



JOURNAL OF WILLIAM PENN
WHILE VISITING
HOLLAND AND GERMANY IN 1677

William Penn



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PREFACE.

THIS ensuing journal of my travels in Holland and Germany, in the service of the Gospel of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was written for my own satisfaction, and that of some relations and particular friends, as the long time it has lain silent shows. But a copy that was found amongst the late Countess of Conway's papers falling into the hands of a person who much frequented that family, he was earnest with me, both by himself and others, to have leave to publish it for a common good. Upon perusal, I have found a willingness to comply with [this request], hoping that the Lord will make the reading of it effectual to some into whose hands it may fall; — as well those who have received a dispensation of the same ministry, for their encouragement in their public service for God, as those who are under the same ministry, unto zeal and faithfulness.

For it is the glorious Gospel-day, in which God is exalting his dear Son, as Prophet, Priest, and King, in the hearts of his people. Oh, that the nations would hear Him, their only saving health, and Israel's great Shepherd! who takes care of his sheep, that hear his voice, and gives unto them that follow him in the daily cross unto

regeneration, eternal life. He hath sent, and is sending, forth his servants, to gather home the sheep that are gone astray in all nations, that so there may be but one Shepherd and one sheep-fold; according to the glorious promise made to these latter times, in which He said, He would be the teacher of his people himself. For He is teaching thousands, by the Light, Spirit, and Grace of his Son Christ, in whom He is well pleased. To this, God hath sent forth his servants in this day, to turn all people, as God's call and visitation to the nations; and blessed are all those who hearken to this testimony, both mediately and immediately.

God is awakening men to the knowledge of his glory in the face or appearance of Christ, by his Spirit in their hearts and consciences, which reveals to men the Father, yea, the deep things of God. Oh, that they would hear and fear, and learn the things that make for their eternal peace! For if the righteous scarcely are saved, where, oh, where, shall they appear that neglect so great salvation! — a salvation that comes so near them as to knock at the door of their hearts; that searches them and tries their reins, and tells unto them their most inward thoughts; and brings a line of judgment over all their words and works. This is Christ Jesus, the Light of the world, who was given of God for salvation to the ends of the earth. He has enlightened all, and shines to all, and calls all, that they should see their sins and be sorry for them, and forsake them, and take up his daily cross and follow Him,

whom God hath given for an example as well as a propitiation for our sins. And none can know him to be their propitiation, who reject him as their example and leader in their lives and conversations. Wherefore, reader, be serious, inward, and inquisitive for thy soul's sake. What faith hast thou? Is it one that overcomes the world, or one that the spirit of the world overcomes? This is not the faith of God's elect, without which we cannot please God. For that faith works by love. Is it such a love to God as will not offend him, but seeks his glory through a most willing obedience to his holy will? Blessed are the souls in whom this love dwells! For such have none in heaven but God, nor in the earth in comparison of him. As they receive all good from him, so they resign all up to him; and though it be through many tribulations that they must attain the rest of God, yet as nothing can separate them from his love, so neither can anything deprive them of their reward in the end.

Wherefore, reader, be thou persuaded to take thy lot among that blessed number, if thou art not yet one of them. Thou seest the way to that Divine privilege; walk in it; for the end crowns all. And if thou art one of that number who have chosen God for their portion, be diligent, zealous and fervent in the work and service of God. Redeem thy time, and run thy race with care and constancy; looking unto Jesus, the author, that He may be the finisher of thy faith. Remember who said, there are many mansions prepared for the faithful. Do we

believe and look for another world? Let us not then live in this as if there were no other. Let our eyes be upon our better world, and live here as strangers who are but on our way to our eternal home; that so we may answer the end of God's love, by working out the salvation of our own souls by his power with fear and trembling; knowing that God will judge all, by Christ Jesus, according to the deeds done in the body.

Reader, this journal is of a religious voyage, and has some passages in it that may engage thy soul to seriousness, and let thee see how good God is to those that go of his holy errands. Mayst thou be heartily affected with this testimony of his love and presence with his people; and feel good desires raised in thee to serve the Lord also, according to his blessed will, in thy day; that thou mayst know peace to thy soul, when time here shall be no more.

I am thy assured friend in the best things,

WILLIAM PENN.

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JOURNAL.

CHAPTER I.

Leave-taking — Rotterdam — Amsterdam — General Meeting — Letter to the King of Poland — Osnaburg — Herwerden — Princess Elizabeth — De Labadie and Company — Letter from Princess Elizabeth.

ON the 22nd of the fifth month, 1677, being the first-day of the week, I left my dear wife and family at Worminghurst, in Sussex, in the fear and love of God, and came well to London that night. The next day I employed myself on Friends' behalf, who were in sufferings, until the evening; and then went to my own mother's in Essex.

On the 24th I took my journey to Colchester, and met George Watts of London upon the way; who returned with me, and came well to that town the same evening. We lodged at John Furlly's the elder, and had a blessed meeting at Jonathan Furlly's house that night.

The next morning early I left Colchester, and came to Harwich about noon, accompanied by George Watts

and John Furly the elder, William Tallcoat, and J. Whiterly of Colchester, where we found dear George Fox at J. Vanderwall's house, with many more Friends. After dinner we all went to the meeting, where the Lord gave us a blessed earnest of his love and presence, that should be with us in this voyage. For his holy, overcoming, refreshing power did open all our hearts, and many of our mouths in ministry, prayer, and praises, to the magnifying of his own name and Truth in that place.

The meeting done, we returned to John Vanderwall's house, where we took our leave of Friends; that is to say, of the Friends of that place, with others that came with us, or met us there. And so we went on board the packet-boat: where, by the special favor of the master of the packets to me, (he having formerly served under my father,) we had the best accommodation given to us. Many of the Friends accompanied us to the ship, not leaving us until all was fixed; and then we parted in the fellowship of Jesus.

Those that came over, were George Fox, Robert Barclay, G. Keith, G. Watts, John Furly, William Tallcoat, Isabel Yeomans, Elizabeth Keith, and myself, with two of our servants.

