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OF

MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

EDITED BY WILLIAM EVANS AND THOMAS EVANS.

VOL. X.

CONTAINING

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LIFE OF PATIENCE BRAYTON.

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THE
JOURNAL OF THE LIFE
OF
THOMAS STORY,
A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

[The Journal of Thomas Story, containing much repetition of the same matter, it has been thought best to revise it, and abridge some parts, carefully retaining the most interesting portions of the narrative and a clear exposition of his doctrinal views.]

The following work is intended to record the tender mercies and judgments of the Lord; to relate my own experience of his dealings with me through the course of my life; and to write a faithful journal of my travels and labours in the service of the gospel: which I design for my own review, and likewise for the serious perusal of all those who may incline to inquire into things of this nature.

I have solid evidence to believe, that the Lord, in his great mercy and kindness, had an eye upon me for my good, even in my infancy, inclining my heart to seek after him in my tender years. From hence, I may reasonably conclude, arose that early inclination I had to solitude; where I sometimes had religious thoughts, and frequently read in the holy Scriptures; which I ever loved, and still do, above all books, as most worthy and most profitable; especially the New Testament, in which I chiefly delighted.

In this state, my mind suffered many flowings and ebbings; and as I grew up towards a young man, I found myself under great disadvantages in matters of religion, as I was then circumstanced. My father, intending me for the study of the law, which was esteemed a genteel profession, first sent me to the fencing-school, as a fashionable and manly accomplishment. Here I became a considerable proficient in a short time, over all my cotemporaries in that faculty; by which my mind was greatly drawn out, and alienated from those beginnings of solidity which I had once known. Having also acquired some skill in music, the exercise of that occasioned an acquaintance and society not profitable to religion; though I was hitherto preserved from such things as are generally accounted evils among mankind.

After this I was put to the study of the law, under a counsellor in the country; with a design to be entered, afterwards, into one of the inns of court, and to finish there. Being much in the country, and the family sober and religious in their way, of the most moderate sort of Presbyterians, I had again the advantage of solitude and little company, and that innocent; so that my mind returned to its former state, and further search after the truth. And though I had, at times, some youthful airs, yet, through secret grace, I was preserved from gross evils, and gained respect from all the family.

During my abode with this counsellor, I was several times with him at London; where by the fear of God, I was preserved from vice and evil company, which much abound in that great city, though I was not without temptations; and some not otherwise to be resisted than by the secret influence of grace, which supe redes them; though it may not always be immediately apprehended by such as are preserved by it.

Though I was educated in the way of the national church of England, yet I had no aversion to any class professing the Christian name, but occasionally, heard several sorts; and yet did not fully approve any sect in all things, as I came to consider them closely. At Newcastle upon Tyne I once happened to hear a famous Presbyterian preacher. It was in the reign of King Charles the Second, when the national laws were against them.
and all other dissenters from the national worship; and they, being cowardly, had their meeting in the night, and in an upper room, with a watch set below. I did not go into the room, but stood at the head of the stairs, expecting to hear something like doctrine from so noted a man among them; but, till that he entertained his auditory with, was suggestions of jealousy and dislike against the government; and this he delivered in such a way as appeared to me very disagreeable.

At another time I was at a Friends' meeting, on a week-day, at Broughton, in the county of Cumberland; where I applied my mind with as much diligence as I could to examine what I could discern in their way. But, though I observed they were very grave, serious and solid, in the time of their worship, I could gather but little, either from their manner or doctrine; only I took them to be an honest, innocent, and well-meaning sect.

Towards the latter end of the year 1687, we came out of the country, and had chambers in the city of Carlisle. King James the Second being then on the throne, and the garrison and castle in the hands of papist officers and governors, the Protestants were apprehensive of great danger to themselves; and I, as much as I could, in my sentiments and interests. There was a loose and treacherous sort among the Protestants, who approached daily nearer and nearer towards the Papists, and fell in, generally, with all their measures; which grieved the steady part, and justly heightened their apprehensions.

About this time I went diligently to the public worship, especially to the cathedral at Carlisle; where, in time of public prayer, as soon as that called the Apostle's Creed began, we all used to turn our faces towards the east; and when the word Jesus was mentioned, we all bowed and knelted towards the altar-table, as they call it; where stood a couple of Common Prayer books, in folio, one at each side of the table, and over them, painted upon the wall, I. H. S. signifying, Jesus Hominum Salvator; Jesus, the Saviour of mankind. I had read and heard many things of the popish religion; of their manifold ceremonies, strange tenets and doctrines; their cruelty, murders, and massacres of all who differed from them, wherever they had power: which I thought denoted a degeneracy below even fallen nature; that making men worse than this. As I was concerned to inquire more and more after the truth of religion, the manner of our worship in the cathedral often put me in mind of the popish religion and ceremonies, and made me conclude, that the way we were in, retained abundance of the old relics; our prayers, postures, songs, organs, cringings and shows, appearing to be little else than an abridgment of the popish mass, and the pomp and show attending it; I began to be very uneasy with it; and though I went there a little longer, yet I could not comply with several of the ceremonies; which being taken notice of, in a familiar conference with an acquaintance of the same way, I asked a little pleasantly, What is that we worship towards the east? And why towards the altar, more than any other place, at the saying of the Creed? The person replied, "Sure you are not so ignorant as you would make yourself seem. The Scripture saith, 'At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.'" And again, "As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.'"

To the first I returned, That our pagan ancestors were worshipers of the sun and all the host of heaven; and this looked very like that; and could not certainly be grounded on that Scripture; which I cannot understand to signify any other, than the gradual manifestation of the power and glory of Christ, as the morning star to the world. But if the sun be a figure of Christ, it may well be that the lightening cometh out of the east, in an outward sense; which, considering the state of the world, its revolutions and relation to the sun and other planets, cannot be in the nature of things, that being west to one place which is east to another; yet that coming would not excuse our superstition, if not idolatry, before he so come; though I grant, if he should so come, and we see him, then, and not till then, may we lawfully and reasonably worship towards the place, or imaginary place, of his coming.

As to bowing at the name of Jesus, I understand it to be in the nature of a prediction, that in the fulness of time all powers in heaven and earth shall be subjected and brought under the power of Christ, as the next verse imports, which is explanatory of the former, viz: that "every tongue shall confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Agreeing also with what the Lord Jesus himself saith,—"All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." And therefore, this bowing towards a cipher of the words, Jesus the Saviour, painted upon a wall, whilst the heart and spirit of a man is not subjected to the power of his grace, is but a mocking of Christ, a relic of popery, and hath some show of idolatry in it, from which I thought all Protestants had been thoroughly reformed.

This a little surprised my acquaintance at first, coming from one in whom so little of the work of religion appeared outwardly; but
as I remained in the diversions of fencing, dancing, music, and other recreations of the like sort, little notice was taken for a while.

After this I happened to be at a christening, as we called it, of a relation's child; on which occasion I found my mind agitated in an unusual manner, and a secret aversion to that ceremony; which I perceived was not according to the holy Scripture, for we have neither precept nor example there for that practice. And when the priest came to say the prayer, which is a part of the service on that occasion, a great fear and surprise came over my mind, as I gave a more close attention than usual, so that I could not pay that regard to it as formerly. By way of introduction to the work, the priest reads part of the tenth chapter of Mark's history of the gospel, where it is related, that the people "brought young children to Christ, that he should touch them;" that his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased; and said unto them, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them." After this they prayed that God would give his holy Spirit to that infant; that she, being born again, and made an heir of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ, might continue the servant of God, and obtain his promise, &c. And after some more ceremony, the priest said, "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign her with the sign of the cross," &c. Then the priest, pretending to the company that the infant is, by that rautism, regenerated and grafted into the body of Christ's church, exhorts them to prayer; the substance whereof was this: they thanked God that it had pleased him to regenerate that infant, with his holy Spirit, to receive her for his own child by adoption, and to incorporate her into his holy church, &c.

Upon this I note, that the Scripture there hath no relation at all to baptism; much less to sprinkling, which is no baptism. For the people brought their children to the Lord Christ, not to be baptised, but that he might touch them; and he answered the faith of the people accordingly; he blessed them, and declared their innocence and aptitude for the kingdom of God, without such baptism; and did not baptise them. So that this Scripture is inapplicable, and all the consequences drawn from it, in this sense, are null and chimerical. But they, first praying that God, in their own invented way, would give his holy Spirit to that child; and that being taken for granted, as already done by that ceremony and prayer, they then receive the child into the congregation of Christ's flock; as they say, acknowledging, that, by that baptism, that child is regenerated, and grafted into the body of Christ's church; and accordingly they make their address of thanks to God for doing it. After this ceremony was over, I privately asked the priest, whether he did believe that that ceremony, for which there is not any foundation in Scripture, either for making little children the subjects of baptism, signing them with the sign of the cross, promising and vowing in their names, believing and confessing in their stead, or sprinkling them only with water, &c., did really then, or at any time to come, regenerate those children? At which he smiled, and said no; but it being an established order in the church, the practice could not be omitted. Why then, said I, you do but mock God, in giving him thanks for that which you do not seriously believe he hath effected. And the sequel proves there is no such thing done by those means; for true baptism is justification and sanctification, effected by the holy Spirit of Christ in the mind; and not by the application of any outward element, or external performance of any person whatsoever, under any qualification.

I continued in the national way of worship, though by the divine grace, my understanding was still more and more cleared. About this time the power of king James the Second was at the height, and all sorts were indulged with great liberty; when John Scannfeld, a noted Quaker, having, by leave, a meeting on a first-day in the town-hall, several young men, amongst whom I was one, went thither to hear what those Quakers had to say. There was a mixed multitude, and some of our sort and company rude enough; but others, and myself, were resolved to give the best attention we could, in order to form a right judgment. Two Cumberland preachers spoke before John Scannfeld, whom several of us knew; but their preaching had no other effect upon me, than to confirm an opinion which I had conceived when I was a boy; that as a sort of people I had heard of, called Baptists, imitated John the Baptist, in washing or plunging their followers in water, who, I believed, had not any authority from God for that practice; so the Quakers only imitated the apostles, in going about preaching, as they did, but without that power which the apostles were accompanied with and travelled in; and I thought it was a great pity they were not so ended, since I heard they took pains as if they were. One of these preachers, to me, had only a little dry, empty talk, and the
other was more lively; but straining his voice to be heard over the multitude, he quickly grew hoarse, lost his voice, and so sat down. And then Sasksfield, the stranger, from whom we had greater expectations, stood up, and made a more manly appearance than either of the former. The first thing he did was to reprove the rudeness of some of the company; and, in his preaching, falling upon baptism, amongst other things, and alledging there was no foundation for the practice of the church of England, in all the Scripture: concerning that, he advanced this query: "Suppose," said he, "I were a Turk or a Jew, and should ask thee, What is the rule of thy practice in that point? and thou should say the Scripture; and if I should desire to see that Scripture, thou not being able to produce any, what could I conclude other than that thou hadst no foundation for thy religion but thy own imagination, and so go away offended and prejudiced against the Christian religion?" This agreed with my own former sentiments, and gave me occasion to give further attention. In the rest of his speech, he first ran down the national church at a great rate, and then likewise the church of Rome: and there being many Irish, papish, military officers present, and a couple of musketeers placed at the door, and the officers behaving so tamely, as no show of dislike appeared in any of them, many suspected Sasksfield to be a Jesuit, and that his aim was to expose and run down the church; and what he said against the church of Rome, was only the better to cloak his design: for the king and his friends could support their religion by the power of the sword; and for the cruel and forcible means; that being their usual method and practice: but there was nothing then to support the church of England but the truth of her own principles, and the fortitude and stability of her members, in the time of an impending danger and trial.

Many of us left them when they went to prayer; yet I was apprehensive of the secret influence of a divine power and presence, being in some degree, among that people; but that impression did not remain long with me, till renewed upon another occasion; which will be related hereafter.

This was in the year 1688; and when the news came of the birth of a prince, the Papists made a great bonfire in the market place; where they drank wine, till, with that, and the transport of the news, they were exceedingly distracted. The whole Protestant part of the king's subjects, except the temporizers, were in great consternation, and apprehensive of a papish government, and consequent oppression and persecution to de-

struction. Nevertheless, whether out of fear, or other cause, as well the bishops as inferior clergy, and the generality of the people throughout the king's dominions, presented addresses to him on this occasion, replete with the utmost expression of loyalty and duty that words were capable of. The pulpits generally resounded throughout the nation with their king-pleasing doctrine, of passive obedience and non-resistant; but with their own mental reservations, as in the sequel proved, insomuch that he who could not compose a discourse on that modish subject, would beg, borrow, buy, and steal from the more able, rather than not be fashionable; which occasioned jealousy in many, lest the clergy should revert and embrace the old errors; from which they, with the people, seemed to have been reformed. Yet seven of the bishops stood obstinately to their principles, when the king commanded them to read, or cause to be read, his proclamation for liberty of conscience in their respective dioceses; which, though highly reasonable and Christian, they refused. This could not be on any foundation of religion, but because it was contrary to those national laws which persecuted and suppressed all but themselves, and those of their own sect.

The face of affairs thus flattering the Roman interest, they became zenith-high in their expectations and assurance; imperious, insolent, swaggering, and insulting every where; and the Protestants more and more filled with rational apprehensions of impending danger and destruction. Notwithstanding, there were many, both among the priests and people professing the Protestant religion, as braver and forward as the Papists themselves, to fall into the present measures, interests and politics; which gave others just occasion to think they would, in the end, prove themselves false brethren.

A solid consideration of the state of affairs, and the doubtfulness of the issue, put me upon a more inward and close observation of persons and things than ever. And one day, at the assizes at Carlisle, dining at an inn with a mixed company, where happened to be two of our ministers of the church of England, a papish gentleman moved a debate concerning transubstantiation; pretending to prove, by Scripture, that, by virtue of certain words which their priests say over a piece of bread, or wafer, there is a substantial conversion of it into the real body of Christ; the very same that was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified at Jerusalem, and now glorified in heaven.

The text of Scripture he advanced to support this position, was, "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it,
and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body." And his argument was this, That Christ, being the Word of God, and the truth, whatever he said must be positively and literally true; and therefore there is a real change of the bread into the true and real body of Christ: and this being an ordinance of God to his ministers, the same power is annexed to that ordinance; since, at the same time, he commanded them to do the same, saying, "This do in remembrance of me."

During this uninterrupted discourse, my zeal was kindled, so that I could scarcely contain it. But being young, and deficient in my own abilities, and paying regard and preference to our two ministers present; and expecting their appearance against so great an error, and so opposite to the Protestant religion, I delayed till it became almost unreasonable to engage him. But they minding their plates, and hanging down their heads, with their countenances veiled by their hats; and I seeing no sign of any answer from them to the papist, I took him up upon the subject, thus: You of the church of Rome take these words literally; but we take the whole form of his speech at that time on that subject, to be figurative; and that these words, "This is my body," intended no more than, This bread is a symbol, or figure, or representation of my body, which shall shortly hereafter be broken for you: for we ought not to divide the sentence or speech of Christ, and take one part literally and another figuratively. And you may remember that, at the same time, he also took the cup saying, "This cup is the New Testament, in my blood, which is shed for you." Do you think that that cup, whether of gold, silver, glass, or wood, was the New Testament? Or can't you see, that in this latter part of his speech there is a double figure? First, the thing containing for the thing contained; and secondly, the wine in the cup, exhibited under the word cup, as a figure or representation of his blood; which was not then actually, or literally shed, or his body broken. And seeing he said, in the present tense, "This is my body which is broken (not to be broken) for you; and this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is (not which shall hereafter be) shed for you;" you must either own that Christ advanced a false proposition, which you will not; or that he spoke figuratively in both sentences; which you cannot reasonably avoid. Besides, the words uttered by Christ himself, did not work that effect you imagine; for no man can call a thing by any name, denoting its existence, before it is that thing which it is called: [then taking up a plate] no man, for instance, can truly and literally say, this is a plate, if it were not a plate before. Then, by a parity of reason and truth, Christ could not say, this bread is my body, if it were not his body before. Therefore these words made no alteration, for it was so before; these were only declarative of what was before, and not initiatory, or commincive of a new being, which was not there before. Again, if ever these words had effected a transubstantiation, they would when Christ himself uttered them. Consider then, pray, that as soon as Christ began to speak these words, "This is my body," the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, began to cease to be his body, and the bread began to convert into it; and that, as soon as the words were finished, the body born of the Virgin, altogether ceased to be what it was before; and, by a new way of corporeal transmigration, insinuated itself into the bread; which, by the same degrees that the body of Christ ceased to be his body, commenced, proceeded, grew, and became his body; or else he had two bodies present with his disciples at the same time; and if they eat his body that evening, what body was that which was crucified the next day? And what blood was then shed, if, the night before, the disciples had drank the blood of Jesus in a proper and literal sense, and without a figure? And where now is that same cup? If you have lost that, you have, in your own sense, lost the New Testament, and all your share therein. Now, if you can persuade me and this company out of our senses and understandings, so that we may be able to believe against both, that a piece of bread is the body of Christ, and a cup of wine is his blood, then you may bid fair for our conversion, or rather perversion, to your religion. But, till you can do that, you cannot reasonably expect we should embrace so great absurdities. Upon this, several of the company laughed; and the Papist said these were great mysteries, and the subject copious and intricate, and could not, at that time, be fully prosecuted, but might be more largely discussed at some other convenient opportunity. I replied, then why did you move it? Could you think we would all sit silent, to hear you propagate such notions, and make no opposition? And so the matter dropped. But though I had thus opposed him, he showed more respect to me afterwards than to any other of the company.

