters not, if it may but help you to heaven.

I hope, my friends, there are none here that would choose Barabbas instead of Jesus; none that would crucify afresh the Lord of glory. The Jews of old added cruelty to their sin; they did it in a rough manner. The nominal outside Christian is still a crucifier, He is slain in the streets of their minds: Sodom, spiritually understood, is within us; till the heart is changed, it is prone to wickedness and deceit. There the devil's works are carried on. But, my friends, I feel a hope that there are none here who cherish such a disposition; but that your desire is to die the death of the righteous. I do not offer myself as your best teacher and instructor; no, I wish to direct your minds to the light, and spirit, and grace of God. This is the true guide of the church. "I will not leave you comfortless," said our blessed Lord; no, "I will send you another Comforter;" a teacher suited to your states. He shall guide you into all saving truth; necessary truths; into every duty, whether heads of families, masters or servants. This is the true guide. They who follow him are the sons of God; and he owns them. "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." What an astonishing thought is this! What a situation for worms, sinners, to be brought into; to be covered with the wings of a dove! He lights upon all believers. This is the rock laid in Zion; the inward Zion of the heart; the purified temple of the Spirit of God. This is the true hope of salvation; Christ in you, by a living faith. The changed heart becomes the house of God. Such are prepared, eventually, to join with Moses in singing, 'Great and marvelous are your works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are your ways, you King of Saints.' Methinks, my friends, the very thought of it cheers me. Therefore dig through your own walls: throw away everything but one thing; the good part. Here is the candle (the light of God's Spirit) by which you may read the book of conscience; that by attending thereto, you may have your conversation in heaven; and the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ will cleanse from all sin.

I was brought up amongst a people who preached that revelation is ceased. One said, this is the way; another, that is it: but I needed to know the true way to heaven; therefore made little ado about a name. I could read well. I had read my Bible, but it seemed to be a sealed book. I was confused, until it

pleased God to put the right clue into my hand. This brought me to see my vileness; “into the horrible pit,” where I beheld clearly my deplorable condition. His Spirit witnessing with our spirits is the best evidence: thus I came to see a little clearer. “You are washed,” says the Apostle. Thieves, liars, drunkards, unclean persons do not go to heaven as they are; heaven is too clean a place for them. There must be a change of mind. You are washed, sanctified, justified in the name of the Lord Jesus.” These go to the “fountain for sin and for uncleanness.” From a sense of their wants, they ask for it, and they obtain cleansing by it. These are secret things. I found that people must have eyes before they can see. So I set off, left my father's house, and became a stranger. I saw the propriety of attending to the things belonging to my peace. Now I took joyfully the spoiling of my goods, and rejoiced that I was worthy to suffer for Christ's sake.

Many go truckling and limping, and get on poorly, for lack of the obedience of faith. Things are beautiful in their season, and in their uses. The Bible is a noble book, and I wish it was more read; but Christ is our Redeemer. God is over all. Consider the deplorable end of the wicked; when brought to their senses, you may find them cursing their vanity. “Oh my enemy”—“Oh fashion”—“Oh the world, you have brought me down to the grave full of tears.” “I don't mind lying, but I fear that Judge whose laws I have transgressed. I have said, I have a visit to pay—I do not like to be singular—I will be better by-and-by.” But God says, “Now is the day of salvation.” We must work when the wind blows. We must mind the breathings of God's Spirit upon us. We must work when God is working in us; for “where the word of a king is, there is power.” I saw the Scriptures were all beautiful from end to end. When sitting alone and feeling calm, I could read the Scriptures. There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty gives him understanding. They who mind this, are on their way to Zion. Christ is the Lord from heaven, a quickening spirit. There is one body or church, and one spirit, even as you are called in the one hope of your calling. There is but one true foundation, and no other can be laid, and happy are they that build upon it. The true temple is not made with human hands; you carry a house with you that God has built; you will carry your altar, and you will worship God in spirit and in truth. Thus you will overcome the world, and be able to say, “Oh Lord, I have leaped over the walls of opposition.” “Bless the Lord, Oh my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name.” The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.