We set sail about three o'clock in the morning of the 26th, being the fifth-day of the week, and got the sixth-day at night within half a league of the Briel. We had good service those two days in the ship with several passengers, French and Dutch; and though they seemed at first to be shy of us, and to slight us,

yet at last their hearts were much opened in kindness towards us, and the universal principle had place.

The next morning Friends were fetched on shore by a boat of Rotterdam, with some Friends of that city who came to the Briel to meet us. The Friends that came were Aaron Sonnemans, Benjamin Furly, and S. Johnson, Vettekeuken, with three young men that live at B. Furly's house. After we had eaten, we took boat immediately for Rotterdam, where we arrived about noon, and where many Friends came to see us, among whom we were comforted.

On the 29th, being the first-day of the week, we had two meetings at B. Furly's house; whither resorted a great company of people, some of them being of the most considerable note in that city; and blessed be the true Word of life, that never failed them that rest upon it and abide in it! the Gospel was preached, the dead were raised, and the living comforted; God, even our God, bore heavenly record to his only begotten Son; and truth is honorable in the eyes of several of that place.

The next day we spent in visiting Friends from house to house, not in one company, being lodged in several quarters of the city. All our visits were precious meetings; for, indeed, for that end God brought us into this land. Several of us dined and supped that day at two great men's houses, where we had blessed opportunities to make known unto them what was the hope of our glory; that mystery, which to the Gentiles is now revealing, even Christ Jesus, the light and life of the world manifested in us.

On the 31st G. F., J. F., W. T., and myself, after having broken our fast at A. Sonnemans', took boat for Leyden, where we came that night, in order to be at Harlem next day at a meeting appointed by G. F. and myself from Rotterdam: being accompanied by J. Boeliffs, J. Arents, and J. Claus, who came from Amsterdam on purpose to conduct us thither.

At Harlem we arrived about the eleventh hour, and went to the house of a good old man, who had long waited for, and is now come to behold the consolation and salvation of Israel. After we had a little refreshed ourselves, we went to the meeting, where the Lord gave us a blessed opportunity, not only with respect to Friends, but many sober Baptists and professors who came in and stayed the meeting to the end: blessed be the name of the Lord.

The meeting done, we went to Amsterdam, in company with several Friends of that city, and of Alkmaer and Embden, who met us at the meeting at Harlem. We were lodged at Gertrude Dirick's house. G. K. and his wife and R. B. stayed over the fourth-day's meeting at Rotterdam, and so came not till the next day; which was the day of the General Meeting of Friends in this country.

On the 2nd of the sixth month, at G. D.'s house, the General Meeting was held, both of men and women: and the Lord, who is setting up his own kingdom by his own power, owned us with his blessed presence, and opened us in that wisdom and love, that all things ended with peace, great concord, and comfort: many

things being spoken, especially by our dear friend G. F., that were of good service; and I hope will dwell with them forever.

These several things agreed upon, being of good savor and report, I think fit here to insert :

*“ At the General Meeting of Friends at Amsterdam, the
2nd of the sixth month, 1677.*

“ 1. Be it known to all men, that the power of God, the Gospel, is the authority of all our men’s and women’s meetings; and every heir of that power is an heir of that authority, and so becometh a living member of right of either of those meetings, and of the heavenly fellowship and order in which they stand; which is not of man, nor by man.

“ 2. That each Monthly Meeting have a collection apart; and also that there be another collection quarterly at Amsterdam from each meeting, for general services; and that it be not disposed of, but by the consent of the said Quarterly Meeting.

“ 3. It is agreed upon, that henceforth a Yearly Meeting be held here at Amsterdam; unto which Friends in the Palatinate, Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Fredericstadt, etc., be invited; of which meeting there shall be given notice to the Friends of the Yearly Meeting at London, to be kept always on the fifth-day of that week, which is fully the third week following after the Yearly Meeting at London.

“ 4. It is also agreed upon, that henceforth this

General Meeting is to be changed into a Quarterly Meeting: and that the first Quarterly Meeting hereafter shall be on the second fifth-day of the ninth month following, and so forth every quarter on the second fifth-day of the month. This 2nd of the ninth month is to be this first Quarterly Meeting.

“5. It is also agreed, that henceforth a Monthly Meeting in Friesland should be established, as also at Rotterdam; and that on the second second-day of each month: and at Harlingen upon the third third-day of the month.

“6. Further, that in the interim, the Friends of Alkmaer, and Harlem, and Waterland, are to have their Monthly Meeting with Friends at Amsterdam: and to begin the said meeting the 6th day of the seventh month, and so forth; always upon the first second-day of the month at the eighth hour.

“7. And further, concerning Gospel order: though the doctrine of Christ Jesus requireth his people to admonish a brother or sister twice, before they tell the church; yet that limiteth none, so as they shall use no longer forbearance, before they tell the church; but that they shall not less than twice admonish their brother or sister, before they tell the church. And it is desired of all, that before they publicly complain, they wait in the power of God to feel if there is no more required of them to their brother or sister, before they expose him or her to the church. Let this be weightily considered.

“8. And further, when the church is told, and the

party admonished by the church again and again, and he or she remain still insensible and unreconciled, let not final judgment go forth against him or her, till every one of the meeting hath cleared his or her conscience; that if anything be upon any, further to visit such a transgressor, they may clear themselves, if possibly the party may be reached and saved. And after all are clear of the blood of such an one, let the judgment of Friends in the power of God go forth against him or her, as moved for the Lord's honor and glory sake; that no reproach may come or rest upon God's holy name, truth, and people.

“9. As much as possibly can be, let all differences be ended by some honest Friends; and trouble not the Monthly or Quarterly Meetings with them: and if that will not do, proceed to your particular Monthly Meetings. But if they be not there ended, then take aside six honest Friends out of the Quarterly Meeting, and let them hear and determine the matter. And in case any person or persons be so obstinate, as that they refuse the sense and love of Friends, and will not comply with them, then proceed towards them according to the way of Truth in such cases.