Dinner being over, our ministers retired into another room, and I went to them; where, with much seeming respect, they dressed themselves to me after this manner, "We are very glad to hear you have so much
to say in defence of our religion, and that
you managed the debate so that he got no
advantage, nor could maintain his point." But I, being still under the grief and shame,
as well as resentment, of their temporizing
cowardice and negligence, quickly returned
thus: "And I, gentlemen, am very much
grieved and ashamed to find that you had no-
thing at all to say in defence of it, which I
very much wondered at; for I so long ex-
pected one of you would have engaged the
gentleman, that it was almost unreasonable
to make any answer."

To this they replied, that I might do it a
great deal better and safer than they; for it
would have been more taken notice of, and
worse resented in them; and might have been
greatly to their future prejudice.

This reply, from men of their profession,
at such a crisis, when our religion was appar-
ently in the most imminent danger, bore such
an aspect of temporizing, and was so suspi-
cious of a secret inclination to apostatize from
their own avowed principles and to conform
to Popery, then ready to open its way. For though the doctrine, rightly stated, is a Christian doctrine
and duty, yet the failure in practice renders
that testimony, as to them, void, how nicely
and subtilly soever they may interpret them-
selves out of the practice of what the people
understood, and the priests intended they
should understand by it at that time.

But though I was well pleased with the
revolution of affairs at that time, the circum-
stances thereon being attended with different
evidence of a very particular providence of
the Almighty, yet I took offence at the cler-
gy's appearing so much in it as they did, who
had lately so vehemently preached up con-
trary principles.

This great and sudden revolution in the
government seemed to unhinge things for a
time; and few, if any, knew where they
would at last fix. The church was divided
in judgment, if not in interest; some few
keeping to the practice of their former doc-
trine, but the generality receding from it. So
that, for my own part, being young, and only
a private person, I could not see any certainty
in any thing we called religion, state, or poli-
tics; all being interpreted as served the times;
or as if none of them had any certain or
steady bottom, or longer continued the same,
then the humour or interest of Pretenders run
that way. Christianity, heavens, and eternal
life, and the way thither, were the general
pretences of so many insincere and empty
professors of Christ, wholly strangers to his
holy and divine nature; that under deep hu-

miliation in a view of these things, and of my
own want of an experimental knowledge of
God, in true contrition, and bent of both mind and body before him in secret, I often implored his divine wisdom and direction in a concern of the last importance; in which, above all things, we ought to be most certain and clear, both as to the object of faith, in things to be believed, done, and suffered; about which there are so many great and unchristian-like contests in the pretended Christian world, and so little of the wise, innocent, and holy nature of that divine and heavenly thing we all talk and make profession of.

I think proper in this place, to recount some of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me from my early days. I was not naturally addicted to much vice or evil; and yet, through the conversation of rude boys at school, I had acquired some things by imitation, tending that way. But as I came to put them in practice, by word or action, I found something in myself at such times, suddenly surprising me with a sense of the evil, and making me ashamed when alone; though what I had said or done was not evil in the common account of such as I conversed with, or among men, in a common acceptance. And though I believed, done and suffered what this reprobation was, yet it had so much influence and power with me that I was much reformed thereby from those habits, which, in time, might have been foundations for greater evils; or as stocks whereon to have engrafted a worse nature, to the bringing forth of a more plentiful crop of grosser vices.

Nevertheless, as I grew up to maturity I had many flowings and ebings in my mind; the common temptations among youth being often and strongly presented; and though I was preserved from guilt, as in the sight of men, yet not so before the Lord, who seeth in secret, and at all times beholdeth all the thoughts, desires, words, and actions of the children of men, in every age and throughout the world.

The lust of the flesh, of the eye, and the pride of life, had their objects and subjects presented. The airs of youth were many and potent; strength, activity, and comeliness of person were not wanting, and had their share; nor were natural endowments of mind or competent acquirements asf afar; and the glory, advancements and preferments of the world, spread as nets in my view, and the friendship thereof beginning to address me with flattering courtship. I wore a sword, the use of which I well understood, and had foiled several masters of that science in the north and at London; and rode with fire-arms also, of which I knew the use; and yet I was not quarrelsome; for though I emulated, I was not envious. This rule, as a man, I formed to myself, never to offend or affront any wilfully, or with design; and if, inadvertently, I should happen to disoblige any, rather to acknowledge, than maintain or vindicate a wrong thing; and rather to take ill behaviour from others by the best hand, than to be offended, where no offence was wilfully designed. But then I was determined to resent and punish an affront, or personal injury, when it was done in contempt, or with design. Yet I never met with any, save once; and then I kept to my own maxims with success; and yet so as neither to wound, nor be wounded; the good providence of the Almighty being ever over me and on my side, as well knowing my meaning in all my conduct. But, in process of time, as those motions of corruption and sin became stronger and stronger in me, so the Lord, in great goodness and mercy, made manifest to my understanding the nature and end of them; and having a view of them in the true light, and the danger attending them, they became exceedingly heavy and oppressing to my mind.

And then the necessity of that great work of regeneration was deeply impressed upon me; but I had no external witness of what I wrought in me hitherto. This apprehension greatly surprised me with fear, considering the great uncertainty of the continuance of the natural life; and it began to put a secret stain upon the world and all its glory, and all that I had to glory in; though I kept these thoughts within my own breast, not knowing of any soul to whom I could seriously and safely divulge them. And indeed none, for a considerable time, discovered my inward concern by any outward appearance; which I found afterwards, had been much to my advantage and safety.

It is admirable by what various steps the Lord is pleased to lead the soul of man out of this world and the spirit of it, home to himself; and yet I am apt to think, that, in his divine and unlimited wisdom, he does not take the same outward method and steps with every one, but varies the work of his providence as their states and circumstances may best suit and bear. By an accident that befell me, I was further alarmed to consider my ways, the uncertainty of life, my present state, and latter end.

It was this: Intending to go to a country church with an acquaintance, as we were riding gently along, my horse stumbling, fell and broke his neck, and lay so heavy upon my leg that I could scarcely draw it from under him; yet I received no hurt. But as we stood by him I had this consideration, that my own life might have been ended by that
occasion, and I did not find myself in a condition fit for heaven, having yet no evidence of that necessary work of regeneration. This brought great heaviness over my mind, which did not totally depart till, through the infinite mercy of God, I was favoured with further knowledge and a better state.

Hitherto I had known the grace of God in me only as a minister of evil and of sin, a word of reproof, and a law condemning and judging those thoughts, desires, words, passions, affections, acts and omissions, which are seated in the first nature, and rooted in the carnal mind; in which the suggestions, temptations, and influences of the evil one work and prevail. By this divine grace I was, in some good degree, enlightened, reformed, and enabled to shun and forbear all words and acts known to be evil, and moral righteousness restored in my mind, and thereby brought forth in me. I became then weaned from all my former acquaintance and company; their manners and conversation, though not vicious, for such I never liked, became burdensome and disagreeable; for they had not the knowledge of God, nor such a conversation as I wanted. Yet I did not know the divine grace in its own nature, as it is in Christ; not as a word of faith, sanctification, justification, consolation and redemption; being yet alive in my own nature. The Son of God was not yet revealed in me; nor I, by the power of his holy cross, mortified and slain; being without the knowledge of the essential truth, and in a state contrary to him, and unrequited. But the Lord did not leave me here, but, in his matchless mercy, followed me still by his holy admonitions, and more and more inclined my mind in an earnest inquiry after himself, and his own truth and Word; concerning whom, I did not know of any in all the earth who could teach me, the world being universally, as I judged by the general ways and courses of men, of all forms and ranks, altogether ignorant of the Lord, knowing only some historical and traditional hints concerning him, and of his doctrine and ways; which having little or no effect or influence upon the minds and conversations of men, it seemed but a dead knowledge or image, and they being dead whilst they yet lived, did not really and savingly believe in the true God, and Christ Jesus, of whom they made profession and talked. I did not then know that the Lord had any people in the world, owned by his presence with them, as his flock and family; which reminds me of that saying of the Lord, "Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?"

My mind being truly earnest with God, thirsting unto death for the knowledge of the Way of Life, he was pleased to hear the voice of my necessity; for I wanted present salvation, and the Lord knew my case could not admit of further delay. Being moved by his own free mercy and goodness, even in the same love in which he sent his Son, the beloved, into the world, to seek and save the lost; on the 1st day of the second month, in the evening, in the year, according to the common account, 1889, being alone in my chamber, the Lord brake in upon me unexpectedly; quick as lightning from the heavens, and as a righteous, all-powerful, all-knowing, and sin-condemning Judge: before whom my soul, as in the deepest agony, trembled, was confounded and amazed, and filled with such awful dread as no words can reach or declare.

My mind seemed plunged into utter darkness, and eternal condemnation appeared to inclose me on every side, as in the centre of the horrible pit; never to see redemption thence, or the face of him in mercy, whom I had sought with all my soul. But in the midst of this confusion and amazement, where my thought could be formed, or any idea retained, save eternal death possessing my whole man, a voice was formed and uttered in me, "Thy will, O God, be done; if this be thy act alone, and not my own, I yield my soul to thee." In conceiving these words, from the Word of Life, I quickly found relief: there was all-healing virtue in them; and the effect was so swift and powerful, that, even in a moment, all my fears vanished, as if they had never been, and my mind became calm and still, and the world seemed as a little child; the day of the Lord dawnt and the Son of Righteousness arose in me, with divine healing and restoring virtue in his countenance; and he became the centre of my mind.

In this wonderful operation of the Lord's power, denouncing judgment in tender mercy, and in the hour of my deepest concern and trial, I lost my old self, and came to the beginning of the knowledge of Him, the just and the Holy One, whom my soul had longed for. I now saw the whole body of sin condemned in my own flesh; not by particular acts, as whilst travelling in the way to a perfect moral state only, but by one stroke and sentence of the great Judge of all the world, of the living and of the dead, the whole carnal mind, with all that dwelt therein, was wounded, and death began; as self-love, pride, evil thoughts, and every evil desire, with the whole corruption of the first state and natural life.

Here I had a taste and view of the agony of the Son of God, and of his death and state upon the cross, when the weight of the sins
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of all human kind were upon him, and when he trod the wine-press alone, with none to assist him. Now all my past sins were pardoned and done away; my own willings, runnings, searchings and strivings, were at an end; and all my carnal reasonings and conceivings about the knowledge of God, and the mysteries of religion, were over; which had long exercised my mind, being then natural, both day and night, and taken away my desire of food and natural repose. But now my sorrows ended, and my anxious cares were done away; and this true fear being, to me, the initiation into wisdom, I now found the true sabbath, a holy, heavenly, divine, and free rest, and most sweet repose. This deep exercise being over, I slept till the next morning, and had greater and better refreshment and comfort than I had felt for some weeks before.

The next day I found my mind calm and free from anxiety, in a state like that of a young child. In this condition I remained till night; and about the same time in the evening that the visitation, before related, came upon me, my whole nature and being, both mind and body, was filled with the divine presence, in a manner I had never known before, nor had ever thought that such a thing could be; and of which none can form any idea, but what the Holy thing itself doth give.

Divine Truth was now self-evident; there wanted nothing else to prove it. I needed not to reason about him; all that was superseded by that divine and truly wonderful evidence and light, which proceeded from Himself alone, leaving no place for doubt, or any question at all. For as the sun, in the open firmament of heaven, is not discovered or seen, but by his own light, and the mind of man determines thereby, at sight, and without any train of reasoning, what he is; even so, and more than so, by the overshadowing influence and divine virtue of the Highest, was my soul assured, that it was the Lord. I saw him in his own light, by that blessed and holy medium, which of old he promised to make known to all nations; by that eye which he himself had formed and opened, and also enlightened by the emanation of his own eternal glory.

Thus I was filled with perfect consolation, which none but the Word of Life can declare or give. It was then, and not till then, I knew that God is love, and that perfect love which casteth out all fear. It was then I knew that God is eternal light, and that in him is no darkness at all.

I was highly favoured also with a view of the manner of the operation of the Almighty, in assuming human nature, and clothing therewith his inaccessible divine light and glory, even with an innocent, holy, and divine soul and mind, homogeneal to the children of men; as with a veil, whereby the Most High condescended to the low condition of man, and in whom also man, being refined as the tried gold, and thereby fitted for the holy One, can approach to him, as by a proper medium, and therein dwell with the Lord, and enjoy him for ever.

From henceforth I desired to know nothing but the Lord, and to feed on that bread of life which he alone can give, and did not fail to minister daily, and oftener than the morning; and yet, of his own free will and goodness, he was pleased to open my understanding, by degrees, into all the needful mysteries of his kingdom, and the truths of his gospel; in the process whereof he exercised my mind in dreams, in visions, in revelations, in prophecies, in divine openings and demonstrations. Also, by his eternal and divine light, grace, spirit, power and wisdom or word, he instructed and informed my mind; and by temptations also, and provings, which he suffered Satan to minister; that I might see my own weakness and danger, and prove, to the utmost, the force and efficacy of that divine love and truth, by which the Lord, in his boundless goodness and mercy, had thus visited my soul. By all things I saw and heard in his wonderful works of creation, by my own mind and body, by the animals, reptiles, and vegetables of the earth and sea, their ranks and subserviences one to another, and all of them to the children of men; by the sun, moon and stars, the innumerable host of heaven, and that boundless space which they move in, without interfering, or any way annoying one another, all depending one upon another, all connected without a chasm, and all governed by the steady laws, which the Almighty Word and Father who gave them being, and formed them, placed them under, and settled them in.

But, as the diadem of all, and the only true and certain way, when it pleased the Most High, by the effusion of his own goodness, to reveal in me the Son of his love, even his wisdom and power, by whom he designed and effected all things, then I was taught to fear him; then I was taught to love him; then, and not aright till then, was my soul instructed and informed indeed.

But these secret operations were confined to my own breast, so that no one knew any thing of them; an alteration was observed in me, but the cause of it was not seen. I put off my usual airs, my jovial actions and address, and laid aside my sword, which I had
LIFE OF THOMAS STORY.

worn, not through design of injury, or fear of any, but as a modest and manly ornament. I burnt also my instruments of music, and divested myself of the superfluous parts of my apparel, retaining only that which was necessary, or deemed decent. I declined the public worship, not with a design to join myself to any other sect; for I was rather apt to conclude, from what I had observed, that these manifestations were peculiar to me, and that there was not any people I might properly associate with; and also, I was induced to believe, that one day I should be obliged to oppose the world in matters of religion, but when or how that should be brought to pass, I did not foresee.

Remaining in a still and retired state, and the Book of Life being opened in my mind, I read what the Lord himself, by the finger of his power, had written, and the Lion of the tribe of Judah opened there; and the Scriptures of truth, written by Moses and the prophets, the evangelists and apostles of Christ, were brought to my remembrance daily, when I did not read them, and made clear and plain to my understanding and experience, so far as they related to my own state, and also in a general way; though Iusted not to know any mystery or thing contained therein, other than the Lord, in his own free will and wisdom, thought fit to manifest.

As the nature and virtue of divine truth increased in my mind, it wrought in me daily a greater conformity to itself, by its own power; reducing my mind to a solid quietude and silence, as a state more fit for attending to the divine Word, and distinguishing it from all other powers, and its divine influences from all imaginations and other motions: and being daily fed with the fruit of the Tree of Life, I desired no other knowledge than that which was thus given me.

On the afternoon of the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1689, silence was commanded in me, though not by me, in which it was given me to remain till the evening; and then that Scripture, John xiii. 10, was brought to my remembrance; which I began to write, and proceeded, as things opened in my mind, and in manner following:

"Jesus saith to him, he that is washed needeth not, save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit."

The washing of the feet signifies the cleansing of the ways; and those who are washed in the laver of regeneration, will walk in clean paths, and bring forth fruit according to the nature of the Tree of Life. Such will walk in faith, love, obedience, peace, holiness, righteousness, judgment, mercy, and truth. And whosoever saith he is of the Father, and hath not charity, he is a liar, and the living Word ruleth not in him; for whosoever hath known the Word, and abideth therein, hath the Father, because the word of Truth beareth witness of the Father; and whosoever is born of God will keep his commandments.

Hear, O ye mountains, and give ear, O ye cedars of Lebanon, the Lord, the light of Jerusalem, the life of saints, hath put a song of praise in my mouth, and caused me to rejoice in the valley of Jehoshaphat. I was in the desert, and he led me forth by the power of his right hand; I was fallen, and he stretched out his arm, and set me upright; yea, I was dead, and, behold, he raised me from the grave. I was also an hungered, and he has fed me with the bread of his everlasting covenant. I weakly fainted in the way; but the King of the holy mountain revived me by the word of his promise. He has laid my foundations with beauty, with precious stones of divers colours; and the superstructure is all glory.