Amen.

## A TESTIMONY MONTHLY MEETING OF CORNWALL CONCERNING DAVID SANDS

He was the son of Nathaniel and Mercy Sands, of Cowneck, on Long Island, and was born the 4th day of the 11th month, 1745. He came among Friends by conviction, and appeared in the ministry about the 27th year of his age, in which service he labored abundantly both at home and abroad; having devoted the greater part of his life, from his entrance into the ministry, to visiting Friends, and in appointing meetings amongst other denominations. And we have reason to believe that he has been

instrumental in stirring up and convincing considerable numbers, in many places, as he was led to feel and sympathize with the religiously exercised of all denominations; and he was often qualified to reach those in a more insensible state. He visited New England several times, in the course of his life; and it appears to have been a principal field of religious exercise and labor with him. On his first visit in these parts, there appeared to be very little convincement in many places; but by faithfully laboring in obedience to divine direction, he was made instrumental in gathering several meetings. Where he traveled and labored in some parts of that country. Friends have so far increased as now to hold both monthly and quarterly meetings.

He also visited Pennsylvania several times, and some of the Southern States, as well as performed several religious visits to the families of Friends in the cities of New York and Philadelphia. He likewise labored extensively within the compass of the yearly meeting to which he belonged; and was particularly useful in the first rise and spreading of the Society on the west side of Hudson River, within the verge of Cornwall Quarterly Meeting.

He also visited Europe; and informed us on his return, that he had visited the Islands of Great Britain, Ireland, Jersey, and Guernsey; and attended all the meetings of Friends, which he had an account of, on the continent. He also traveled much in France, Germany, and other parts of the continent, in which he had frequent opportunities of religious conferences with others not of our Society; and his returning certificates evinced the satisfaction of his friends with his religious services among them. After his return from Europe, he visited occasionally many places within the verge of our own yearly meeting, and also paid a religious visit to Canada, and the city of Quebec, in the winter season. Shortly after his return, he set out on his last visit to New England, in which he was from home about a year.

This, our dear Friend, experienced many vicissitudes and trials in the prosecution of his temporal concerns through life, and was frequently tried with much bodily indisposition; however, none of these things seemed to abate his concern for the accomplishment of what appeared to be his religious duty. He appeared to be much exercised on account of many speculative and unsound opinions that are circulating in the present day, and was often led to caution his Friends lest they should be drawn aside by them, and recommended them to maintain that simplicity and stability in principle and practice, which was so conspicuous in our worthy ancestors. He was very particular in noticing strangers that attended our religious meetings, as well as in exercising a fatherly care and sympathy with the members of our Society, who were within the compass of his labors.

The latter part of his life, he seemed to be occupied very much about home; and was made particularly useful in bringing forward some under religious exercise in his own neighborhood; and near his close, he was engaged in a family visit to Friends of Cornwall monthly meeting, which he partly accomplished; and was favored to attend our first day meeting the same week he died. While on his way there, he signified he thought it would be the last he should ever attend. He appeared to be much strengthened in the public testimony he bore in it; and at his return, he expressed that he felt great satisfaction in being there; and that a more than ordinary sweetness seemed to cover his spirit. He had often

expressed a desire that he might not experience much bodily pain in the closing scene, and was favored to have his desire granted, and to part with his friends in much composure and quietness, as one falling into a sweet sleep, on the 4th day of the 6th month, 1818, aged seventy-two years, having been a minister about forty-five years.

Thus ended the pilgrimage of this our much beloved friend, who, after a life of many and close conflicts, and great travail and exercise, was favored, we trust, to arrive safe in the haven of everlasting rest, out of the reach of storms and tempest, and beyond the noise of archers. May we, his survivors, be engaged to imitate him in all his virtues and religious industry; that so, in the conclusion of time, we also may be favored with the reward of that peace and everlasting consolation, which we humbly hope is now his portion.

New York Memorial of Deceased Ministers. The date of the Memorial is not given; but probably it was issued in 1818, the year of David Sands' decease.