“10. That all such as behold their brother or sister in a transgression, go not in a rough, light, or upbraiding spirit to reprove or admonish him or her, but in the power of the Lord and Spirit of the Lamb; in the wisdom and love of the Truth, which suffereth thereby, to admonish such an offender. So may the soul of such a brother or sister be seasonably and effectually

reached unto and overcome, and have cause to bless the name of the Lord on their behalf: and so a blessing may be rewarded into the bosom of the faithful and tender brother or sister that so admonisheth.

“11. And be it known unto all, we cast out none from among us: for if they go from the light, and spirit, and power, in which our unity is, they cast out themselves. And it has been our way to admonish them, that they may come to the Spirit and light of God which they are gone from, and so come into unity again: for our fellowship standeth in the light, that the world hateth, and in the Spirit, that the world grieveth, vexeth, and quencheth. And if they will not hear our admonitions, the light condemneth them, and then goeth our testimony out against them.

“12. That no condemnation is to go further than the transgression is known. And if he or she return, and give forth a condemnation against himself or herself, which is more desirable than that we should do it, this is a testimony of his or her repentance and restoration before God, his people, and the whole world: as David, when Nathan came to admonish him. Ps. li.

“13. That no testimony by way of condemnation be given forth against any man or woman, whatever crime they commit, before admonition, and till such time as they have Gospel order, according to Christ's doctrine.

“14. And if any brother or sister hear any report of any brother or sister, let him or her go to the party,

and know the truth of the report ; and if true, let the thing be judged ; if false, go then to the reporter, and let him or her be judged. And if any should report it at a second or third hand, without going to the party of whom the report goeth, let such be brought to judgment ; for thou shalt neither raise nor suffer a report to lie upon my people, saith the Lord : for they are to be holy as He is holy ; and just as He is just.

“15. And if any controversy or weakness should appear in either men’s or women’s meetings, let it not be told out of your meetings ; because such speeches tend to the defaming of such persons and meetings, and to the hurt of the common unity, and breach of the heavenly society and privilege.”

This is an account of what passed in this General Meeting.

Next day, notice being already given, we had a large public meeting, in which the sound of the everlasting Gospel, testament, and covenant went forth ; and the meeting ended with a sweet and weighty sense. That evening we had a more select meeting of Friends than the day before, in which the nature of marriage, and the practice of Friends relating to it and other things were very weightily and closely discoursed. The resolutions were these following :

“1. A scruple concerning the law of the magistrate about marriage, being proposed and discoursed of in the fear of God among Friends in a select meeting, it was the universal and unanimous sense of

Friends, that joining in marriage is the work of the Lord only, and not of priest or magistrate. For it is God's ordinance and not man's, and therefore Friends cannot consent that they should join them together. For we marry none; it is the Lord's work, and we are but witnesses.

“2. But yet, if a Friend, through tenderness, have a desire that the magistrate should know it before the marriage be concluded, they may publish the same, after the thing hath by Friends been found clear; and after the marriage is performed in a public meeting of Friends and others, according to the holy order and practice of Friends in Truth throughout the world, and the manner of the holy men and women of old, may go and carry a copy of the certificate to the magistrate; they are left to their freedom herein, that if they please they may register it. But for priests or magistrates to marry, or join any in that relation, is not according to Scripture; and our testimony and practice have been always against it. It was God's work before the fall, and it is God's work alone in the restoration.

“3. If any Friend have it upon him to reprint any book already printed and approved, either in England or here, they may do it upon their own charges.

“4. It is also agreed, that the care of reading and approving books, be laid upon some of every meeting; to the end no book may be published but in the unity. Yet any other faithful Friends not so nominated, are not thereby excluded. Though in all these cases it is

desired, that all would avoid unnecessary disputes about words, which profit not, but keep in the love that edifieth.

“5. It is further concluded, that the general stock of the Quarterly Meeting be not disposed of, but by the consent of the Quarterly Meeting. But if, betwixt times, there should be pressing necessity concerning the public, let that Monthly Meeting where it shall fall out lay down the money, and give in an account at the next Quarterly Meeting in order to their relief, if it appear that they are thereby overcharged. And let all things be done without favor, affection, relation, or any respect to persons, even for the Lord’s sake, and his blessed everlasting Truth ; that God may bless and prosper his people.

“And let all things be written down, both as to your Monthly and Quarterly Meeting collections ; what you receive, and what you disburse ; that all may be fair and clear, to the satisfaction of all that desire to see and examine the books.”

And the Lord’s fear, and life, and power was over all, in which the Lord God preserve his forever.

The 4th of the sixth month, being the seventh-day of the week, was employed in visiting Friends, and preparing ourselves for a further journey ; that is to say, George Keith, Robert Barclay, Benjamin Furly, and myself.

Finding letters here from the Friends of Dantzic, complaining of the heavy sufferings they underwent ; informing us also that the king of Poland was there,

and asking advice about an address to him, it fell upon me to write the following letter in the name of the Friends of Dantzic.

“TO THE KING OF POLAND.

“Great Prince!

“Actions of justice, mercy, and truth are worthy of all men; but in a most excellent manner of the serious consideration of kings and princes. We, certain inhabitants of the city of Dantzic, have been long great sufferers, not for any wickedness committed against the royal law of God, or any breach of those civil laws of this city, that relate to the well government of it in all natural and civil things; but purely and only for the cause of our tender consciences towards God.

“This severity being by us represented to the magistrates of this city, we could not as yet receive from them any relief; some expressing, as if easing the burden of our oppressions should give thee, O King, an occasion of dissatisfaction against them; who art our acknowledged protector.

“Being thus necessitated, and in a manner driven to make this address unto thee, take it not amiss, that we, with that humility and patience that becometh the servants and followers of Jesus, and with all manner of Christian respect and sincerity of mind, briefly relate to thee the most fundamental principles most surely believed by us; which, we hope thou wilt believe, deserve not those punishments that are inflicted upon us as evil-doers.

“1. We do reverently believe that there is one God and Father, one Lord Jesus Christ, and one Holy Spirit, and these three are one. Eph. iv. 6.

“2. We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to have been given forth by Divine inspiration; and that they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; ‘able to make the man of God wise unto salvation through faith, which is in Christ Jesus.’ 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

“3. That these Holy Scriptures are not to be understood but by the discoveries, teachings, and operations of the eternal Spirit, from whence they came.