Fear not, ye of low degree; for with our God there is no respect of persons: fear not, ye little ones; for he showed you his loving-kindness of old; and with him there is no shadow of turning. Awake, awake, ye who sleep in trespasses and in sins; for the trumpet sounds aloud in the city of our King: be raised, ye dead, and stand upright before him; for he is true and faithful who sent forth his Word. Conquer, O conquer, thou holy love of God, those who in ignorance oppose thy mercy. Smite thy people with great thirst, O Lord God of mercy, that they may drink abundantly of the waters of thy salvation. Make them hungry, O Life of the just, that they may eat abundantly, and be refreshed by the bread of life everlasting. Call them from the husks of outward shadows, and feed them with thy hidden manna and Tree of Life. Take from them the wine of the earth, which they have abused to abomination, and give them the fruit of the living Vine at the Father's table. Wash them in the laver of regeneration, by thy holy Spirit; and cleanse them by thy righteous judgments, that they may retain thy love. Consider their weakness, O Father of mercies; for they are flesh and blood, and cannot see through the veil into thy holy habitation. Send the veil of carnal wisdom in the earthly mind, thou wonderful Counsellor, and display thy glory in its full perfection. Dissolve the great world of pride, covetousness, drunkenness, lying, cursing, oppressions, filthy communications, and whoresoms; and establish righteousness and peace for evermore.

I was silent before the Lord, as a child not yet weaned; he put words in my mouth, and
I sang forth his praise with an audible voice. I called unto my God out of the great deep; he put on bowels of mercy, and had compassion on me, because his love was infinite, and his power without measure. He called for my life, and I offered it at his footstool; but he gave it me as a prey, with unspeakable addition. He called for my will, and I resigned it at his call; but he returned me his own in token of his love. He called for the world, and I laid it at his feet, with the crowns thereof; I withheld them not at the beckoning of his hand. But mark the benefit of exchange! For he gave me, instead of earth, a kingdom of eternal peace; and in lieu of the crowns of vanity, a crown of glory.

They gazed upon me; they said I was mad, distracted, and become a fool; they lamented because my freedom came. They whispered against me in the vanity of their imaginations; but I inclined mine ear unto the whisperings of the Spirit of Truth. I said, what am I, that should receive such honour? But he removed the mountains out of my way, and by his secret workings pressed me forward.

[At another time he penned the following prayer.]

"O Almighty, incomprehensible, and infinitely merciful Lord God, forasmuch as none can enter into thy rest, unless he be regenerated and renewed, I humbly beg in the name and for the sake of thy Son Christ, that thou wilt be pleased to wash me in the water of life, and purify my polluted soul with the holy fire of thine infinite love; that I may live in thee, and walk in the living way of truth, love, peace, joy, righteousness, holiness, temperance, and patience, so long as thou art pleased to continue me in this garden of labour. And be my strength, O my righteousness! that I go not astray from thy paths, through the frailty of this earthly tabernacle; but give me daily the bread of life, which thou freely holdest forth to the hungry all the day long. And inasmuch as none can eat of this bread, but those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, give me a fervent desire, O my salvation! and a saving faith, a living faith, to lay hold on thy most certain promise; that I may be made partaker of the glory that is laid up for thy servants in thine everlasting habitations."

The conversation of mankind being generally upon trifles, not worthy of the thought of rational creatures, tending much more to vice than to virtue; and my mind being a little renewed by the influence of the divine truth, I was much in silence and alone; and what thoughts I had been upon other objects than those I had been conversant with before I knew the truth, I wrote also some other things, as they were from time to time presented in my mind, without any search or labour.

[The following aspirations show that he experienced the enjoyment of the divine life after seasons of enjoyment of which he has spoken.]

"O Lord, take pity on a perishing soul, borne down under a multitude of vile affections, trodden under foot by the insolence of the wicked one. I faint under the yoke, O thou most faithful and true! and have no hope but in thee.

"My heart is weary with sighing under troubles, and my pains increase. When shall my day come, O redemption of the just! and when shall I see the seal of my salvation?

"O work in me the law of everlasting love, and fix my boundaries there for ever and ever. O thou, who saidst unto the worlds, Be ye finished, and it was so; say unto my soul, Be thou perfect, and it shall be done.

"Purify me, O God, by the judgments of thy right hand, and let thy mercies ever be before me; raise me up, that I may praise thee in the firmament of thy power; humble me, that I may exalt thy name in the midst of the nations."

A deep consideration entered into my mind, concerning the states of many persons in the national way of worship, as also among the dissenters from it; some of whose preachers I had occasionally heard, particularly Dr. Richard Gilpin of Scaleby-castle, an able physician and an ancient celebrated preacher among the Presbyterians; and I had observed many others who seemed to have sincerity and good intentions in their respective modes of worship. Hence a question arose, whether it might not be through my own fault, for want of the true knowledge of God in myself heretofore, that I did not enjoy his presence among them, as I had done, through his grace, since I had been visited by the Lord, and drawn into retirement by the comforts of his secret presence? Upon which I determined to go again and see, whether the good presence of the Lord would be manifested in me there, as alone in my retirements. The place I went to was that called St. Cuthbert's, in the city of Carlisle; there being usually prayers and a sermon there in the afternoon of the first-days; but not with that pomp, noise, and show, as at the cathedral, and therefore I rather chose it. Being seated there, as I had been often, and my mind required inward, to wait upon the Lord, as he himself had taught me, the Lord would not
own that worship by his sensible presence, though in himself omnipresent, nor me in that place; but my mind became filled with darkness, and overwhelmed with trouble, to so great a degree, that I could hardly stay till the time was over. But lest I should do a thing unbecoming, I continued to the end, and returning to my chamber in trouble, and I went not among any of them any more. Though I thus declined all outward worship, or that which was called so, determining to follow the Lord wheresoever it might please him to lead me; yet I found universal love, good will, and compassion in my mind, to all sorts of people, whether Protestants of different denominations, Romans, Jews, Turks, or heathens. But I observed their several religions, or what they accounted so, every man for himself, to be mostly the effect of education, tradition, or chance. For he who is born and educated among the Protestants of any sect respectively, is such: he who is born and educated among the Romans, is a Roman; and so of all the rest, till by accident, or interest, they change from form to form; or sometimes, though more rarely, thing which might be looked upon as inwardly the Holy Spirit of God, they obtain a right understanding and worship him in truth. Therefore I stood still, and waited for the further leadings of the Lord, and the evidence of his presence, what to do, or where to abide; though the Protestants, in general, especially the national church, were still nearer to me than any other sect.

Thus, the world, in general, appearing to me dead with respect to the true knowledge of God, notwithstanding the truth of some notions they held in relation to matters of fact and literal interpretation, and as walking statues, I did not then see that the Lord God had any collective body of people at that day, who truly worshipped him, according to his own institution; or that any one on earth knew some things, which the true and living God had been pleased, of his own free grace, and which I could neither ask or think of, to communicate unto me; though I found, in due time, I had been in this point mistaken, as the prophet of old, who thought he had been alone, and all Israel departed from the Lord.

As the life of the Son of God prevailed in me, I became more and more innocent, humble, loving, and charitable to the poor; to whom I gave money according to my ability, and without ostentation, or expectation of reward: one instance of which I think proper to relate, it being attended with some particular circumstances.

At the time king William the Third was subduing Ireland, some persons and families, retiring from the inconveniences and hardships of the war, came into England, and among others an Independent teacher, and with him a youth, his son; who being in want, requested charity; and coming to my father's house in Carlisle, where I then was, I gave him half a crown; which being more than he expected, or had received, as he said, from any other person in town, he took occasion thence to enter into discourse concerning some points of religion, and civilly asked of me, what form of worship I attended? I replied, I had formerly frequented the national worship, according to my education; but then, and for some time before, had declined it, as also all other outward forms, keeping retired in my chamber, on the usual days appointed for that purpose. And when he heard this, he asked if his company the next Lord's day, as he called it, might be acceptable, for the national worship was not agreeable to him; I gave liberty, and he and his son came accordingly to my chamber, where I was sitting alone in silence, waiting upon the Lord.

After a civil reception, and short pause of silence, he began to magnify the great providence of God, in re-establishing and advancing that people, meaning the Independents and Presbyterians, who had been so much hated, persecuted and suppressed, now to be made the chief instruments of deliverance, restoration, and reformation to the right way of the Lord, and to his own glory.

As he spoke, I observed he himself was not upon the true foundation, nor acquainted with the mind of the Lord on that account; but spoke from his own imagination and partiality to his own sect, as he and they desired it should have been; his mind natural and carnal, and his views outward, toward the power and dominion of this world, as the Jews were at the time of the appearance of Christ among them; and as soon as he came to a period, finding my mind filled with the sweetness and meekness of divine truth, I replied, "The divine providence is indeed great over the children of men, and apparently over this nation and her dependents at this day; and the necessity of a right and thorough reformation is very great, and in the proper time and way of the Almighty, will be brought to pass. But it will be neither by the means nor instruments now in your view; for all the contenders, one against another, by destrcutive force, are of one spirit divided against itself, under different forms and views, in which the strongest will advance themselves and their own way; but cannot by such
means, reform either themselves or others, as they ought to do in the sight of God, who does not approve of countenance violence, bloodshed, and unrighteousness in one sect, and condemn the same things in another; and will therefore bring about that right reformation, by instruments of a different kind, and by another, means and method: as it is written, 

"Not by might, nor by power; but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." 

Upon this the stranger was much broken in spirit, and the tears ran down his beard, and dropped upon his knee, as he sat by me; and after that being filled with love, the same which had reached him from my spirit, he embraced me in his arms, rejoicing that he had met with me, but said no more on any religious subject. Soon after he departed, and I saw him no more.

I now proceed with the account of my further progress. In writing the last paragraph of a piece, the people called Quakers were suddenly, and with some surprise, brought to my mind; and so strongly impressed on my remembrance, that thenceforward I had a secret inclination to inquire further concerning them, their way and principles.

It was sometime in the fifth month, in the year 1689, an occasion was presented. The occasion of it was some concern that I had in the west parts of Cumberland, when lodging at an inn kept by one of that profession, on a seventh-day night, and inquiring of him concerning some points of their religion, I perceived no material difference between his sentiments and mine, in the particulars then asked after; and he also perceived I was nearer them than he or perhaps any other had thought, for I had formerly opposed the same man in some things, which gave him occasion to inform me of their meeting, to be held the next day, at a country village called Broughton.

As I had been desirous to be rightly informed concerning that people, and to see them as in truth they were, I was pleased with the opportunity; and the next morning the Friend and I set forward toward the meeting. He being zealous to have me further informed and convinced of the truth of their way, spake of many things as we rode along, and with a good intent: but my mind being composed, and its attention directed towards God, who knew I wanted only to see the truth, and not to be deceived, I could not take any distinct notice of what the Friend said; which he perceiving, after some time desired, and said no more. And then we rode some miles together in profound silence; in which my mind enjoyed a gentle rest and consolation, from the divine and holy presence.

When we came to the meeting, being a little late, it was full gathered; and I went among the throng of the people on the forms, and sat still among them in that inward condition and mental retirement. And though one of their ministers, a stranger, began to speak to some points held by them, and declaim against some things held by others, and denied by them; particularly predestination as asserted by the Presbyterians; yet I took not much notice of it. I did not doubt but like all other sects, they might have something to say, both for their own and against the opinions of others; yet my concern was much rather to know whether they were a people gathered under a sense of the enjoyment of the presence of God in their meetings; or, in other words, whether they worshipped the true and living God, in the life and nature of Christ, the Son of God, the true and only Saviour: and the Lord answered my desire according to the integrity of my heart.

For, not long after I had sat down among them, that heavenly and watery cloud overshadowing my mind, brake into a sweet abounding shower of celestial rain, and the greatest part of the meeting was broken together, dissolved in the presence of the true, heavenly Lord; which was divers times repeated before the meeting ended. In the same way, by the same divine power, I had been often favoured before when alone, and when no eye but that of heaven beheld, or any knew, but the Lord himself; who, in infinite mercy, had been pleased to bestow so great a favour.

And, as many small springs and streams, descending into a proper place, and forming a river, become more deep and weighty; even so, thus meeting with a people gathered of the living God, into a sense of the enjoyment of his divine and living presence, through Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of the world, I felt an increase of the joy of the salvation of God; and the more, by how much I now perceived I had been under the like mistake as the prophet of God of old; but now was otherwise informed, by a sure evidence and token; by the witness of the divine truth, in which no living soul can err, or be deceived; being self-evident and undeniable in all those who truly know him.

Our joy was mutual and full, though in many tears, as in cases of the deepest and most unseigned love; for the Friends there being generally sensible I was affected and tendered with them, by the influence of the divine truth they knew and made profession of; did conclude I had been at that time, and not before, convinced and come to the know-
knowledge of the way of truth among them; and their joy was as of heaven, at the return of a penitent; and mine as the joy of salvation from God, in view of the work of the Lord so far carried on in the earth; when I had thought, not long before, there had scarcely been any true and living faith or knowledge of God in the world.

The meeting being ended, the peace of God which passeth all the understanding of natural men, and is inexpressible by any language but itself alone, remained as a holy canopy over my mind, in a silence out of the reach of all words; and where no idea but the Word Himself can be conceived. But being invited, together with the ministering Friend, to the house of the ancient widow Hall, I went willingly with them: but the sweet silence commanded in me still remaining, I had nothing to say to any of them till He was pleased to draw the curtain and veil his presence; and then I found my mind pure, and in a well bounded liberty of innocent conversation with them.

Having said there a short time, I was invited to dinner at the house of Richard Ribton, an ancient and honourable Friend in the village, where I was made kindly welcome, and where I had great freedom of conversation.

Being now satisfied, beyond my expectations, concerning the people of God, in whom the Lord had begun, and in a good measure carried on a great work and reformation in the earth, I determined to lay aside every business and thing which might hinder or veil in me the enjoyment of the presence of the Lord, whether among his people or alone; or obstruct any service whereunto I was or might be called by him; especially things of an entangling or confining nature; not regarding what the world might say, or what name they might impose upon me.

The business being over which had brought me into that part of the country, I returned to Carlisle, where I had been but about two weeks till the Friend of the inn before mentioned, coming to town, informed me of their meeting for business and affairs of their Society, and invited me to it, being about four miles distant.

At first I was a little surprised that he should invite me to such a meeting, and hardly thought him prudent in it; for I had not yet made any outward profession with them, or declared myself of their communion. But though I found some aversion, rather than inclination, towards it, yet I yielded to go, that I might see in what spirit and wisdom they managed the discipline and business of their Society in matters of religion, that I might view them a little more clearly in all circumstances, before I should openly declare for their way in all things—some doubts yet remaining as to some points—and see whether they thoroughly agreed with the idea I had conceived in my mind of the state of the church of Christ, viz: that they believed in God and Christ; were settled in the practice of Christian morality; that they were able to suffer any persecution, or opposition, for true religion, when thereunto called, in the course of divine providence; that the characteristic mark of the disciples of Christ should be fairly upon them, "to love one another," not in word and in tongue only, but in deed and in truth; and that they should be preserved by that love, in uniformity and unity among themselves; and also being loving and kind to all men, as occasion might offer; and evince the same, by doing them good, and never any harm. These qualifications I had deemed sufficient to demonstrate such to be the children of God, brought forth in his image, righteousness and true holiness, in the inner man.

The meeting being set, they had first a time of silence, waiting upon God, as I did believe and practice, for the renewing and strengthening of their minds; and after that they proceeded upon the business of the day. It happened at that time that a matter of great moment among them was debated, and not without some warmth on both sides; but the zeal of both did not arise from the same root. It was concerning the manner and essence of their discipline, which a sect among them had opposed, from the time of the first proposal of any discipline in the Society. The debates arising pretty high, and they observing me to be there, and most of them, I doubt not, having heard I seemed to favour their way; and being cautious lest I should take offence at their debates, not knowing the state of the case, or, perhaps, not qualified to judge in matters so foreign to me, some of them prudently put the Friend who had introduced me, upon an inoffensive way to procure my absence; and accordingly he called me into an outer room, offering to discourse on some foreign subject. But as my mind, in time of silence in the meeting, had been comforted in the life of truth, I remained under the sense of it; having taken little other notice of what had passed in point of argument, than in what spirit they managed and contended on each side.

Though I observed the Friend's good intent in calling me out, I could take no cognizance of what he said; for a deep thought now entered my mind, whether these could be the people of God? since they seemed to be di-
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vided among themselves, and treat one another with anserminy of language, which, I thought, could not arise from love, neither altogether suited to the humility of Jesus, the true Christ. The Friend observing my silence, and that I was under a deep inward concern, became silent likewise, and a trouble also seized him, but of another kind; for I was concerned to know the truth, and on what side, if on either, it might lie; and he was afraid I had taken, or might take offence, and depart from the beginning I had made among them.

Thus we remained silent for some time; during which I plainly observed a struggle between two distinct powers working in myself, which exhibited two different conclusions in my mind concerning the matter then in hand, and the spirits and persons concerned therein, viz.: the first was Truth, establishing himself in his own nature, a law-giver and ruler in every member of his church and body, as a parent needful unto them who were truly so. But as He who knoweth all things, did foresee that many would, in time, come into that profession, as of old, without any knowledge of divine truth, or the work of it in themselves, but, as thieves and robbers, climbing up some other way; by education, tradition, imitation, or sinister interests and worldly views; who, not being under the rule and law of grace in the second birth, would act and say of themselves, contrary to the way of truth and the church of the living God; and therefore, in his wisdom and power, working in the minds of the just, he had early established, and was yet more firmly establishing, a due order among his people; for preserving the right, and passing judgment and condemnation on the wrong and evil doers; that such as should profess the truth of God, and yet walk contrary to the same, bringing forth fruits of another kind, might be bound and confined by outward moral rules, adapted to human reason and understanding.