“4. We believe that all mankind, through disobedience to the Spirit of God, are fallen short of the glory of God, and in that state are under condemnation; but that God, out of his infinite goodness and kindness, hath sent his Son a light into the world, that whosoever believeth and obeyeth this light, should not abide in darkness, but have the light of eternal life.

“5. We believe this gift of light and grace through Jesus Christ to be universal; and that there is not a man or woman upon earth, that hath not a sufficient measure of this light, and to whom this grace hath not appeared to reprove their ungodly works of darkness, and to lead them that obey it to eternal salvation. And this is the great condemnation of the world at this day, under all their great professions of God, Christ, Spirit and Scriptures: that though Christ hath enlightened them, yet they will not bring their deeds

to the light, but hate the light, and love their dark customs and practices rather than the light, 'because their deeds are evil.'

"6. We do believe in the birth, life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ our Lord; and that He laid down his life for the ungodly, not to continue so, but that they should deny their wickedness and ungodliness, and live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present evil world, as the saints of old did, who were redeemed from the earth and sat in heavenly places.

"7. We do believe that as the devil, through man's disobedience, brought sin into man's heart, so Christ Jesus, through man's belief in, and obedience to his Holy Spirit, light and grace, cleanseth the heart of sin, destroyeth the works of the devil, finisheth transgression, and bringeth in everlasting righteousness. That as the devil hath had his kingdom of darkness in man, so Christ may have his kingdom of light, life, righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost in the heart of man; and not that Christ Jesus saveth men from wrath and not from sin; 'for the wages of sin is death,' in whose heart soever it liveth; 'but the gift of God is eternal life,' to all that believe and obey, through Jesus Christ.

"8. We do believe that all true ministry and worship stand only in the experimental sense, operations and leadings of this holy light, Spirit or grace, that is shed abroad in the hearts of men and women, to conduct them in the holy way of regeneration unto life eternal.

This was the ancient apostolical doctrine ; they spoke what they had seen, tasted, and handled of the Word of God. And this is our faith, doctrine, and practice in this day.

“ And be not displeas'd with us, O King, we entreat thee, if we give this for the reason of our absenting ourselves from the public and common ministry or worship ; namely, that we have no taste or relish, no sense or evidence that their ministry and worship are authorized and performed by the apostolical power and Spirit of Jesus ; but rather that they are the inventions, studies and powers of man's nature ; all which are but strange fire, and therefore cannot kindle a true and acceptable sacrifice to God.

“ For it is not man's spirit and degenerate nature, speaking and professing the words of God's Spirit, that giveth acceptance with the Lord, or administereth heavenly edification to men. Nor can we believe, that where pride, passion, wrath, malice, persecution, envy and strife, lusts, vanity, wantonness, and worldly-mindedness have such sway and power, that the true Christian spirit, life, and doctrine can be heartily received and followed.

“ And as this is the reason, in the sight and presence of that God that made heaven and earth, and will judge the quick and dead, wherefore we cannot join in the common and public worship of these parts, so doth the same light and Spirit of God lay an holy necessity upon us, with a meek and quiet spirit, to come together after the manner of the ancient Christians, that were the true followers of Jesus ; and with godly fear and a retired mind

to wait upon God, and meditate in his holy law of life, that He hath written in our hearts, according to his new covenant promise; that He may feed us, teach us, strengthen us, and comfort us in our inward man. And as by this Holy Spirit, according to the practice of the churches of old, any are inclined or moved to reprove, exhort, admonish, praise, or pray, we are found exercised in these holy practices.

“Now, O Prince! give us poor Christians leave to expostulate with thee. Did Christ Jesus or his holy followers endeavor by precept or example to set up their religion with a carnal sword? Called He any troops of men or angels to defend him? Did He encourage Peter to dispute his escape with the sword? But did He not say, put it up? Or did He countenance his over-zealous disciples, when they would have had fire from heaven, to destroy those that were not of their mind? No; but did not Christ rebuke them, saying, ‘Ye know not what spirit ye are of?’ And if it was neither Christ’s spirit, nor their own spirit that would have fire from heaven, oh! what is that spirit that would kindle fire on earth, to destroy such as peaceably dissent upon the account of conscience? If we may not wish that God would smite men of other judgments, because they differ from us, (in which there is no use of carnal weapons,) can we so far deceive ourselves as to esteem ourselves Christians and followers of Christ, whilst we encourage men with worldly weapons to persecute such as dissent from us?

“O King! when did the true religion persecute?

When did the true church offer violence for religion? Were not her weapons prayers, tears, and patience? Did not Jesus conquer by those weapons, and vanquish cruelty by suffering? Can clubs and staves, swords, and prisons, and banishments reach the soul, convert the heart, or convince the understanding of man? When did violence ever make a true convert, or bodily punishments a sincere Christian? This maketh void the end of Christ's coming, which is to save men's lives, and not to destroy them; to persuade them and not to force them; yea, it robbeth God's Spirit of its office, which is to convince the world; that is the sword by which the ancient Christians overcame. It was the apostle's testimony that their weapons were not carnal, but spiritual; but the practice of their pretended successors proveth that their weapons are not spiritual, but carnal.

“Suppose we are tares, as the true wheat hath always been called; yet pluck us not up for Christ's sake, who saith, ‘Let the tares and the wheat grow together until the harvest,’ that is, till the end of the world. Let God have his due as well as Cæsar; the judgment of conscience belongeth to him; and mistakes about religion are best known to him.

“And here give us leave to remind thee of a noble saying of one of thy ancestors, Stephen, king of Poland: ‘I am king of men, not of consciences; king of bodies, not of souls.’ And there have been found, and still are among the emperors, kings, princes, and States of the world, some who have had that noble

spirit of indulging their conscientious dissenting subjects; and not only with Gamaliel and Gallio not to persecute, but also eminently to protect and defend them from the hatred and violence of their enemies. Be not thou less noble than they; consider how quietly and comfortably our Friends live under other governments.

“And indeed, we conceive it to be the prudence of the kings and States of the world. For, if the wise man say true, ‘The glory of a prince is in the multitude of his people;’ but this practice saith, No, the glory of a prince is in the conformity of the people to the canons of the clergy; which seemeth to strike at all civil society, which consisteth in men of virtue, parts, arts, and industry. But let men have ever such excellent abilities; be ever so honest, peaceable, and industrious—all which render them good and profitable subjects to the prince—yet they must not live within their native country, unless they will sacrifice the peace of their consciences by an hypocritical submission to the canons and fashions of the church. Is not this, O Prince, to set the church above the state? the bishop above the king? to waste and give away the strength and glory of a kingdom?

“O that thou mayst be wise even in thy generation! and use the power that God hath given thee, for God, and truth, and righteousness; that therein thou mayst be like unto God, who, Peter telleth us, accepteth of all that fear him and work righteousness, throughout the world—whose sun shineth upon all, whose rain cometh upon all.

“And lest any should be so injurious to us as to render us enemies to civil government, be it known unto thee, O King, that we honor all men in the Lord, not with the vain invented honors of this world, but with the true and solid honor that cometh from above ; but much more kings, and those whom God hath placed in authority over us. For we believe magistracy to be both lawful and useful, for the terrifying of all evil doers, and the praise and encouragement of those that do well.

“The premises duly considered, we entreat thee, O Prince, to take our suffering case into thy serious regard ; and by that power and influence thou hast with the magistrates of this city, to recommend our suffering condition to their serious consideration ; that we may no longer lie under these not only unchristian, but unnatural severities, but receive that speedy and effectual relief which becometh Christian magistrates to give to their own sober and Christian people.” *

* W. Penn had greeted these sufferers with a consolatory letter as early as the year 1673, after his first journey to the continent.

It appears by Besse's account of these Friends, that they had no sooner joined the Society, and began to distinguish themselves as belonging to it, by publicly assembling after their usual manner for the purpose of divine worship, than three of them were apprehended by the magistrates. After being detained some time in prison, they were actually banished beyond the seas by order of the senate. The little company continuing to meet together, came to be more and more molested, both by magistrates and people, till, in one instance, the rude mob, to the number of a hundred persons, thronged into their meeting room, pillaging their property, and using almost all manner of shameful insolence ; on which, the town

On the 5th of the sixth month, being the first-day of the week, meeting began about the eleventh hour, and held till the fourth hour in the afternoon. There was a mighty concourse of people from several places of this country, and of several persuasions, Baptists, Presbyterians, Socinians, Seekers, etc., and God was with his people, and his Word of life and power, of wisdom and strength, covered them; yea, the hidden things both of Esau and Jacob, the mystery both of iniquity and godliness, were opened and declared in the demonstration of the eternal Spirit that day. And, blessed and magnified be the name of the Lord, who hath not left himself, nor his servants, without a witness! Oh, He is worthy to be loved, and feared, and obeyed, and revered forever!

The next day George Keith, Robert Barclay, Benjamin Furly, and myself, having taken our leave of dear George Fox and Friends, took boat for Naerden, arriving there about the second hour in the afternoon.

officers making their appearance, carried off these unoffending sufferers into confinement. Nor did such cogent appeals as that of William Penn prevail on their behalf. For during the space of some years the storm of persecution continued, insomuch that most of them, by frequent imprisonment, oppression, and banishment, were reduced to poverty, and unable for a considerable time to support themselves and their families. In 1684, two letters from them were read at the Yearly Meeting in London, describing their strait bondage in the house of correction, under extremely hard usage and cruelty, being chained together two and two by the hands, fed only with bread and water, and forced to lie upon straw through the severe winter.

After having eaten, we took our leave of those Friends that had accompanied us thither, and begun our journey in the common post-wagon to Osnaburg; where we came on fourth-day the 8th, in the evening.

We passed through a very dark country to that place; yet I felt not so great a weight and suffering in my spirit as six years ago, when I went through the same places.

At Osnaburg we had a little time with the man of the inn, where we lay; and left him several good books of Friends in the Low and High Dutch tongues to read and to dispose of.

The next morning, being the 9th of the sixth month, we set forward for Herwerden or Herford, and came thither at night. This is the city where the Princess Elizabeth, Palatine of the Rhine, hath her court; whom, and the Countess in company with her, it was especially upon us to visit; and that, upon several accounts. First, in that they are persons seeking after the best things. Secondly, in that they are actually lovers and favorers of those who separate themselves from the world for righteousness' sake.

The Princess is not only a private supporter of such, but gave protection to De Labadie himself, and his company; yea, when they went under the reproachful name of Quakers, about seven years since. This man was a Frenchman, who, being dissatisfied with the looseness and deadness of the French Protestants, even at Geneva itself, left them and came for Holland; and so vehemently declaimed against the apostasy of the

priests and people there, that the clergy were enraged, and stirred up the magistrates against him, and the rather, because many followed him, and several women of great quality. Upon this, the Princess gave them an invitation, and they came and were protected by her. But since, some miscarriages falling out in that place, she thereupon in good measure withdrew her favor from them, and they removed to another place.

I was moved to visit this man and his company six years ago, and saw him and his two great disciples; but they would not suffer me to see the people, which I labored for. In that day I saw the airiness and un-stableness of the man's spirit, and that a sect-master was his name. And it was upon me, both by word of mouth and writing, to let them know that the enemy would prevail against them to draw them into inconvenient things, if they came not to be stayed in the light of Jesus Christ, and to know the holy silence; and that at last they would come to fall out one with another, and moulder away; which is in some measure come to pass as I feared. For I clearly perceived, that though they had received some divine touches, there was a danger they would run out with them, and spend them like prodigals; not knowing then where to stay their minds for daily bread. Yea, though they were something angelical and like to the celestial bodies, yet if they kept not their station, they would prove fallen stars. They moved not in the motion of Him who had visited them, but were filled with gross mixtures, and thereby brought forth mixed

births, that is to say, things not natural but monstrous. In fine, they were shy of us, they knew us not ; yet I believed well of some of the people, for a good thing was stirring in them.