Secondly, that the spirit of this world had been, and still was working in the other sort, to oppose all order and discipline, and to live loose as they list, without any rule or account to the Society, though professing the same truth with them; wanting to be judged only by their own light, or what they called so, and accountable only to the spirit in themselves; though several among that party were only against some branches of the discipline already established by the body of the Society, and not against the whole.

During this time of silence I clearly beheld the contrary natures and ends of these differing spirits; the one truth, the other error; the one light, the other darkness; the one for moral virtue and a holy pure mind, and the other for a loose unbounded liberty; and yet, that these last, as creatures, did not see the sophistry of the evil one, to whom themselves were instruments, nor the snare; but intended well, in their own view and way of conceiving things.

As these distinctions were gradually made clear in my understanding at that time, the load and trouble I was under abated; and at last my mind settled down again to its own centre in peace, and became serene, as before; which, being fully sensible of, I was cheerful, and said to the Friend, we may now return into the house, for the danger is entirely over. I knew thy meaning before we came out of the other room; and commend your care and caution. With this he was greatly pleased; and so were the rest, when they came to know it.

After this I was at some other meetings; but little notice was taken of it by any of my relations or acquaintance, till the time of the assizes at Carlisle, where some Friends being prisoners in the county jail, for non-payment of tithes, others attended the assizes, as their custom was, the better to obviate the occasion of troubles or hurt to any of the Society, and to minister counsel or other help, as need might be; and these went to a meeting at Scottby, about two miles from the city; and thither I went also.

During the time of the meeting I found an unusual load on my spirit, and hardness in my heart; insomuch that I could hardly breathe under the oppression; nor could I say I had any sense of the comforts of the divine presence there, but that the heavens were as thick brass, and the bars thereof as strong iron. But though I had no enjoyment in myself, yet I was sensible the presence and goodness of the Lord were there, and many therein greatly comforted; and therefore did conclude my condition of mind was from some other cause, and not relating to the state of the meeting in general. After the meeting was over, one of them asked me how I did; I answered, indifferently. Then he and some others perceived my spirit was oppressed, and sympathized with me therein. I could not, all this time, perceive the particular matter which thus affected me,—for I knew not of any thing I had done or said to bring it upon myself—till that evening, being returned to my father's house, very solitary, silent, and inward, there came in one Thomas Tod, an acquaintance of mine; who, after some compliments of civility—for at that time I had not quite declined the common modes of salutation—desired to speak with me apart; and
then told me that he had a trial to come on next day, concerning certain houses of his in the town of Penrith, being the greatest part of all he had in the world; that one of the wit- nesses to his deeds of conveyance was dead; another of them gone into Ireland, and could not be had; but I, being the third, and having made the writings, he hoped, through my evi- dence and credit, to gain his just point against his unfair adversary; and desired me to be in readiness in the morning; for the trial was likely to come on very early.

As soon as he began this relation, the word of life began likewise to work in me in a very powerful manner; and the hammer of the Lord I sensibly felt, and saw to be lifted up upon that hardness of heart, which for some time had been my state; and it began to be broken, softened, and dissolved; and the sense of the love of God in some degree to be re- newed. Then I saw plainly that this was the hard thing I had to go through, and that now was the time of trial, wherein I must take up the cross of Christ, acknowledge his doctrine in that point fully and openly, according to the understanding given me; and to despise the shame and reproach, and other sufferings, which I well knew would ensue quickly; or I must forsake the Lord for ever. For, deny- ing his doctrine, in the sense I had now plainly seen it, would be denying himself before men; and if I had then denied him, I could expect no less, but according to his word, to have been immediately, and for ever denied of him, and left under that hardness of heart and want of the enjoyment of his divine presence, wherewith I had been favoured before, and all the dreadful consequences of a beginning so woful.

But according to the advances of the word and work of the Lord in me at that time, my heart inclined to him; as my acquaintance was speaking, and by the time he had done, I was furnished with a full resolution to give him a plain and direct answer; which was on this manner: “I am concerned it should fall out so;—for I had a real respect for him, and saw his case to be very hard—I will appear if it please God, and testify what I know in the matter, and do what I can for you that way; but I cannot swear.”

This was so great a surprise to him, both from the nature of his case and confidence he had of my ready compliance, he having had no suspicion of my present condition till that moment, that he broke into a passion, and with an oath, or curse, said, “What, you are not a Quaker sure!”

Though I had made confession to the truth so far, in that point, and the divine presence sensibly returned in me, yet, upon this I was again silent, till clear in my understanding what to answer in sincerity and truth. For as nobody before that time had called me a Quaker, so I had not assumed the appellation; which being given in reproach, was not grate- ful; though the thing, in its proper sense, most delightful. Nor did I then see whether I had so much unity with all their tenets as might justify me in owning the name,—for in the unity of divine love and life only I had known them,—till the power of that life of Him who forbiddeth all oaths and swearing, arising yet clearer and fuller in me, opened my understanding, cleared my way, and en- abled me thereto; and then I said, “I must confess the truth, I am a Quaker.”

As this confession brought me still nearer to the Son of God, his love increasing yet more sensibly in me, so likewise it heightened the perplexity and disturbance of my friend, whose case thereby became more desperate, in his own opinion. Upon which, in an in- crease of heat, and expressions therefrom suiting so obvious a disappointment, as it then appeared to him, he threatened to have me fined by the court and proceeded against with the utmost rigor of the law; saying, “What! must I lose my estate by your groundless notions and whims?”

But the higher my enemy arose and raged in this well-meaning, but mistaken man, who thus, without design, became the instrument of my trial, the fuller and more powerful still was the love of God; whose cause I had now espoused through his own aid and the power of an endless life from him made manifest in me. I replied, in that calm of mind and re- signation to the will of God, that the life of the Son of God enables to and teacheth, “You may do what you think proper that way, but I cannot comply with your request in this matter, whatever be the issue of it.”

And then he departed under great dissatisfac- tion, with all the threats and reproaches his enraged passions could suggest, under a view of so great loss.

Immediately I retired into my chamber; for perceiving my grand enemy to be yet at work to introduce a servile fear, and by that means subject my mind and bring me again into captivity and bondage, I was willing to be alone and free from all the interruptions of company, that I might more fully experience the arm of the Lord and his divine instruc- tions and counsel in this great exercise.

The enemy being a crafty and subtle spirit, wrought upon my passions, not fully subject- ed, and artfully applied to my natural reason, my understanding not being fully illuminated, as his most suitable instrument. He urged the fine and imprisonment, and the hardships
accompanying that condition, and how little help I could expect from any father or friends, who would be highly displeased with me, for so foolish and unaccountable a resolution, as they would think it; and also the scoldings, mockings, derision, scorn, contempt, loss of friends and friendships in the world, with such other inconveniences, hardships, and ill consequences, as the enemy could invent and suggest.

During all this time, from about eight in the evening till midnight, the eye of my mind was fixed on the love of God, which still remained sensibly in me, and my soul cleaved thereto in great simplicity, humility, and trust therein, without any yielding to satan and his reasonings on those subjects, where flesh and blood in its own strength is easily overcome by him. But about twelve at night the Lord put him to utter silence, with all his temptations, for that season, and the life of the Son of God alone remained in my soul; and then, from a sense of his wonderful work and redeeming arm, this saying of the apostle arose in me with power, “The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death.”

Then the teachings of the Lord were plentiful and glorious; my understanding was further cleared, and his holy law of love and life settled in me; and I admitted into sweet rest with the Lord my Saviour, and given up to perfect resignation to his holy will, in whatever might relate to this great trial of my faith and obedience to the Lord. In the morning I went up toward the hall where the judges sat, expecting to be called as a witness in the case before mentioned; but before I reached the place, I saw my said acquaintance approaching me, with an air in his countenance denoting friendship and affection; and when met, he said, “I can tell you good news; my adversary has yielded the cause; we are agreed to my satisfaction.”

Upon this I stood still in the street, and reviewing in my mind the work of the Lord in me the night before, as already related, this Scripture came fresh into my remembrance, in the life of it, “It is God who worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure.” I was sensible it was the Lord’s doing, and accounted it a great mercy and deliverance; though I was by this means exposed to the view and observation of all, the pity of many, as they judged of my case, and the scoffs and censures of the baser and more ignorant sort, which was for Christ’s sake only; for none had any immorality to charge me with.

This happening at the time of the assizes, and people from all quarters being there, I quickly became the common subject of discourse and debate. Few could believe the report, and many came to see; and during the assizes would get together, talking and wondering; and when they happened to see me afar off in the streets, would come in crowds to gaze. Some would take off their hats, and pretend to show more than ordinary complaisance, saluting me as at other times; but I not making any returns of that kind, some would fester, and giggle, and scoff, and grin, and run away in loud laughter, saying I was mad. Yet some others were struck with another passion; they turned pale, looked sorrowful, and returned weeping. And one who had been educated at an university, to show at once his temper, manners, and learning, after he had gazed upon me a while among the baser sort, cried out, as if he had then been surprised with the discovery of some new system, “He knows not a genus from a species,” when there was not any thing previous leading to such an expression. Yet he was mistaken in that; for I knew very well that dog is a genus, and cur, bull-dog, and blood-hound, are distinct species of that genus; and at that time, saw the nature and way of these brute animals too much resembled in that giddy mob; though I said very little to any of them, but gave them my face to their fill of gazing. Some who, but a day or two before, durst not have discovered a distasteful look upon me, have insulted and triumphed; which put me in mind of a saying of Job, “But now they, who are younger than I, have me in derision; whose fathers I would have disdained to set with the dogs of my flock;” and likewise of some expressions in that little piece before inserted; which I did not think, at the time of writing it, would be so soon, if ever, fulfilled upon myself, viz: “They gazed upon me; they said I was mad, distracted, and become a fool; they lamented because my freedom came.”

The fool’s pretended pity and instructions, who could not see and pity his own miserable case, or knew what himself said, was hardest to bear: yet all these things did not provoke or move me; for the grace and presence of the Lord was with me, and were my strength and preservation. My heart was surrounded with a rampart of invincible patience, and my soul filled with divine love. This usage gave me a much clearer view of the low, mean, miserable, brutish state of many men, and of the greatest part of that mob, than ever I had before, or could have imagined. But I was more civilly used by some counsellors who came the circuit from London, among whom I had some business; especially —— Dor-
mer, who was afterwards a judge: they were kind, familiar, and without a scoff or taunting grin.

The business of the assizes being over, some of my acquaintance, gentlemen both of town and country, who wished me well, in their own sense, thinking I had been deluded, as they usually called it, by the Quakers, consulted how to restore and reclaim me. Several ways were proposed, especially by a meeting and consultation of some of the clergy; who, they imagined, might solve those doubts I might be under, and but yet waver ing; supposing those sentiments to be but lately embraced by me, and I not yet settled in them; though I do not think any of them knew what the true Quakers or their principles were.

The clergy generally shunned me, and I quickly observed a particular enmity in them against me; though I had no more aversion to them as men than to others.

But some of these others, my well-wishers above-said, supposing me melancholy, because reduced from my former airs and cheerfulness to silence and gravity, got together in a tavern, and my father with them, intending to have me among them, to drink a hearty glass; they could raise my spirits into a more sociable temper, and bring me off from such thoughts.

While they were contriving this scheme, I was retired alone into my chamber, and favoured with a sense of the good and soul-nourishing presence of the Lord; but after some time, a concern came upon me, which gave me to expect something was in agitation concerning me; and soon after an attorney at law, of my acquaintance, came from the company to me, and mentioned certain gentlemen who desired to see me at the tavern.

I was not hasty to go, looking for the countenance of the Lord therein, neither did I refuse; but my father and some others being impatient to have me among them, came likewise to me. I arose from my seat when they came in, but did not move my hat to them as they did to me; upon which my father fell a weeping, and said I did not use to behave so to him. I entreated him not to resent it as a fault; for though I now thought fit to decline that ceremony, it was not in disobedience or disrespect to him or them, for I honoured him as much as ever, and desired he would please to think so, notwithstanding the exterior alteration.

Most of the rest kept up another air, hoping to bring me into the same at the tavern; but I, through grace, saw their intents, and was aware; and I had now freedom in my mind to go among them. When we came there, the company all arose from their seats, and seeming generally glad, put on airs of pleasantness. In seating themselves again they placed me so that I was in the midst of them, and then they put the glass round; and to relish it the more, they began a health to King William. But the secret presence of the Lord being with me, though hid from normality affe cted them all in a way they did not expect; for scarcely had two of them drank, till their countenances changed, and all were silenced.

The glass, nevertheless, went forward, till it came to me, and then I told them, I wished both the king and them well, and if I could drink to the health of any, I should more especially to the king's, but should drink no health any more, and so refused it. The glass never went round; for several of them fell to weeping, and were much broken, and all of them were silenced for a time. When this was over, some of them said they believed I intended well in what I did, and that every man must be left to proceed in the way which he thinks right in the sight of God; and so we parted in solid friendship. It was the secret grace of God which wrought this; and to him, the Lord alone, did I impute it. The company dispersing, I returned to my chamber in divine peace, and true tranquillity of mind; with which I was favoured for many days.

I had not, all this while, conversed with any Friend about their principles, or read any of their books; nor did any of them come near me for some time; for my father would not then allow them to come to his house; yet some of them not long after sent me three small books; which I took kindly, as well intended. But I was favoured of the Lord with something to give me understanding and support in time of need, more excellent than books; for that book, which had been sealed as with seven seals, was now, in measure, opened by the powerful voice of the Lion of the royal tribe, the Holy Lamb of God; even the book of the eternal law of God; the law of the Spirit of life from the Father, by Christ the Son, the Redeemer of the world, and my del ight was to read day and night therein. By this I profited more, in a short time, in the knowledge of God and the things of his holy kingdom, than if I could have read and understood all the written and printed books in the world. I therefore declined reading these till a more proper season; and then I looked into one of the aforesaid books, a small tract, concerning prayer: for it must be allowed, that the reading of good books, especially the holy Scriptures, the chief of all, and upon which the truth of the rest depends, is highly profitable and commendable.
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Sometime after this Dr. Gilpin, before mentioned, sent his son, a counsellor, under whom I had been initiated into the study of the law, and who was one of those at the tavern aforesaid, and still retained a great affection for me, to invite me to his house at Scaleby-castle, and desired to see some of the Quakers' books, supposing I had been imposed upon by reading them; and I sent him, as I remember, all that I had.

Soon after I had parted with these books, I observed a cloud came over my mind, and an unusual concern; and therein the two sacraments, commonly so termed, came afresh into my remembrance, and divers Scriptures and arguments, pro and con; and then I was apprehensive the doctor was preparing something of that sort to discourse me upon. I began to search out some Scriptures in defence of my own sentiments on those subjects; but as I proceeded a little in that work, I became more uneasy and clouded; upon which I laid aside the Scriptures and sat still, looking towards the Lord for counsel. I considered the doctor as a man of great learning, religious in his way, an ancient preacher and writer too, famous in Oliver's time, and a throne among his brethren; and that he might advance such subtleties as I could not readily confute, nor would concede to, as knowing them erroneous, though I might not be suddenly furnished with arguments to demonstrate their fallacy; and so might receive hurt.

Then it was clear to my understanding, that as he was in his own will and strength, though with a good intent, searching the letter, and depending upon that and his own wisdom, acquirements, and subtlety, leaning to his own spirit and understanding, I must decline that way, and trust in the Spirit of Christ, the divine Author of the holy Scriptures. This caution was presented in the life and virtues of truth, and I rested satisfied therein, and searched no further on that occasion. When I went to his house, he entered into a discourse on those subjects; and had such passages of Scripture folded down as he purposed to use: when I observed it, I was confirmed that my sight of him, in my own chamber at Carlisle, and of his work, some days before, was right; and my mind was strengthened thereby. But, before he began to move upon the subject, he dismissed every other person out of the room; so that himself and I remained alone.

The first thing he said, was in a calm manner, to admonish me to be very cautious how I espoused the errors of the Quakers; for he had heard of late, and with concern, that I had been among them, or seemed to incline that way. I answered, that I had not been much among them; nor seen any of their books but those I had sent him; and knew not of any errors they held. "Yes," said he, "they deny the ordinances of Christ, the two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper;" and then opened his book at one of his downward leaves, where he read thus:

"Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints;" 1 Cor. 1. 2. And, at another folded down part, he read thus: "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me: for as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

Upon these Scriptures he raised this argument, That though the Corinthians, at that time, were sanctified in Christ, and called to be saints, yet they still needed this ordinance, and were to continue in it, according to the apostle's doctrine, till the coming of Christ, at the end of the world: and he did not think the Quakers more holy or perfect Christians, than the Corinthians at that time; and consequently, that no state in this life can render that ordinance needless to them, or overgrow it.

To this I replied, That though some of those Corinthians had obeyed the call of God, and were at that time sanctified by faith in Christ; yet others of them had not obeyed the call, but were remaining in gross sins and pollutions. But as they had been heathens, and convinced by the ministry of that apostle, as appears by the beginning of the second and fifteenth chapters of that epistle, he had first of all preached to them Christ's coming in the flesh among the Jews; his life, miracles, doctrine, death for our sins, and resurrection from the dead, as saving truths; but does not so much as mention this supposed ordinance among them.