The Countess was commendable in this also, that she left all to join with a people who had a pretence at least to more spirituality and self-denial than was found in the national religion she was bred up in ; for God had reached her, as she told me, about nine years ago, and that by an extraordinary way. It seemed to us a great pity, that persons of their quality in the world, should so willingly expose themselves for the false Quaker, the reprobate silver, the mixtures ; and that they should not be acquainted with the life and testimony of the true Quakers.

About a year since, Robert Barclay and Benjamin Furly took that city in the way from Fredericstadt to Amsterdam, and gave them a visit ; in which they informed them somewhat of Friends' principles, and recommended the testimony of Truth to them, as both a nearer and more certain thing than the utmost of De Labadie's doctrine. They left them tender and loving.

Soon after this, Gertrude Diricks and Elizabeth Hendricks from Amsterdam visited them, and obtained a meeting with them ; improving that little way, God by his providence had made, more closely to press the testimony. And though they, especially the Countess, made some objections, in relation to the ordinances and certain practices of Friends, yet she seemed at that time to receive satisfaction from them.

These visits occasioned a correspondence by way of letter betwixt them and several of us, wherein the mystery of Truth hath been more clearly opened to their understandings; and they have been brought nearer into a waiting frame, by those heavenly directions they have frequently received by way of epistles from several of us.

In answer to two of mine, the Princess sent me the following letter, which being short I here insert:

“HERFORD, 2nd of May, 1677.

“This, Friend, will tell you that both your letters were very acceptable, together with your wishes for my obtaining those virtues, which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Saviour, Jesus Christ. What I have done for his true disciples, is not so much as a cup of cold water; it affords them no refreshment; neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the Duchess of Lauderdale, as I have expressed at the same time unto Benjamin Furly. But since Robert Barclay desired I should write it, I could not refuse him, nor omit to do anything that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it should expose me to the derision of the world. But this a mere moral man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

“Your affectionate friend,

“ELIZABETH.”

This digression from the present history, I thought not altogether unnecessary.

CHAPTER II.

Interviews with Princess Elizabeth and Countess of Hornes—
Meetings in the Family of the Princess—Paderborn—Cassel
—Frankfort.

BUT to return. Being arrived at that city, part of which is under her government, we gave her to understand it; desiring to know what time next day would be most proper for us to visit her. She sent us word she was glad that we were come, and should be ready to receive us next morning about the seventh hour.

The next morning being come, which was the sixth-day of the week, we went about the time she had appointed us, and found both her and the Countess ready to receive us; which they did with a more than ordinary expression of kindness. I can truly say it, and that in God's fear, I was very deeply and reverently affected with the sense that was upon my spirit, of the great and notable day of the Lord, and the breakings-in of his eternal power upon all nations; and of the raising of the slain Witness to judge the world; who is the treasury of life and peace, of wisdom and glory, to all that receive Him in the hour of his judgments, and abide with him. The sense of this deep and sure foundation, which God is laying, as the hope of eternal life and glory for all to build upon, filled my soul with an holy testimony to them, which in a living sense was

followed by my brethren ; and so the meeting ended about the eleventh hour.

The Princess entreated us to stay and dine with her ; but, with due regard both to our testimony and to her at that time, we refused it ; desiring, if she pleased, another opportunity that day. To which she with all cheerfulness yielded ; she herself appointing the second hour.

So we went to our quarters ; and some time after we had dined, we returned. The meeting soon began ; there were several present besides the Princess and Countess. It was at this meeting that the Lord in a more eminent manner began to appear. The eternal Word showed itself a hammer at this day, yea, sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing asunder between the soul and the spirit, the joints and the marrow. Yea, this day was all flesh humbled before the Lord ! it amazed one, shook another, broke another ; the noble arm of the Lord was truly awakened, and the weight and work thereof bowed and tendered us also, after an unusual and extraordinary manner ; that the Lord might work an heavenly sign before them, and among them ; that the majesty of Him that is risen among the poor Quakers might in some measure be known unto them, what God it is we serve, and what power it is we wait for and bow before. They had a sense and a discovery that day, what would become of the glory of all flesh, when God shall enter into judgment. Well, let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when I shall

forget the loving-kindness of the Lord, and the sure mercies of our God to us his travailing servants that day. O Lord, send forth thy light and thy truth, that all nations may behold thy glory!

Thus continued the meeting till about the seventh hour; which done, with hearts and souls filled with holy thanksgivings to the Lord for his abundant mercy and goodness to us, we departed to our lodging, desiring to know whether our coming the next day might not be uneasy or unseasonable to her with respect to the affairs of her government, it being the last day of the week, when, we were informed, she was most frequently attended with addresses from her people. But with a loving and ready mind she replied, that she should be glad to see us the next morning, and at any time when we would.

The next morning, being the 11th of the sixth month, we were there betwixt eight and nine; where, Robert Barclay falling into some discourse with the Princess, the Countess took hold of the opportunity, and whispered me to withdraw, to get a meeting for the more inferior servants of the house, who would have been bashful to present themselves before the Princess. And, blessed be the Lord! He was not wanting to us; the same blessed power that had appeared to visit them of high, appeared also to visit them of low degree; and we were all sweetly tendered and broken together; for virtue went forth of Jesus that day, and the life of our God was shed abroad amongst us as a sweet savor; for which their souls

bowed before the Lord, and confessed to our testimony.

It did not a little please that noble young woman, to find her own report of us and her great care of them so effectually answered. Oh! what shall we say? Is there any God like unto our God? who is glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, working wonders! To his eternal name, power and arm, be the glory forever!

The meeting done, the Princess came to us, expressing much satisfaction that we had that good opportunity with her servants; telling us, she much desired they should have a true and right character of us; and therefore she chose to withdraw, that they might have freer access, and that it might look like their own act; or words to that purpose.

The twelfth hour being come, we returned to our inn; letting them understand, we purposed (the Lord willing) to visit them some time that afternoon.

I must not here forget, that we found at our inn, the first night at supper, a young merchant of a sweet and ingenuous temper, belonging to the city of Bremen; who took occasion from that night's discourse, the sixth-day at dinner and supper, and the seventh-day also, to seek all opportunities of conference with us; and (as we have reason to believe) he stayed twenty-four hours in that city on our account. We opened to him the testimony of Truth. I know not that in any one thing he contradicted us. At last he plainly discovered himself unto us, to be a follower of a certain minister in Bremen, who is even by his fellow-ministers and Pro-

testants reproached with the name of Quaker, because of his singular sharpness against the formal, lifeless ministers and Christians in the world.

We laid fast hold upon this, and asked him, in case any of us should visit that city, if he would give us the opportunity of a meeting at his house, which he readily granted us. So we gave him some books; recommending him to the true and blessed testimony of Christ Jesus, the Light and Judge of the world, and life of them that receive him and believe in him; and so we parted.

It being now about three in the afternoon, we went to the Princess's; where being come, after some little time, the Princess and Countess put me in remembrance of a promise I made them in one of my letters out of England, that I would give them an account, at some convenient time, of my first convincement, and of those tribulations and consolations which I had met withal in this way of the kingdom, to which God hath brought me. After some pause, I found myself very free and prepared, in the Lord's love and fear, to comply with their request; so, after some silence, began. But before I had half done, it was supper-time; and the Princess would by no means let us go, we must sup with her; which importunity, not being well able to avoid, we yielded to, and sat down with her to supper.

Among the rest present at these opportunities, it must not be forgotten that there was a Countess, sister to the Countess, then come to visit her, and a French

woman of quality ; the first behaving herself very decently, and the last was often deeply broken ; and from a light and slighting carriage towards the very name of a Quaker, she became very intimately and affectionately kind and respectful to us. Supper being ended, we all returned to the Princess's chamber ; where, making us all sit down with her, she, with both the Countesses and the French woman, pressed from me the continuance of my relation ; but none more than the Countess's sister ; with which, though late, I was not unwilling to oblige them, because I knew not when the Lord would give me such an opportunity.

I found them affected ; it continued till about ten o'clock at night, yet many particulars omitted, partly through forgetfulness, and partly for want of time. Howbeit, I must needs say, they heard me with an earnest and tender attention ; and I hope and believe the Lord hath made it profitable unto them. This done, they had some discourse upon it, and afterwards we spoke about a meeting for the next day, being the first-day of the week ; and that we might have not only as many of her own family, but as many of her town as would willingly be there ; she yielded to it, and appointed the meeting to begin at the second hour ; so we parted, being near the eleventh hour at night.

The next morning we had a meeting among ourselves in our chamber, wherein the Lord refreshed us ; and there was a great travail upon our spirits, that the Lord would stand by us that day and magnify the

testimony of his own truth by us ; that He might have a seed and people in that place to lift up a standard for his name.

At dinner there were several strangers, who came by the post-wagon that day ; among whom there was a young man of Bremen, being a student at the college at Duysburg, who informed us of a sober and seeking man of great note in the city of Duysburg ; to him we gave some books. There was another, who was tender and inquiring, to whom also we gave books.

The second hour being at hand, we went to the meeting ; where were several, as well of the town as of the family. The meeting began with a weighty exercise and travail in prayer, that the Lord would glorify his own name that day. And by his own power He made way to their consciences, and sounded his awakeneing trumpet in their ears, that they might know that He was God, and that there is none like unto him. Oh ! the day of the Lord livingly dawned upon us, and the searching life of Jesus was in the midst of us ! The Word that never faileth them that wait for it, and abide in it, opened the way and unsealed the book of life ; yea, the quickening power and life of Jesus wrought and reached to them ; and virtue from Him in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth, and blessedly distilled upon us his own heavenly life, sweeter than the spices with pure frankincense, yea, than the sweet smelling myrrh that cometh from a far country. And as it began, so it was carried on, and so it ended ; blessed be the name of the Lord, and confided in be our God forever !

As soon as the meeting was done, the Princess came to me, and took me by the hand (which she usually did to us all, coming and going), and went to speak to me of the sense she had of that power and presence of God, which was amongst us; but was stopped. And turning herself to the window, she broke forth in an extraordinary passion, crying out, "I cannot speak to you—my heart is full"—clapping her hands upon her breast. It melted me into a deep and calm tenderness; in which I was moved to minister a few words softly to her, and after some time of silence, she recovered herself; and as I was taking my leave of her, she interrupted me thus: "Will you not come hither again? Pray call here as ye return out of Germany." I told her we were in the hand of the Lord, and being his could not dispose of ourselves; but the Lord had taken care that we should not forget her and those with her; for He had raised and begotten an heavenly concernment in our souls for her and them, and we loved them all with that love wherewith God had loved us; with much more to that purpose.

She then turned to the rest of the Friends, and would have had us all gone down to supper with her. But we chose rather to be excused; we should eat a bit of her bread and drink a glass of her wine, if she pleased, in the chamber where we were. At last we prevailed with her to leave us. The Countess, the French woman, and the Countess's waiting woman stayed with us; and we had a very retired and seasonable opportunity with them.

After the Princess had supped, we went all down and took our solemn leave of her, the Countess, her sister, the French woman, with the rest of the family, whose hearts were reached and opened by our testimonies; recommending to them holy silence from all will-worship, and the workings, strivings, and images of their own mind and spirit; that Jesus might be felt by them in their hearts, his holy teachings witnessed and followed in the way of his blessed cross, which would crucify them unto the world, and the world unto them; that their faith, hope, and joy might stand in Christ in them, the heavenly Prophet, Shepherd, and Bishop; whose voice, all that are truly sheep will hear and follow, and not the voice of any stranger whatever. So we left them in the love and peace of God; praying that they might be kept from the evil of this world.

We returned to our lodging, having our hearts filled with a weighty sense of the Lord's appearance with us in that place; and it being late, towards the ninth hour, we prepared to go to rest.