But, considering their weak and carnal state, and incapacity then to reach the knowledge of divine mysteries, the apostle had, in their initiation into the Christian religion, related to them the sayings of Christ on that subject; and they had been in the practice, or rather abuse of it, till the time of the writing of that epistle. Yet, if the words of that epistle in that place, be carefully and impartially observed, without prepossession or
prejudice, and compared with other Scriptures, it will appear that there is not any positive command for it at all, much less is it made a standing ordinance; but left to the option and discretion of his disciples; to whom it was first mentioned how often they should do it, and consequently also, how long they should continue it; as appears by the same text now adduced, viz.: "This do, as often as ye do it, in remembrance of me."

But to set this matter in a clearer light, it is well known, that at the time of the redemption of the Jews from their Egyptian slavery, the passover, with the paschal Lamb, was instituted as a standing ordinance in commemoration of it, until Christ the Lamb of God, and antitype of that figure, should come. But as Israel, offending the Lord, was afterwards sent into captivity under the Babylonians, they could not in that state, and under that government, celebrate it in form; and therefore they invented another way to keep that great deliverance in memory, which was this:

The father or chief of the family, at the proper time of the paschal supper, took bread and blessed it, saying, "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who gives us the fruit of the earth," then dividing it among the company; in like manner also he took the cup, and blessing it, said, "Blessed be thou, O Lord, who gives us the fruit of the vine." This they did in a solemn manner, remembering their Egyptian slavery and deliverance, lamenting their present state, acknowledging their sins, and the justice of God in their punishment, and hopes of his mercy, from his former kind dealings and gracious promises.

The Jews being thus initiated into this practice, upon so solemn an occasion as the Lord's being pleased to remember them with redemption a second time, the succeeding generations continued it, as incident to the passover, until the Lord Christ, the antitype, as well as of the paschal Lamb, as of the bread and wine, did come; who, when he appeared, was declared by John the Baptist, to be "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world;" and he declared himself to be "the bread of life, the living bread which came down from heaven:" proclaiming also, that this "flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed," that "except they ate his flesh, and drank his blood, they had no life in them." And all this was meant of the Spirit of Christ, and not of his flesh; "it is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing."

The time drawing near when the Lamb of God was to be slain, and offered as a sacrifice, declaring the mercy of God the Father, who sent him in love to the whole world, he then said to his disciples, "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." And at the time of it, as father and chief of his flock and family, he celebrated the passover in form, with this difference only, that whereas the Jews, until that time, in the celebration of it, had looked back to the type and the outward deliverance from Egypt, the Lord now directs them to himself, as the antitype of all figures; and to them, he would not any more eat thereof; (the passover) until it should be fulfilled in the kingdom of God; nor drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day "when he should drink it new with them in his Father's kingdom."

Which eating and drinking in the kingdom of God, cannot relate to material bread and wine; which can only be exhibited as symbols of the outward body of Christ, and the blood of that holy body; which to be eaten and drunk in a natural sense, profieth nothing: but to the all-quicken ing virtue and power of his Holy Spirit; which is all in all, and the true feeding to the commonwealth of the whole Israel of God. Therefore this passover, or any part or relative to it, whether bread, wine, or any other matter in it, could be of no further use or obligation to the disciples of Christ, than till they should experience in themselves his divine and spiritual appearance and coming in them; and Him to be the same to their souls or minds, which natural food and drink is to the body; its support, strength, nourishment and means of duration. This coming of Christ, as such, can mean no other than his being made manifest in a spiritual administration: for, as he is that eternal Spirit of Truth and Word, wisdom and power of God, it is not strictly proper to say of him, in that sense, that he shall come or go anywhere, but to be made manifest; for, as such, he ever was, is, and will be, omnipresent, and never absent from any place or time.

His coming then must intend his powerful manifestation where he already is, and not a loco-motive coming from where he is, to any other place where he was not before: "For the heaven of heavens cannot contain him." 2 Chron. ii. 6.

Seeing then this was only the passover, and the terms of the application of it to himself not insubstitutive of any new command or ordinance, but a liberty to do or not to do it, at discretion, "this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me," laid no obligation upon them to do it any more at all; it being ended by the manifestation of its antitype; and in the nature of the thing, could be of no further
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obligation or reasonable use, when Christ himself was witness’d in them, to be that eternal, never-failing, divine substance.

But the apostle Paul, whose concern for the Jews, and zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles, to whom in an especial manner he was sent, engaged him to "become all things to all men, that by all means he might gain some," recommended to the Corinthians the practice of the passover, with the new application of it to Christ, at the time of their first believing in him by that apostle’s ministry; that being yet carnally minded, they might have an outward communion, till the true communion should be made known; which their state, at that time, could not bear; as, in point of prudence only, he practised some other legal rites, at some times; which, in his doctrine, he condemned at other times, where the state of the people was able to bear it.

It is much more likely, considering the nature and end of the gospel, and its excellency above the law, and all legal and typical rites, as substances excel shadows, that the apostle, observing how much some of the Corinthians had abused the passover in practice, and their very carnal state under it, was rather, by that epistle, endeavouring to supersede it, and bring them off to the living substance; where he saith to such among them as were already sanctified, and to whom he inscribed his epistle, "I speak as to wise men, judge ye what I say; the cup of blessing, which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we, being many, are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread."

It is plain therefore, that the communion of the sanctified and wise in Corinth, stood not in the bread which persisted, nor in the wine of the grape, which some of the Corinthians were carnally thirsting, but in the quickening Spirit and power of Christ, the true, living, life-giving, and life-preserving bread; which daily comes from heaven, into all the sanctified and saved of the Lord.

This is that Spirit that quickens and preserves to life eternal; the flesh profiteth nothing: and since it is so, much less does any symbol of the flesh profit; but the divine substance only. This is that substance of which the apostle draws the comparison; "we, being many, are one bread." For, as wheat consists of many particular grains, each containing a distinct principle of life after its kind, and all of the same nature; which, being broken and rightly prepared and ordered by the good husbandman, become one bread; even so is the church of Christ. Every member, in his natural state, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance and darkness that was in him, and separated also one from another, as without a proper medium and condition of union; but being ordered and prepared by the Father of mercies, through Christ his eternal Word, they become one body, and one spirit, the church; which is his body; the fulness of him who filleth all in all.

The substance of this was what I observed to the doctor, though I have in this place expatiated somewhat further upon the subject, and generally applied the Scriptures; to which he made little other reply, than by telling me in a very calm and familiar manner, that as he had always believed it to be an ordinance of Christ, he had solemnly used it as such, and found comfort in it.

To which I returned, That I did not doubt but that he might have some satisfaction in it, since he believed it a remaining ordinance, and did it under that apprehension. Whosoever in his heart believes any thing to be a standing duty in the church of Christ, which ever had any countenance in it by practice, and performs it faithfully, according to his belief and understanding, may find a satisfaction in it.

But since God, in mercy, is pleased to afford the living substance, without the use of those means which are supposed to lead to an end already attained, they can be no more a duty to such; and thus is the real case among the true Quakers, who love and fear the Lord sincerely.

As to the other point, viz: baptism, he said but little about it; for he knew very well, that in strictness, they were not so much as in the form of water baptism. And I only asked him this question, Whether he did believe it necessary to salvation? He answered, That he did not think it absolutely necessary. Then, said I, we shall not need to say any more about it; and so the whole matter ended, as to these points.

Then he said something concerning the books I had sent him, speaking slightly of them; but thought that about prayer, written, I think, by George Keith, the best: and said, that seeing the Quakers pretended, that they did not know before they went to meetings, whether they should pray or not, or what way in either, and yet travelled in strange places, how could they speak to the states of the people, or be joined with in prayer?

To this I answered, That such as went to a meeting empty of all things, and waited upon God, were filled with his Holy Spirit, who knows all states, at all times and places: and if the preacher attend to him as he ought, and delivers those matters opened to him at the time, the Lord both gives the word, and
makes the application to every state, in every particular person; which no preacher or instrument, of himself, is able to do.

And as to joining in prayer, all right prayer is by the aid of the Spirit of Christ, the Mediator between God and man; which, in that respect, is called the spirit of prayer and of supplications; and in such a manner, as is promised of the Father to the church, and received by her. Her unity in prayer stands not so much in the form of words, though sound and pertinent, as in the nature, virtue, and influence of the Holy Spirit of Christ, her holy Head, Life, Law-giver, and Comforter.

The doctor did not oppose this; but only said I had given him better satisfaction in that point, than he had found in the book; and afterwards he said, I had given him more free and familiar with me than before, or than I expected; and so we parted in friendship, and I returned in peace and gladness.

From henceforth I was easy as to every thing any of that sort could say. And divers disputes I have had with many of them since, in other parts of the world; but never began any controversy, being always on the defensive side; and rarely entered upon any point in question, with any sect, till I knew the divinity of truth and myself, and my will subjected by it. And my next care usually was, not to provoke my opponent; for, by keeping him calm, I had his own understanding, and the measure of grace in him, for truth and my point, against the error he contended for; and my chief aim generally has been, to gain upon people’s understandings for their own good. But when a man is put into a passion, he may be confounded, but not convinced. For passion is as a scorching fire without light; suspends the understanding, and obstructs the way to it, so that it cannot be gained upon or informed: which ought to be the true aim, in all conferences and reasoning in matters of religion; else all will end in vain and unprofitable jangling, contrary to the nature of the thing they reason about, and displease the Holy One. In two or three times, at most, in the course of my life, in some low cases, and in too hasty engagements in my own strength, my mind hath been ruffled; and though I have gained the point, by force of argument, from the principle of reason only, and not from the principle of divine Truth; yet I have not had that peace and satisfaction of mind which is to be found in the virtue of truth alone. And this has also taught me to be totally silent, and sometimes even insulted by ignorants, as if I had nothing to say; till the power and virtue of truth hath arisen in my mind, and then it hath never failed, by its own light and evidence, to support its own cause, and justify me.

After this I had divine peace and consolation in my mind for some time, and was mercifully favoured with the living bread from above daily. I went constantly to the meetings of Friends, where, in a state of silence, my heart was frequently tender; and broken, by the divine influence of the truth, to my unspeakable satisfaction: a holy pleasure and enjoyment, which the world, or any thing therein, can never afford.

Our meetings in the north in those days were frequently broken and melted in silence, as well as under a powerful, living ministry, by the Word; which gave me occasion sometimes to remember another saying in a piece which I wrote: “He gave me joy which no tongue can express, and peace which passeth understanding.” In the mean time my father began a little to relent, and admit some friends to come to my chamber to see me; and he was brought by degrees, into a pretty low state of mind. One day, as I was sitting by him, he read in a book entitled, Clerk’s Lives, &c., as I remember, when I observed his tears drop upon the book; but he did not know that I perceived it. After he had wiped his face, and said to me, “I see there have been in former times, as great fools as you, to leave their friends and preferences in the world for their opinions in religion.”

But he did not remain long in this condition; for the spirit of the world began to work another way. Some of his acquaintance discoursing with him concerning me, as I was for a time frequently the subject of common conversation; and day told him, “We know your son very well; though young, he is no fool. You know the Quakers are an opulent people, and their principles lead them to refuse the payment of tithes to the clergy; which, together with other oppositions they meet with from one or other, occasions many law-suits and much business: and as they favour one another in all things, particularly in trade and the like, you will see he will have as much business soon as any man in England; and will be well paid without question.”

This temptation being skillfully adapted, took immediately with him, and entered very deep, the ill effects whereof quickly appeared. He soon got from under that humble state of mind and tenderness he had in some degree experienced; and though his countenance seemed very open and cheerful towards me, yet it was from that wrong ground and worldly view; which greatly load-ed and oppressed my mind. I clearly per-
ceived the practice of the law, and to be frequently in the suits and contents of the world, would be inconsistent with divine peace in my own mind, expose me to many temptations, and confine me so that I could not follow the Lord in that way wherein I understood he was leading me, and purposed to bring me forward; that is, not only in sanctification and justification, for my own salvation, but also in a public ministry of that holy and powerful Word of life, by which the Lord, of his own free will and grace, had called me; and to that end, I knew, was working in me qualifications suiting his own purpose thereby. Therefore my secret concern was, how to get rid of that great and dangerous obstruction; well knowing it would very much oppose my father's views, heightened as aforesaid, and I was loath to offend him; but had no concern, prospect, or doubt then, as to a way of living in the world. On the other hand, to offend the Lord by neglect or disobedience, was justly to forfeit his mercy and favour, and cancel the seal of the covenant of life; depending, on my part, upon perseverance in moral righteousness, and a faithful future obedience to his holy calling. Where the word of God is given, and become a law of life and an immediate director, disobedience is of a higher nature and more immediately attended with the sensible and dreadful condemnation of this immortal law, thus ministered, than for the neglect of any moral command, mediately administered to mankind, whilst yet in a natural and rational state only.

Duty to the Almighty, and the will and views of my natural parent, becoming opposite, I remained not long in suspense what to do. For as, through grace, I had been enabled to take up the cross of Christ, in confessing his holy Name, in the dispensation of God to his people at that time; so, by the same grace, I was likewise enabled to undergo the displeasure of my father, to close my eyes from all worldly views, and to stop my ears for ever from hearkening to any preferments there. Being furnished with a full resolution in my mind to decline the practice of the law, though the only thing designed as a means of life, the next persons who came to employ me in business of that kind, I refused in my father's presence; and told them in his hearing, that I should not undertake business of that kind any more.

Upon this the load went off my mind; but from that time my father's countenance was changed towards me, and his behaviour quite another thing; often asking me with a supercilious brow, how I expected to live in the world? as if he feared I should become a dead charge upon him.

This temptation being overcome, another quickly followed: the world had formed a false notion in those days, that our ministers, like their priests, were well paid by the Society for preaching, and generally grew rich by that means; they not knowing of any reasonable motive to such an undertaking, but lucre only. Some having told my father, that such and such ministering Friends whom he knew, went often abroad preaching, and as often brought home good sums of money; and that his son, being ingenious, would soon learn to preach among them, get money, and become rich too; this seemed to take some hold, and he would now and then pass a joke upon me about it; but I being silent for some years after, it afforded him no great hopes of my living by it.

This I think proper to remember here, that though I had no more dislike to priests than to others, as men, yet, when any of them and I happened to come into the same company or place, they usually fell into some visible disorder and uneasiness, though I said nothing to occasion it; which I took, therefore, to arise from a prepossession and general prejudice and enmity against Friends, supposing them enemies to their persons, as to their errors. And particularly one of them coming into a place where I was, all of a sudden, and in a confused manner, without any occasion given to lead to it, cried out, "You deny the resurrection." I replied, that he had not heard me say anything on that subject. Then said he, "The people you have joined yourself to deny it." I replied, I did not understand they denied the resurrection; and that Christ, to prove the resurrection, adduced that Scripture, where it is written, "But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." If then Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had attained the resurrection from the dead, in Christ's sense of the resurrection, and yet the bodies of those saints then remained in the earth, something else must be meant by the resurrection of the dead than earthly bodies.

Then said the priest, "I believe that Abraham, &c., did arise, not only to a state of righteousness in this life, but also to a state of glory in heaven after his death." Then I said, "Since he attained a first and second resurrection, he completed that state, without the resurrection of this earthly body; for of a third resurrection we read not, and of a second, by implication only." And so the matter ended: and from that time we became
acquainted and intimate so long as I remained in the country.

Another time there came a priest into the company where I was, and I being silent, and the rest cheerful in their way, he being a wanton, airy man, and a little in drink, observing me, cried out in a scoffing manner, "What have we got here, one of the holy brethren"? I returned upon him, "What art thou a teacher of the people, and scoffest at holiness? What canst thou teach, since thou art void of a qualification indispensably necessary to that work"? Upon which he became so uneasy and downcast, that he could no longer stay in the room, but went off troubled. And that night, being from home, I lodged with another priest at his house, with whom I was acquainted, a sober, religious man; where I was kindly entertained, and had no occasion of offence, either by himself or of his family.

Again, having been concerned in writing a settlement for a gentleman, upon the marriage of his daughter, and at his house in the country on that occasion; after the ceremony was over, and dinner upon the table, the priest said what they called the grace; wherein he gave thanks for their creation, redemption, sanctification, &c., to which I paid no respect, keeping on my hat all the time, because it was a dead form; and that neither the priest himself, nor any of his company seemed to have any real sense of what he said. As soon as dinner was over, a fiddler began to play; and up started the priest, and taking one of the young women by the hand, fell to dancing very merrily. I being in the room, and under heaviness, some others of the company could not take all the liberty the occasion called for in their way; and expecting I would not stay long, forbore. Nor could the priest make much of his dance; for the load upon my mind was to be left among them before I departed, and I only waited a proper occasion, which was soon offered; for the priest's dance going on heavily, he left it, and came to me, where I was sitting quietly, and would have had me dance with one of the young women. Then I took the opportunity to tell him, that I had observed his grace, and what he had said before the Almighty and the company so very lately, giving thanks for his creation, redemption, sanctification, &c., and so very quickly after to fall into such behaviour as did not consist with sanctification and redemption, denoted his very great insensibility of the import of his own words. Then he clapped himself down on a seat, and began to defend the use and innocence of music, which at that time was not the most offensive part, and said that king David used music, yet was a prophet greatly beloved of God, and wrote the Psalms, owned by Christ as of divine authority.

I replied, that David employed his music in holy hymns and spiritual songs to the Lord, according to the dispensation then in being; but that afterward, some airy persons, such as the priest himself, had invented unto themselves instruments of music like unto David's, and used them in their profane revelings, as he and his company were then doing; and therefore a prophet of God, by divine authority and direction, cried out, "Wo to them that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music like David;" and thou being in that practice, the wo is upon thee also. Upon this I was very easy, and left him sitting silent, and the company in some surprise; and wishing them all well, I departed in peace and great tranquillity of mind.

My eldest brother being priest of the parish, and likewise dean of Connor, afterward of Limerick, in Ireland, had one of the Scots Episcopal priests for his curate, or journeyman, who had been turned out at the establishment of Presbytery as the national way in Scotland. This priest being poor, my father took him into his house for his better accommodation; which proved some exercise to me, we being so very different in our sentiments in some things relating to religion. One day, there being a goose on the table at dinner, he intending to disappoint me of a part, whispered to me so loud as that all about the table heard him, "This is a tithe goose;" and then sneered. I replied, "Let him look to the evil of that to whom it is tithe; but to me it is no tithe, but a goose only; and with my father's leave, I will take a share." After this we had much dispute about the maintenance of the ministers of Christ. I alleged, that when Christ sent out his disciples to preach to the people, he said, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" and did not allow them either gold, silver, or brass in their purses, nor scrip, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor staves, but to depend on Divine Providence only for their subsistence; "eating such things as should be set before them; for the workman is worthy of his meat."

To this he answered, that Christ and his apostles received money for preaching, otherwise where did they get the money they had in the bag; for they were poor men, and had nothing to give, or any other way to procure money. Upon this I asked him whence that money came that Christ sent Peter to take out of the mouth of the fish? Had he not command over all things to have what he pleased? But you priests, to justify yourselves in your
antichristian practices, dare accuse Christ himself, and his apostles, of your own crimes. He and they preached not for hire, not for filthy lucre and maintenance, but for the help and salvation of men. As there is nothing needful to the labourer in that work, but the present subsistence of food and raiment, with that they were to be content: and as to what money they had, it arose from the superabounding love of those who heard him and them, and believed; which they did not hoard up, and detain to their own use only; but also gave to the poor, as they had occasion: so far were they from sitting down in corners, and forcing a maintenance, even to luxury, from those who did not receive them, as you priests do at this day. By which it appears you are none of his, but rather like Judas the traitor, who carried the bag, loved money better than him, had a thief. At this he became a little ashamed, and in an abject manner said, "What I have for my preaching is but a small matter" as if the diminutive pay and poverty should excuse the error; and so it ended.

At another time my father had a mind to discourse on that subject; and after he had moved it, I desired leave to ask him a question before I entered the dispute with him. He granted it; and then I asked him, if it were not for his reputation among men, and the law on the land, would he himself pay any tithes? Upon this he was silent a little, and then replied with an oath, that if it were not for the laws he would pay no more tithes than myself. Then said I, "There is no need of any further dispute:" and it ended thus; for he never offered any argument about it.

My delight was continually in the truth, and I desired no company but of Friends, and frequented meetings on all occasions; where my heart was frequently tendered by the truth, and it often reached and affected others by me, and sometimes very much: so that I became very dear to Friends, and they to me. And as that tenderness was an involuntary ministry, being an operation of the Spirit without words, I found for some time, great satisfaction and safety in it.

Desiring to see Friends in some other places, I went a short journey with Andrew Taylor, a powerful and able minister in his day, of an affable and cheerful temper, and one of my particular friends. On the 20th day of the twelfth month, 1691, we went from Heatherside, in Kirklington, in Cumberland, and that night lodged two miles beyond Aston; and thence next day to Welgill; on the 22nd to Thomas Williamson's; on the 23rd to Walkmill; on the 24th to Steel, and on the 25th to Beaufield; having meetings at several of these places.

From thence we went, on the 27th, to Newcastle, and lodged at Jeremiah Hunter's, being at their meeting next day; and on the 29th we went to Caleb Tenent's, at Shields and had a meeting there. On the 1st day of the first month, a meeting being appointed at Sunderland, we intended to cross the river Tyne at Shields, in order to be there; but Caleb Tenent and we entering the ferry boat with our horses, and the wind being very high, they were frightened with the fluttering of the sails, at our putting off from the key; so that Caleb's mare, being strong and sprightly, jumped overboard, and carried him along with her as he strove to stop her by the bridle, and they both went under the water, for it was deep; but as good Providence would have it, the mare came up with her head towards the shore, and near it, and he came up behind her at so little distance, and with such precipe and speed, that he laid hold on her tail, and got on shore without any other hurt than the surprise and wetting his clothes.

The meeting was appointed at Sunderland, to begin about the middle of the day, and we being obliged, by reason of the high wind, to go round by Newcastle, it was put off till the evening; which proved a very comfortable time of the enjoyment of the good presence of the Lord; with which my heart being plentifully furnished, it greatly tendered me and bathed me in a flood of tears, from divine melting love, and had the like effect over the meeting; and this happened in time of silence. After this Robert Wardell, a ministering Friend, at whose house we lodged, spoke some sentences; by which I perceived he thought I should have uttered some words by way of public ministry at that time. But I did not apprehend my time was then come for that service; and it had the same effect, and peradventure, more than if I had uttered words: for it was a ministration of the Word, by a more immediate operation, and a great mystery.

After the meeting many Friends came to me, and expressed so much love and respect as gave me occasion to consider what could be the reason of it; for they were all strangers to me, and I to them; and being but a child in the knowledge of the invisible operation of the Word of truth and its effects by instruments, in a way of silence and sympathy, I had looked at its effects only in myself for my own strength and consolation; and yet could not but observe, that when truth broke in upon me in an eminent manner, with which, in other places, I had been often favoured before, it affected the living part of the meeting the same way, at the same time: and it is clear to my understanding, by experience, that there is a communication of divine love;

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through the one Spirit, and that unspeakable, among the sanctified in Christ, at this day, as well as in time past; and that in a state of holy silence, as the members of Christ sit together in their heavenly places in him.

The next day we were at a meeting at Shotton, from whence we went to Anthony Robinson's at Haworth; and next day had a meeting at Durham; thence to Auckland, and so on to Robert Corney's, at Stockton; thence to Yarm, and back to Stockton; in all which places we had meetings: from thence to Darlington, and on the 10th of same month, to Raby; thence to Cutherton and Bowes; at all which places we also had meetings, and the Lord was with us. And yet, for some days after that meeting at Sunderland, my mind was very low, and not amiss at the same degree of the divine presence as some time before; and a question possessed my mind, whether I ought not to have uttered some words in that meeting. But by degrees I attained my former tranquillity.

On the 12th went to the Height of Winder by Sedberg; then to Side; next day to Dent; next day to Dent meeting at Anthony Mason's. On the 10th we went to John Dickinson's, at Beckhouses, and to the meeting at Grayrig; next day to Girgrath, at Thomas Wilson's; and so to Crook, at John Thompson's; and on the 18th to Thomas Lower's, at Marshgrange; and the next day to Broughton Tower; and the next day to Swarthmore; and on the 22nd to Hawskie meeting; having likewise had several other meetings in the way: and on the 23rd we went to John Banks' at Rogerigill; and the next day to the meeting at Pardslaw. After this we went to the house of Margaret Pawes, an ancient widow, having an estate of six or seven pounds per annum, out of which she entertained all travelling Friends coming that way, besides her own family, and had always plenty; and so desirous was she to entertain all, that she was commonly called the covetous widow of Cumberland; and was a woman truly honourable in the truth during her time.

On the 25th we went to Eaglesfield; and then to Jonathan Bell's at Hundwath-hill; and so to Cockermouth and Broughton; and thence to Alnby; and on the 27th to Holm-Cultram; and so to Longnewton and Bowstead; having meetings all along. But I had no other public ministry in this journey, than being frequently much tendered in the several meetings, to my great satisfaction, and the comfort of many who wished me well for the Truth's sake, and desired my prosperity therein. This journey being finished, I went home to my father's house in the evening; and having taken much cold, so that I was hoarse, I spoke with difficulty when I went into the house; yet, through a very sensible operation of the divine truth, and the healing virtue thereof, under which I sat in silence for about half an hour, I was perfectly healed; by which I was forever confirmed in the belief of the miracles of Christ recorded in holy Scripture.

After this I remained at my father's house, though under many inward loads and burdens in the family, not one soul of them having any sense of truth; and keeping constantly to meetings, and living near the divine truth, I was thereby preserved from the attending evils and temptations, till the Lord opened a way for another journey; which was as follows.

On the 18th day of the eleventh month, 1692, I went from my father's house in Cumberland, and that night lodged at George Marshae's, at Healy Hall, not far from Newcastle upon Tyne, where I met with John Bowstead, by appointment, the next day; and on the 22nd we went to Shields, and back the day following to Newcastle, and were, on the 24th, at Benfieldside; and on the next day at Hexham; on the 26th again at Benfieldside; and back to Newcastle on the 27th; having meetings at these several places; and on the 30th we set forward from hence for Scotland, by way of Morpeth, Horsley, Framlingham, Whittingham, and Wooler-Haugh; and next day we came to Kelso, in Scotland.

On the 2nd of the twelfth month we arrived at Edinburgh, and were at the quarterly meeting there on the same day; which being ended, we met with Thomas Rudd, who had some days before, come from England by way of Glasgow, and had been several times through the city and colleges of Edinburgh, crying "Wo to the sandy foundation," with some other words of the like import. Next morning, being about to depart the city homeward, John Bowstead and I went with him to take leave of William Miller, at the King's Gardens, and his family; where we had been but a short time, till the concern returned upon Thomas Rudd, to go again through the city; and after great exercise and travel in spirit, he became willing, and went. The most of his message was in these words, "Ho! all people; O all be warned this day, to fear before the Lord, the mighty God of heaven and of earth; and every one turn from the evil of your ways." He had a voice suited to the measure of his words, with an innocent boldness in his countenance, frequently lifting his right-hand towards heaven as he passed along, which was with a slow and grave pace. John Bowstead and I, though we had a good will to the cause, and personal love to our friend, sufficient to have engaged
us with him in any service warranted by any
degree of the like concern and call, and to
go with him through the city; yet we were
not willing to hazard our lives or liberty as in-
truders into his concern, not finding any thing
from the Lord so to do. We therefore went
to our friend Bartholomew Gibson's, where
we lodged, to wait the issue of our friend's
undertaking; where we had not sat down, till
it pleased the Lord to give us a more evident
fellow-feeling of our friend's concern, in great
brokenness of heart, in which we were con-
strained to go up into the city after him,
where we found him delivering his message
to a great multitude of people. Some of
them had thrust him down into a low shop in
the high street; from whence, as he attempted
to move, the rabble pushed him back: never-
theless the power of the Lord was over the
multitude, both in him, and in us; so that all
fear of them was removed from us by the
protecting arm of the Lord, who is ever near
to deliver such as act in his counsel, in the
time of greatest danger.

In the mean time John Bowstead, being a
bold, able-bodied man, pressed through the
crowd, and taking Thomas Rudd by the arm,
advanced him to the front of the multitude pointed at a stone by the cross,
where he might stand a little above the
people, which he did; and John Bowstead
and I stood between him and the people,
and they were then a little quiet, expecting,
as we supposed by the rumours in the city, to
have heard some judgment denounced, or
prophecy declared. But Thomas having only
some short warnings for them, some of them
mocked, others threw a pack of old cards
among us, with some scoffing words; yet
others among them were put upon a more
serious consideration, what could engage us
thus to appear in a place of so imminent
danger. Others whispering said, "This is he
who went through London with a message,
and shortly after there was an earthquake
there." By several circumstances, we per-
ceived it became a general amusement to the
inhabitants of all ranks; and many, as well
of the greater as lesser quality, would gladly
have known the result of the matter.

From the cross we went down the high
street and Cenongate, till we came to the Tol-
booth, over against which stood several com-
panies of soldiers, drawn up in order in the
street; to whom Thomas Rudd spake some
words, by way of warning, as before; and I
did not observe that any of them offered the
least opposition, either by word, deed, or ges-
ture. But as we were passing by them, in-
tending to go to our lodgings, there came a
certain civil officer from Charles Charteris,
chief bailie or alderman of the city, to sum-
mon Thomas Rudd before him. This officer
making known his message in a very civil
manner, Thomas went with him into the city.
I told the officer, that he did not need to lay
hold on Thomas Rudd as a prisoner, for he
would go along without it; so John Bowstead,
and the officer and I, went before, and Thomas
Rudd followed after, till we came before the
bailie; who examined Thomas about such
things as he thought fit to object against him,
concerning his going through the city, but
would not suffer us to be present to hear his
examination; and in a short time he was
committed to the Tolbooth of the city, and put
among such as they accounted traitors and
rebels against the government.

John Bowstead and I staid a little before
the prison door, the good presence of the
Lord remaining with us, and bearing up our
spirits over all, in times of most apparent
danger. We called to the turnkey to admit
us into the prison to see our friend, and ac-
company him in his imprisonment; which he
readily and courteously did. No sooner were
we entered, than a multitude of prisoners,
and their friends who were with them, came
to see us in the large common hall of the
prison, where they gazed upon us with seem-
ing wonder; for the Episcopal party at that
time were under dissatisfaction, because of
the suppression of their clergy; and others
also were not satisfied with the government
upon other scores; which had excited sev-
eral, of divers sorts, to offensive behaviour; so
that the prison, which is large, was very full.

After a while the jailor took us into an
apartment made of deal, called the Quakers'
high room, made by Friends in time of greater
persecution, for their own convenience. There
we staid till the evening, where several Friends
came to us. And Thomas Rudd being con-
cerned in prayer at supper, the people in the
prison rushed towards the place, and were
attentive; some of them afterwards express-
ing their satisfaction to hear us crave a bless-
ing, as they phrase it, at our meat; by which
I suppose they had been misinformed, that we
were such as would not call on the name of
the Lord, or crave his blessing on such
occasions.

That night John Bowstead and I went to
our lodgings, and in the morning returned;
and understanding that the bailie aforesaid
was keeping a court near the prison, being
emboldened by the presence of the Lord, we
went into the court to him, with a Friend or
two of the town with us, and there we said till
his business was over. As he came to the
foot of the stairs we began to expostulate the
matter with him; and John Bowstead told him,
it would be a great reflection upon the Presbyterians in Scotland, who so lately themselves had been hardly used, as they said, by the Episcopalians, so soon to begin to persecute us, for no other cause but discharging our duty to God, in such manner as we were persuaded in our consciences the Lord required at our hands.

The bailie replied, that he had not imprisoned our friend maliciously, but out of kindness to protect him from the rabble; "which," said he, "when they are moved, are not easily suppressed, but will commit outrages of dangerous consequence, notwithstanding any power we have over them, when fully enraged." And said he, "I am willing to set your friend at liberty, provided he will depart the city without any more disturbance." Accordingly he went into a private office, whence he had committed Thomas Rudd, and sent for him from the prison; and after some fruitless endeavors to extort a promise from him to depart the city, and come no more in the streets as before, he gave orders for his release. Then we went again to the prison-house, to pay the victualer of the same for some bread and drink which we had used in the prison; and there we met with one John Kerr, an Episcopal priest, who had been lately incumbent at Roxburgh, and ousted at the revolution. He had been, the night before, with Thomas Rudd alone; who having been in prayer, this John Kerr had been so much affected thereby, that he promised, of his own accord, that if he was released from his imprisonment, he would come to our meeting the next time it should be held; yet he neglected it, though he was released according to his own wish. Thus the Lord is gracious in giving men their desires in times of distress; yet they are apt to forget their duty, his mercies, and their own promises, when they come where they think themselves less obnoxious to judgment, or the cruelty of their adversaries.

As we were in the prison-house together in silence, we were much broken in the good presence of the Lord; and John Bowstede being concerned in prayer, several of the prisoners and their visitants came up in a rude manner, to bear and gaze; but the virtue of truth affecting them, they uncovered, knelted down, and reverenced that divine power and presence that was with us; though I think, themselves did not know the cause of their subjection.

After this, a discourse happened between the said John Kerr and a Friend, who was a citizen, concerning freedom from sin in this life; which John Kerr asserted could not be; and brought this passage out of the Epistle to the Romans, which he thought proved it, viz:

“For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do;” and divers parts of the same chapter throughout. I being at the other end of the table, and hearing them, and observing where the priest erred, a concurs came upon me to take up the argument, and to endeavour to inform him better. I said, That the apostle, in that epistle, in the first place proved, that both Jews and Gentiles were under sin, the former as well as the latter, notwithstanding the law and ordinances of God delivered to them, which they had not kept. That both had redemption through faith in the Lord Christ; by whom they were made free from sin, even in this life, which the law could not effect, as appears by these words: “Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin; but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord,” &c. The apostle here, taking the comparison from the certainty of the death and resurrection of Christ, infers likewise as great certainty of their being, in this life, through him, raised unto newness of life; which he corroborates in the 18th verse of the same chapter, saying, “Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness.” And in the 22nd verse, confirms it further; “But now, being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.” Where it is apparent, that the apostle makes the service of God and sin inconsistent, and altogether incompatible: but, resuming the same doctrine, under another similitude, in the seventh chapter, he there personates the state of the Jews, and of himself; whilst only under the law, and without the knowledge of Christ, and not that state that he, or the adult in the church, was in, as an apostle and Christian, at the time of writing that epistle; which states are so different, that it is impossible the apostle could be in both in so short a time, as between writing part of the seventh chapter and the beginning of the eighth, which might be less than half an hour; for in the 24th verse of the seventh chapter, summing up all the weaknesses under the law in a few words, he cries out, “O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?” And immediately answers his own question, “I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord;” and then continues to assert the Christian freedom, and saith, “There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus,
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who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit: for the law of the Spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death;" etc.

"Thus it appears that the apostle Paul was not under the body of sin and death at the time when he wrote that epistle; but was only recounting the various states, both of himself and others, under the law of Moses, and after the law of life and liberty from sin was come by the Son of God, and fulfilled by him in this apostle, as also in the adult in the congregation of Christ."  

Upon this the said John Kerr freely acknowledged before the company, that he had all along mistaken that Scripture, and that we understood it right.

Having paid for our bread and drink, and returned the bed and bedding to the Friend who had brought the same, in expectation that Thomas Rudd's imprisonment would have been longer than it was suffered to be, through the good and well-ordering hand of the Lord, and departed out at the prison door, as sooner were we in the street, than Thomas began again to speak to the people. John Bowstead and I finding no concern that way for such a short time, at first were not forward to go with him, but went into a Friend's shop; where we had not been long till the power of the Lord came upon us; and then we went into the street, where we found Thomas Rudd preaching among the people; who were more solid than before, concluding, no doubt, that the magistrates had found no fault in him, having so soon released him; but there was a secret power over them, which they knew not.

We went down the high street, near to the Canonage; and upon an out-stair, within the gate, Thomas Rudd stood up and preached to the people, and after him John Bowstead; upon which the multitude became so still as if we had been in a meeting of Friends; and many persons of the greater rank, of both sexes, leaned out at the windows, and heard the sound of the truth. In the mean time I had been a while separated from the rest by a couch, and disputing in Canonage with a young man who had asked me some questions, which I answered; and we parted in friendship.

Thus the whole multitude being as it were chained by the mighty and invisible power of truth, and our spirits over them, and at liberty by the same, to his glory and our great consolation, we went to our lodgings; where we had been but a short time till a messenger came from the countess of Kincairne, to invite Thomas Rudd to her lodgings, in order to have some discourse with him concerning his message, and to know whether he had denounced any judgment against the city; for the adversary, by his emissaries, had invented and spread a rumour, that Thomas Rudd had prophesied that in seven days the city should be destroyed.

In the afternoon we went to the countess, and Thomas Ballantyne with us, a Friend who had been through the streets with Thomas Rudd before we came to town, and continued with us during the whole time. This countess was an ancient woman, and of a grave and serious deportment: she was kind and courteous to us, entertained us with respect, and acknowledged several doctrines of truth, as far as we had occasion to discourse her. She also acknowledged a sense of the great provocations that city had given the Lord to bring severe judgments upon it; and told Thomas Rudd she heard he had spoken against the Presbyterian church, of which she was: to which he answered, that he was concerned by the Lord to cry, "Wo against the sandy foundation!" and if the Presbyterians were concerned there, they would do well to look to it.

From hence we went to the lady Colling-
ton's lodgings, who, in the time of Thomas Rudd's imprisonment, had sent him to know if he wanted anything; and had likewise sent her maid to invite him to her house after he was at liberty. She entertained us respectfully, and discoursed matters that occurred seriously; but in the mean time came in a priest and one Dr. Sibbald, a physician; with whom we had some dispute: the matter in controversy with the doctor was baptism; we made short work with him, but the particulars not being exactly remembered, are omitted.

But the priest being a young man, and a little too forward to engage in matters he did not understand, and the controversy with him being concerning the ministry, I cited a passage out of the first epistle of John, viz: "But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you: and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him;" and asked the priest what this anointing was, and how the same taught? To which he was silent, not without blushing in the presence of the lady, who was an ancient grave woman, and several younger, her kinswomen.

Then I questioned the priest further about his call to the ministry, and by what authority he took upon him that office? To which he answered, "There is an external call, and an internal call." The external I passed over, and asked him what his internal call
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was, and by what! He replied, that it was by the light of God's grace, which was in him.

I returned, "Take heed how thou ascribest so much power to the light within, lest thou be reputed a Quaker." Upon this he desired to prosecute his argument any further, and dropped the defence of his internal call; but betook himself to railing accusations; and speaking to Thomas Rudd, said, "We have ministers here already, sufficient to instruct the people, and need not you to make such disturbance in the city." "No," answered one of the young ladies, so she was styled among them, "it was not they that made the disturbance, it was your hearers;" meaning, that the unruly people were, for the most part, of the same profession with this priest. A pause of silence coming over us, and truth over all, Thomas Rudd said some few things to the old lady, and John Bowstead to the priest and doctor, and then we departed in peace with the Lord, and in favour and respect with most of our auditory, which were many more than I have mentioned in particular.

Having finished our concerns at Edinburgh, we went into a ferry-boat at Leith, on the 8th day of the same month, and arrived at Kinghorn, and next day to Couper; through which Thomas Rudd went with the same message as at Edinburgh, and John Bowstead and I went with him. The people came forth as bees from a shaken hive; so that the streets were quickly filled. We went through the town unmolested, and came back near the place where we began. Then came two of the bailie's officers in red clothing, and summoned Thomas Rudd to appear before him, which he did. The bailie inquired by what authority or power he preached to that people? Thomas answered, By the authority of the Word of God, nigh in his heart, by which a necessity was laid upon him; as it is written, "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and "a good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things."

The bailie being a moderate man, and trembling a little whilst he examined Thomas Rudd, though in the presence of many of the people, did not detain him long, but dismissed him, without the least rebuke or severity; after which, and a short exhortation to the people by John Bowstead, and some few words to them by myself, being the first I had ever uttered in a public manner, we departed hence.

The two officers and a multitude of the inhabitants, very lovingly conducting us out of town to a green hill a little without, directing us the way we inquired after, with great respect. When we were about a quarter of a mile gone from them, the tender love of truth being much manifested in us, we were constrained thereby to look back, when we saw the multitude still standing on the hill looking after us, and that love flowed towards them as from an open fountain; in the sense whereof we were tendered and broken, and yearned towards them, as a young man towards his beloved, when he takes his journey from her for a season. There will be a tender people there in time.

We went to Dundee the same day, where Thomas Rudd likewise preached through the streets, John Bowstead and I going along with him. No incivility was there offered to us, save only that a soldier took Thomas Rudd by the arm and bid him be silent; but Thomas not regarding him, he offered no further violence. Being come quite through the town in that service, the Lord dropped his peace upon us, and we went on in great joy and comfort in his good presence, being lovingly directed on our way by one of the inhabitants. The fields of Dundee are not yet fully ripe, but in due time there may be a plentiful harvest.

The concern came upon us again in the way as we went from Dundee; and at Broughyty, a village along the river side, below the town, Thomas Rudd delivered his message, the same as before, to a small people. They opened not a mouth, as I remember, but stood as if they had been amazed at the sound of truth, which came with good authority and power.

A little further east, at a place called Moneyseith, near an old bridge and a water corn-mill, Thomas Rudd was concerned to cry aloud, as we passed by two or three houses there, to warn the inhabitants to turn from the evil of their ways; and immediately came forth a company of idle people, who had been at a wedding, with music and reveling; and they being in the height of their pleasure, little was affected upon them; but some of them seemed surprised with fear of some personal danger.

That evening we went to Aberbrothwick; where we felt a war in our spirits, against a foul, dull, senseless spirit reigning there. We laid, as it were, under it all night, and in the morning went through the town; Thomas Rudd warning the people as at other places. They offered us no violence, only some mock'd, others gaz'd; and the whole, being generally Episcopal, had little desire to know the truth.

On the 8th day of the same month we went to Montrose; where we found ourselves engaged of the Lord to alarm that place also,
and to make war, against the spirit that ruled there. Having on our armour the love of truth and of all souls, we went into the streets, Thomas Rudd warning the people, as before. There is much of the seed of Ishmael there, and some also of Isaac, though oppressed and much under at present; the Lord God of Israel hasten the time of his redemption. By the time we were fully through the town and returned to the market-place, there was a multitude of people gathered about us; who, in the main, were indifferent and sober, only some of the younger sort threw dirt on Thomas Rudd's hat, as we went along the street; but he going into a Friend's house to wash himself, John Bowstead preached to the people; who heard him with attention, and departed peaceably.

A little after, on the same day, the Friends in that place being come together, we had a meeting with them; and so departed in peace. On the 9th day of the same month, as we were on the way to Kirktown-hill, where David Falconer lived, Thomas Rudd went to a house on the west side of the river from Kirktown-hill; where lived a widow, who had several daughters then with her. The message was as at other places; and the fountain of eternal life was largely opened towards them; and we found respect from them in a good degree, according to their way of expressing it.

The same day we went to Urie, to the widow Barclay's; and the next morning, were concerned to visit several villages in the neighbourhood; as Fetteresso, Dunnottar, and Stonehaven; and after Thomas Rudd had delivered his message in the streets of the Upper Kirktown of Fetteresso, John Bowstead preached in the grave-yard to a people buried in ignorance; who seemed to have no sense of God at all, but only what they dreamed in their public form. We understood the priest of the place was, all the time, looking out at a window towards us; but did not offer the least opposition, though such as they account wolves in sheep's clothing were even in the midst of his flock.

After we had gone through the streets of Stonehaven, we came into the market-place, where John Bowstead had a very good time in preaching to the people; and some soldiers at first attempting to pull him down, were hindered by others. The people there, though in the main afar off, yet some of them are drawing near the streams of the free fountain; which, in the days of thirst, hastening upon that nation, may satisfy their fainting souls.

On the 11th day of that month we went to Aberdeen; and on the 12th, being the first day of the week, we were concerned in the streets, as at other places; and a military sergeant, with a file of musketeers, came against us in the market-place in a furious manner, clubbing their muskets over our heads, as if they would have knocked us down, pretending orders from the officer-in-chief to put us out of the town. But we standing in the power of the Lord, were not afraid, but demanded of the sergeant, by what authority he, being a military officer, intended to hinder us from doing our duty; at which he, with his fellows, withdrew, as one conscious of his error. Thomas Rudd then continuing his message through the market-place, John Bowstead was, a little after, concerned to proclaim the spring and dawning of the day of God's glorious power to be near at hand upon the inhabitants of that place, and the country adjacent; and so after a good time in the streets we retired to our lodgings.

On the 14th day of the same month Thomas Rudd went back towards Kirktown-hill; and in his way, as he told us, at a place called Benham-Kirktown, he met with a priest, who had taken upon him to report to the people in those parts, after we had passed through to Aberdeen, that we were Jesuits in disguise. But when Thomas Rudd went among them, and to the place where the priest lived, to deliver his message in public, the cowardly hiring, like one ashamed of his slanders, thrust into his house, not having the least objection against what Thomas Rudd there delivered, notwithstanding his backbiting insinuations aforesaid.

In the mean time, viz: on the 18th day, John Bowstead and I went northward to Inverary, where we had a good meeting among Friends; Robert Gerard, a sober young man, a Friend of Aberdeen, then accompanying us.

On the 19th, being the first-day of the week, we went to the meeting at Kilmuck; where, about the middle of the same, Thomas Rudd came again to us. From thence we went to Lethenty, to our friend Robert Burnett's; towards Inverness, which is about sixty miles north of Aberdeen; and no Friend there; nor had any Friend travelled that way for about fourteen years before.

On the 21st of the month we went from Lethenty to Ligetden, Strathbogie, Keith, and Castle-Gordon, where we lodged; and the next day we went to Elgin in Murray.

As we came near Elgin, the word of the Lord began secretly to work in us; and when we came to the town, we went to an inn to refresh ourselves; where we had not drank till Thomas Rudd became concerned, as at other places, to go through the streets with
the same message as before; and John Bowstead and I, having a fellow-feeling of our friend's concern, went into the streets with him. Once we went through the whole town; and as we came by the guard, in the middle of a street, where was part of a regiment of dragoons, the officers, stirred up by the Presbyterian magistrates, stopped us, and asking us some questions, called us Jesuits in disguise: adding, that if we did not instantly retire to our quarters and refresh ourselves, for so much liberty they would seem to allow us, and so depart the town, a drum should be sent after us. But John Bowstead being bold at that time, answered, that he would hope for better evidence from them of that Christianity they professed, than to offer to drown with the noise of drums, the voice of such as were sent of God, to warn such people to turn from evil; but some cried out, "They deserve to be hanged;" and others had other hard speeches against us. But in the mean time we went on with our concern by the guard again; and at about forty yards distance from that place, Thomas Rudd spake some words by way of testimony to the people, who were very numerous, and more quiet than could have been expected, considering the encouragement they had from the example of the soldiers and magistrates.

After Thomas Rudd had done, John Bowstead began to speak to the multitude, and forthwith came several soldiers from the guard, by orders from their officers, and took us all into custody, and imprisoned us in the guard-house among the soldiers; where, for a short time, we were mocked and scoffed at by them. But they seeing our patience and innocent behaviour, soon began to draw near us and excuse themselves, saying, they did not imprison us of their own accord, as having any thing against us, or what we were concerned in; but being commanded by their officers, they could not but obey. The corporal of the guard seemed much concerned at our imprisonment, and sorry for us; for said he, "I have seen multitudes of your friends in Ireland at their public meetings without interruption, and never knew of any ill they did; and why might not you have had liberty to do that which you think your duty here? But our officers cannot help it; for they are put upon it by the Presbyterian magistrates." Some of the soldiers became so kind, that they sent for ale for us, though we requested them to forbear it; yet, seeing the reality of their kindness, in their way, we tasted a little of their drink, which pleased them.

In a short time after, the power of the Lord began to increase in us, and we opened several truths of the gospel among the soldiers, as the Lord opened in us, and gave us utterance. And they standing with their backs towards the door, in the mean time came the officers and some of the magistrates, as also the laird of the town; who, when they heard what we were upon, were more earnest to put us out of the guard, than before they were to imprison us there. But we finding that the Lord had wrought out liberty, and ourselves being above them in our spirits, and that power that wrought in them, we were not hasty to go out; but remained discoursing those things which were upon us, till the officers came behind us, and in a manner forced us out before them.

Then I called lieutenant Drummond aside, he being the chief officer present, and gave him to understand that the civil magistrate had imposed upon him; for it did not belong to the military officer, but to the civil, to intermeddle with matters of that import. Howbeit, we parted with them in kindness; but withal they commanded that we should depart the town, and speak no more to the people; and would have had us promise so to do, as the condition of our liberty, before they absolutely released us. John Bowstead answered, that if we could have gone through the town in peace with the Lord, without doing his command to the people, we should not have been their prisoners; and therefore could not make any bargain with them. Nevertheless, through the secret overruling power of the Lord, they set us at liberty. All praise and renown be given to the name of our God, who liveth for ever. Amen.

But we were not above fifty yards from the guard, till Thomas Rudd sounded again; and so we went towards the east gate; and before we came to the market-place, John Bowstead preached to the people.

From thence we went towards the west gate, Thomas Rudd proclaiming his message, and in the way a Presbyterian priest fell in with us; and walking behind John Bowstead, put a young man upon moving some dispute with him; and Robert Gerard and I being a little behind them, observed the priest, and his design, and went up to him to wait his proposal to John Bowstead; but in a short time he asked me by what authority Thomas Rudd went through the town with that message? I answered, that his question was not proper to me, since the man himself was present; but said I, "Thou thyself seems to be a teacher, by what authority dost thou preach?"

"We," said the priest, "have an external call, and an internal call." "Where there is a call," said I, "there must be a voice to give that call: this call thou sayest is within; what therefore is this in thee which calls thee to
that office?" Upon this the priest demurred a little, and began to tremble, for the binding power of the Lord was coming over him, but at length said, "It is by the light of God's grace." "Why then," said I, "dost thou oppose us for preaching the power and virtue of that light, which, by thy own assertion, is able to qualify for the gospel ministry? But instead of thou believe the grace of God, in saying it hath called thee unto that office, when in truth, it hath not. And beware how thou pretendst to preach the light as the foundation of thy ministry, lest thou bring thyself under the denomination of a Quaker." Thus, by virtue of that light, I extorted a testimony to the same, from him who came to oppose it, and the work of it in us.

The priest being under this circumstance, John Bowstead cried aloud to the people, saying, "Observe the confusion of your Baby- lonish teacher;" and then opened several of their errors. But the priest's familiarities, seeing him out of countenance and in confusion, would gladly have had him out of the crowd in which we were environed; and some were observed to weep. Others, being affronted at their priest's confusion, threw dirt in my face, which reflected back on his; upon which he seemed to smile, expecting, it is like, to be restored to the condescension of the power and industry of the stoners and bedlammers among his hearers, from whom he alledged his outward call. Then said John Bowstead, "Art thou a minister, pretending a call by the light of God's grace, which teaches to deny all ungodliness, and yet cannot laugh at wickedness; and see also the fruits of thy teaching among thy hearers, who thus offer violence to strangers?" Upon which a party from the outside of the crowd, in a body, pressed into the middle of them, where we were, and so drove the priest quite out to the other side, and away he ran. Then John Bowstead cried aloud after him, "The hireling runs, because he is a hireling;" and after some exhortation to the people, we went towards our inn, Thomas Rudd proclaiming his message.

No more violence was offered to us, save only that a soldier threw a piece of hard sand from the guard-house among us, which fell upon Robert Gerard's shoulder, but did not hurt him much. The rage of satan being overruled by the blessed power of God, to whom be praise and glory for evermore, the inhabitants of Elgin became very calm; and we, finding the concern to cease in us, went to our quarters. But the concern returning on Thomas Rudd, and reaching me likewise, we went out together towards the west gate; where he delivered his message, without any opposition from any person by word or deed. So we returned to the inn to our companions; and after refreshment we departed in the justifying presence and peace of the Lord, and went forward that evening to Forres; the whole time spent in Elgin, as aforesaid, being about three hours.

At Forres we lodged at an inn kept by a man who, together with his wife and family, entertained us with friendly respect. The next morning, being the 24th, we went through this town, Thomas Rudd doing his message, as at other times, but no violence was offered by any. That day one William Falconer, a relation of David Falconer, came to see us. He was an Episcopal priest, and had been displaced some time before by the Presbyterians. He was a comely person, and of an affable temper; and I asked him why they had turned him out! He replied, that it was for the original sin of Episcopacy. They objected nothing against his morals; and for the maintenance of his family, he would have conformed: but his father having been a bishop, they would not trust him, lest Episcopacy should have become hereditary in him: but more of him hereafter.

The same day we went forward to Old Nairn, where we were concerned; and Thomas Rudd warning the people to turn from their evil ways unto the Lord, they gave us full demonstration there was need of it, by throwing dirt and trash at us, and using bloody speeches. But the Lord preserved us from their evil, by his blessed truth, the greatest good; unto whom, for the riches of his power, be honour everlasting. Amen.

From Old Nairn we went to Nairn, where part of a regiment of dragoons were quartered; and Thomas Rudd delivering his message, as at other places, many of them followed us through the streets very soberly; one of whom, a corporal, as I remember, so soon as he had seriously observed us, and heard the message, held up his hand, and stretching it towards the people, gave strict orders that neither soldiers nor others should in any ways molest or interrupt us, which accordingly was observed, for all were very peaceable toward us. As soon as Thomas Rudd had done, a multitude of soldiers and town's people followed us to the door of our inn; and there being out-stairs ascending to an upper room, John Bowstead stood upon the same, and preached a considerable time to them; they generally behaving with friendly gravity, with tears gushing into several eyes; and the testimony of truth went freely and openly towards them. And though the Lord had not hitherto opened my mouth in testimony, so as to be termed a minister, yet my heart
was full of the Word of Life; and the love thereof went towards the people, as it were, unrestrained; as it had done towards many others of that nation in that visit.

After refreshment at the inn, we went that evening to Inverness; where some of the people taking us for Dutchmen, came to inquire after news, martial affairs being then much in agitation between the French and confederates; but finding what we were, their expectation failed.

The next morning, being the seventh-day of the week, Thomas Rudd walked through the streets alone, very early; and afterwards we went all up together in the market-place, where there were many Highlanders in their usual dress, and armed; who, together with other people, flocking about us, John Bowstead preached to them; and the testimony of truth had fluent passage. They were respectful above expectation; and when any boys, or other particulars, moved the least incivility or light behaviour towards us, others were forward to correct and reprehend them. And whenever we went out of our inn into the streets on any occasion, the people flockcd after us.

On the same day, in the afternoon, divers young men, of the better rank, as they are accounted, came to discourse upon several points of religion; to whom, in the main, through the truth, we gave satisfaction; only one John Stewart, a Presbyterian, abruptly darted in a question about the Almighty’s decreeing some men and angels to eternal damnation. I being most concerned at that time in discourse, declined that subject, till other matters, more suitable for the audience, were fully discussed; and then I told him, that it was more proper and necessary for him to make his own calling and election sure, than to be too curious about questions of so mysterious import: and withal, that he ought not to wrest the Scriptures, which were, in the main, designed to remove these conceits of the Jews, that they were the only chosen of God, by covenant with Abram and the fathers, and through the mediation of Moses at Mount Sinai; by which they slighted Christ, the elect seed of God, and the gospel of salvation offered unto themselves, and the work of the same, at that time taking place among the Gentiles. Those Scriptures in the Epistle to the Romans, then adduced, having no relation at all to the decree of any particular man, or order of men, as such, or angel, or order of angels, to destruction from eternity; for that could never comport with the unchangeable and glorious attribute of divine goodness, essential to the Almighty: with some other matter suit,ing that point.

And the young man being frustrated of his expectation, went away in a sullen rancour; not like one on the right-hand, if such a decree had been; but the Lord preserved us in the spirit of meekness and charity. This gave me occasion to observe how hard it is for such as are prepossessed with antichristian notions and conceits, to embrace the truth, or apply themselves to virtue; and how the enemy of their souls rages in their own hearts, when any thing appears to discover his deceit in any measure; how, through envy, moving the same in them, does he blind their eye, and keep them in the dark, to their utter destruction: for no sooner can one offer to resist that notion of predestination, as they hold it, or form an argument against it, how clearly, calmly, rationally, and truly soever, but they generally fly up like fiery serpents, ready, through rage, if it were in their power, to set the very course of nature on fire, kindling it with the fire of hell.

On the seventh-day, at night, we remained under some exercise of mind; and the next morning, went into the market-place, in the crossings of several streets; and there, first Thomas Rudd, and then John Bowstead, preached. A considerable time to the people, who were generally come to that way to their several sorts of worship; and many of them stood and heard with grave attention; and are a people of an English demeanour and aspect.

In convenient time we retired to our lodging, and in an upper room had a meeting among ourselves and some few more. Our landlady not having been able to move out of her chamber for many weeks before, came up to us, and stayed during the meeting, to her great refreshment and satisfaction, as she openly declared soon after. Glory be to the Lord, who is ever ready to do good to all who faithfully wait on him for his pure grace, and the virtue of it; which is able to refresh both soul and body, when itpleasest him to move by the same in his poor creatures.

Our meeting being over, which happened before others came from their several worships, we were concerned to go to the steeple-house; but as we were going down the street, one of the civil officers being at the door went in, but suddenly returned, and placed a hand on each side of the same; and when Thomas Rudd, who was foremost, attempted to enter, the officer hindered him. Thomas Rudd offered some arguments to induce him to admit us, but could not prevail, saying he could not dispute with us, but there we must not come; but gave us no hard words, nor showed any passion in his gesture. They were Episcopalians, Presbytery not having overspread all the north at that time.
We walked to and again in the street, and many people came to us, and several would have had us go to the Presbyterian meeting, which was a little below in the same street; but having no concern that way, we took little notice of them. But the Episcopalians, soon after, coming from their worship, and very numerous, Thomas Rudd moved into the street before them, with his arms spread abroad, as if to embrace them, and speak to this effect, "That some of the apostles of Christ, coming to a certain place, where other worship than what they then preached was exercised, had the privilege, after such worship was over, to preach to and exhort the people; and why might not we have the same among professors of Christianity? And then went on with other matter. The people generally said, though the priest used some ineffectual means to make them depart from us; knowing that if the truth, and the blessed word of it, once affected their hearts, his gain, power, and glory, would soon be lost. The people were extremely quiet and attentive; and the priest seeing their inclination and resolution to stay, went away with some few attending him, without offering any discourse to us, or objection against what was delivered.

By the time Thomas Rudd had done, the Presbyterians came from their meeting, and were, for the most part, to pass along the same street; and whether they were so inclined or not, they could not but stay; for the whole street was blocked up by the crowd. When Thomas Rudd had done, John Bowstead spake to them in good authority, but not very long; and towards the end, exposed the priest, and the design of his ministry to the people; which being as a trade for maintenance, would never profit them: and having cleared their minds of their concern for that time, we went to our inn without any molestation.

Having dined in a large upper room, several military officers, viz.: lieutenant Livingston, lieutenant Alexander Fraser, ensign Cunningham, &c., who kept garrison there, desiring a little of our company, came to see us. At their entrance into the room they saluted us in their manner, uncovering and bowing, saying, "Your servants, gentlemen." And the presence of the Lord being over us, Thomas Rudd answered, "Not our servants, but servants of God, and fellow-servants one of another for the Lord's sake." Then they made an apology, saying it was their way of expressing their respect; which we receiving to be without mocking, little more was said on either side, but all drawn in an instant into profound silence, by the invisible power of God; and in a short space the room was full of people, and all sober, like a meeting of Friends; and Thomas Rudd spoke to them concerning true silence, and the worship of God in spirit, in the silence of all flesh, and the imaginations and desires thereof; with some other things of that import.

After Thomas Rudd had done, John Bowstead preached to them, and then Thomas Rudd prayed, and after him, John Bowstead prayed; and so the meeting ended, all departing in a grave and serious frame of mind. The officers took leave of us in a friendly manner, and the company departed without any objection to what was said.

The next morning, being the second-day of the week, as were about to depart towards Chanery, on the other side of Murray Firth, the said officers came again to discourse with us and take their leave; and as matters of truth and religion were opened to us, which was not sparingly, we opened to them, and they seemed troubled to part with us, and took us by the hands, praying that the Lord might be with and prosper us. About the first hour that afternoon we arrived at Chanery, but found no further concern on that side; and after a little refreshment, we crossed the river, and that night lodged at Nairn.

That night Thomas Rudd became concerned to return to Inverness, to speak to the priest; and in the morning he and John Bowstead went to that place, where Thomas Rudd, as they said, warned the priest not to deceive the people any longer; with some other matters of religious import. The priest was indifferently patient; but his clerk used some light and indecent expressions, pretending to argue several points with them. Their business was not to dispute at that time, but to deliver a message; which having done they were clear. But the people flocked about them as before, with expressions of gladness at their return.

In the mean time Robert Gerard and I went to Fortress, where we had appointed to stay till they should return to us; and finding a concern come upon me, I went to the house of William Falconer, the priest before mentioned, and Robert Gerard with me; and there was one that was steward to a nobleman with him, and some others besides his own family. He seemed to receive us with respect; nevertheless in a short time there appeared a cloud of darkness. I sat quiet and inward, and the truth arose as a standard against it, and the opposing darkness vanished, and truth reigned in me. Then I began to speak concerning the many divisions in the pretended Christian world, the Papacy, the Prelacy, and the Presbytery, with their several
subdivisions and confusions, which being departed from the Spirit of Christ, the prince of Peace, into the spirit of envy and persecution, were warring and destroying each other, contrary both to the nature and end of that religion they profess, which is love. I was answered, that the bishop of Rome, under pretence of being the successor of Peter, and as such, in the old Bible, had his name written over the Christian world in matters of religion, and imposed a multitude of antichristian errors, by unreasonable force upon mankind. But God having committed his whole will unto writing in the holy Scriptures, and in the course of his Providence preserved them unto us, we have our whole duty declared therein, as our rule and guide in matters of religion; so that we are not to expect the manifestations of the Spirit as in times past, that dispensation being now ceased.

I replied, that what he said of the bishop of Rome was true, and that the Scriptures are the most excellent books extant; which were given, from time to time, by the Word of the Lord, which is the Spirit of Christ. But men may read and speak the truths contained in the Scriptures one to another, and the readers and speakers remain still ignorant of the Word of the Lord, and of the things themselves intended to be signified by the word, and not being sent of God, as the Scriptures send no man, cannot profit the hearers, but are themselves transgressors in so doing, unless they were sent by the influence, power, and virtue of the same Word that did dictate the matter of the Scriptures unto the holy penmen thereof; as appears by the 23rd chapter of the prophecy of Jeremiah: and then I called for a Bible and read, "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully: what is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord? Is not my word like a fire, saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces? Therefore, behold, I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my words, every one from his neighbour. Behold I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that use their tongues, and say, He saith: Yet I sent them not, nor commanded them; therefore they shall not profit this people at all, saith the Lord." So that it is contrary to the declared mind of God, that any should use his words to others as his ministers, who are not sent by himself so to do; for though they have been his words unto others, those who use them without his command, are charged by him as thieves; especially such as make merchandize of them to the people.

As to the dispensation of the Spirit being now ceased, I am sorry to hear it is so; for I can show thee to whom it is so ceased, but not to the church of Christ: then I turned to the third chapter of the prophecy of Micah, and read, "Hear, I pray you, O heads of Jacob, and ye princes of the house of Israel, is it not for you to know judgment? Who hate the good and love the evil; who pluck off their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them; and they break their bones, and chop them in pieces for the pot, and as flesh within the caldron. Then shall they cry unto the Lord, but he will not hear them; he will even hide his face from them at that time, as they have behaved themselves ill in their doings."

Here it appears, that for the ignorance, cruelties, and injustice of the princes or heads of the people, the Lord would not hear or regard them. Again, in the 9th verse, the Lord resumes his charge against the great men in that day; "They abhorred judgment, and perverted all equity: they built up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity: the heads of that people judged for reward, their priests taught for hire, and their prophets divined for money; yet they pretended to lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? No evil can come upon us." But the Lord was not to be mocked by such; his just judgments were denounced against them; "Therefore shall Zion, for your sakes, be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps; and the mountain of the house, as the high places of the forest." This was fulfilled upon them, and remains over them, as a monument of the justice of God, unto this day. The charge of the Lord, and his judgments against the prophets, I left to the last, viz.: "They made the people err: they bit with their teeth, and (yet) cried peace; and he that put not into their mouths, they even prepared war against him: therefore might shall be unto you, that ye shall not have a vision; and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine; and the sun shall go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them. Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the diviners confounded; yes, they shall all cover their lips, for there is no answer of God."

Now as to these Scriptures, said I, like sin, like judgment. All these three divisions of the pretended Christian church, falling into the sins of the old heathens, are become hateful, and hating one another; and through that hatred, have persecuted and destroyed each other when and wherever they have had power. And all these in their turns, having deceived and subjected the temporal...
powers, have persecuted and destroyed the church of Christ among them. "They have hated the good, and loved the evil." They have exercised such cruelties upon the innocent and just as are here figuratively termed, plucking off their skin and their flesh, and the breaking of their bones, and the like. The priests of every form have fleeced the people and the church of Christ, which they have not fed; they have made laws by their own power, against them, and thereby made war against such as would not gratify their covetousness; they have worried them as with their teeth, and yet cried up the peace of the gospel in words; they have built and propagated their several sects and parties with the blood of others, and of the saints of God; and have filled their sanctuaries with evil-doing and fraud. Their heads, who lord over them, have exercised their offices for gain and pay, their priests teach for hire, their prophets divine for money; yet they pretend the Lord is with them in their various and opposite ways, and that no evil can come upon them. And yet, though the day of the gospel of Christ be dawned upon his church, and the Sun of Righteousness arisen and shining in her, yet the night of apostasy, and mist of thick darkness and ignorance is over these. They have no vision of God; they cannot divine; the sun is set unto them, and the day is dark over them. For the light thereof they despise and hate, because they are evil-doers, and to them there is no answer of God.

But the church of Christ here speaketh another language; she beareth another, a true testimony to the true God. "But truly I am full of power, by the Spirit of the Lord, and of judgment, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgressions, and unto Israel his sin." Here it is apparent from whom the Spirit of the Lord is departed, and to whom he is not now revealed, and in whom he does not reside; that is, Mystery-Babylon, with all her divisions, subdivisions and members, every where, and under whatsoever name: but God is with his people still, as in former times, according to the promise of the Son: "If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." The auditory heard what was said with patience, and none made any answer but the priest; and all that he said was, and that a little pleasantly, "Such as you, going about with such chapters, may do much mischief." To whom I replied, that in as much as he was then silenced by the temporal powers, he would do well never to look after that employment any more, or think to enrich himself thereby; and the rather, since he had a competent estate independent of it; which the Lord would bless to him and his family, if he disclaimed that ungodly practice of preaching for hire, and was silent in the things of God till the Lord should send him, if it might please him so to do. The priest's wife seemed well pleased with what I said to him, and he made no reply: and so a little after we departed in peace, and in friendship with them, and went to our inn.

Soon after came Thomas Rudd and John Bowstead back to us from Inverness; and the next morning being the 1st day of the first month, 1693, we went to Elgin; and thence to Fochabers, or Castle-Gordon, and there we lodged; and in the morning Thomas Rudd and John Bowstead went through the streets, Thomas Rudd delivering his message, as at other places; and from thence we went to Keith, where he did likewise.

On the 4th day of the first month we came back to Urie, where we had a meeting among Friends, as in divers other places, from whence Thomas Rudd went back to Aberdeen, and John Bowstead and I went to Edinburgh. But as we were by the ferry, in order to our passage to Leith, there came a concern upon us, and we observed several persons, who were to be passengers with us in the same vessel. As we were putting off from the shore, some discourse was moved by way of opposition to us in matters of religion. He that managed against us we found, by his way of reasoning, was a priest; who finding us very sharp upon him, and how little impression his reasonings and imaginations made upon us, he fell into so great a rage, that he commanded us to be silent, and the skipper to put us on shore, for we were not far from it. "Thou art under a mistake," said I; "thou art not now domineering over a few poor parish people, who dare not speak the truth; we are not to be silenced by thee, nor put out of the vessel by any, since we have agreed for our passage, and are already in possession." This being said with the authority of justice, neither he nor any other said any more of turning us out; but the contest was renewed in matters of religion. After some observations on the several ways of worship in the world, I fell upon some reflections on such as shifted from one form to another, and would hang the cloak on either shoulder for advantage and honour among men. This proved, though an arrow at adventure, to hit the mark; after which the rude and boisterous spirit of the man became more humble, and we came over him by the Truth; who is always near to guide and strengthen such as wait on Him for strength and direction: to his glory be all things.