The next morning, being the 13th of the sixth month, George Keith, Benjamin Furly, and myself got ready to begin our journey towards Frankfort, which by the way of Cassel is about two hundred English miles. Robert Barclay prepared himself to return by the way we came, directly back to Amsterdam. But before we parted, we had a little time together in the morning in our chamber; whither came one of the Princess's family, and one of the town. The

Lord moved me to call upon his great name, that He would be with them that stayed, and with them that returned also, and with us that went forward in wild, untrodden places. And his blessed love and life overshadowed us; yea, He filled our cup together and made us drink into one Spirit, even the cup of blessings in the fellowship of the everlasting Seed; in which we took leave of one another. After having eaten, it being about the seventh hour, we departed the city.

We came to Paderborn that night, six German miles, which are about thirty-six English; it is a dark Popish town, and under the government of a bishop of that religion. Howbeit, the woman where we lodged was an ancient, grave, and serious person; to whom we declared the testimony of the Light, showing her the difference betwixt an outside and an inside religion; which she received with much kindness. We left some books with her, which she took readily.

There was also with us at supper a Lutheran who was a lawyer; with whom I had very good service, in opening to him the great loss of the power of godliness, as well among them who separated from Rome, as in the Roman church; which he confessed. I directed him to the Divine light in his conscience, that let him see the lifeless state of the false Christians; and if he turned his mind to that, and waited there, he would receive power to rule and govern himself according to true godliness: and that it was the loss of Christendom, that they went from this Holy Spirit,

in which the power standeth, that conformeth the soul to the image and likeness of the dear Son of God ; and thither they must come again, if ever they have the true knowledge of God, and enjoy life and salvation ; with much more to that purpose, all which he received lovingly.

The next morning we set forward toward Cassel ; but through great foulness of weather, having only open carts to ride in, the waters being also high with the rains, we did not get to Cassel till the next day, which was the fourth-day of the week. It being late, we made little inquiry that night, being also wearied with the foulness of the ways and weather.

But on the 16th we made our usual inquiry, namely, who was worthy in the city ; and found some that tenderly and lovingly received us ; to whom we declared the visitation of the light and love of God. Among the rest was Dureus our countryman, a man of seventy-seven years of age, who had learned in good measure to forget his learning, school divinity, and priest's craft ; and for his approaches towards an inward principle, is reproachfully saluted by some with the honest title of Quaker. It is much better than Papist, Lutheran, or Calvinist, who are not only ignorant of, but enemies to, quaking and trembling at, the word of the Lord, as Moses and others did.

Upon the sixth-day of the same week, about noon, we set out towards Frankfort, having left several books behind us ; which has been our practice in our journey.

At Frankfort we arrived on the 20th, about noon, being just a week from Herwerden ; and having from thence and Cassel made known our intentions of coming, two considerable persons came and met us about half a German mile from the city, informing us of several who were well affected in that town. Upon which, we told them the end of our coming, and desired to have a meeting with them in the afternoon ; which we easily obtained at the house of a merchant, one of the two that met us. The persons who resorted thither were generally people of considerable note, both of Calvinists and Lutherans ; and we can say, they received us with gladness of heart, and embraced our testimony with a broken and reverent spirit, thanking God for our coming amongst them, and praying that He would prosper his work in our hands. This engaged our hearts to make some longer stay in this city. We therefore desired another meeting the next day, which they cheerfully assented to ; where several came who were not with us the day before, and the Lord who sent us into the land was with us, and by his power reached to them, insomuch that they confessed to the truth of our testimony.

Of these persons, there were two women, one a virgin [Joanna Eleonora de Malane], the other a widow, both noble of birth, who had a deep sense of the power and presence of God which accompanied our testimony, and their hearts yearned strongly towards us ; the virgin giving us a particular invitation to her house the next morning, where we had the most

blessed opportunity of the three ; for the Lord's power so eminently appeared, that not only those who had been with us before were most effectually reached, but a certain student, residing in the house of a Lutheran minister (sent for by that young woman), was broken to pieces, and magnified that blessed power which appeared. There accidentally came in also a doctor of physic, who unexpectedly was affected, and confessed to the Truth, praying God to prosper us. This was the blessed issue of our visit to Frankfort.

But there is one thing more not unfit to be mentioned. Among some of those who have inclinations after God, a fearful spirit, together with the shame of the cross, hath entered ; against which our testimony in part striking, we took notice it was as life to these noble women, for that was it, as they told us, which had long oppressed them, and obstructed the work of the Lord amongst them. Therefore, said the young woman, "Our quarters are free for you ; let all come that will come, and lift up your voices without fear ; for," continued she, "it will never be well with us till persecution come, and some of us be lodged in the stadt-house,"—that is the prison.

We left the peace of Jesus with them, and the same afternoon we departed out of that city, being the fourth-day of the week.

Here I wrote an epistle to the churches of Jesus.

CHAPTER III.

Epistle to the Churches.

To the Churches of Jesus throughout the world, gathered and settled in his eternal light, power, and Spirit, to be one holy flock, family, and household to the Lord.

“Dear Friends and Brethren,

WHO have been visited with the fatherly visitation from on high, and have received God’s eternal word and testament in your hearts, by which you have been gathered home to Christ Jesus, the true Shepherd, from all the idol-shepherds and their barren mountains and unprofitable hills, where you have been scattered in the dark and gloomy day of apostasy ; and by his light, Spirit, and power have been convinced of sin, righteousness, and judgment ; and can say, the prince of this world is judged by HIS holy, righteous, and powerful appearance in you, unto whom all judgment in heaven and earth is committed ; who is the blessed Lamb of God, the Light and Saviour of the world ; who is King of Salem, and Prince of Peace ; my soul loves you with everlasting love, even with the love with which my God and your God, my Father and your Father hath loved me, and visited my soul and your souls. In this do I dearly salute and embrace you all, in this the day of the fulfilling of his glorious promises to his church in the wilderness, and witnesses in sackcloth.

“ And, oh, magnified be his name, and everlastingly praised and renowned be his holy power and arm, by which He hath reached unto us, and brought salvation near us! For He hath found us out, and hath heard our solitary cries, the deep and mournful supplications of our bowed spirits, when we were as the dove without its mate, and the lonely pelican in the wilderness; when we were ready to cry out, Is there none to save, is there none to help! Oh, when shall the time and times and half a time be finished! When shall the one thousand two hundred and sixty days be accomplished! And when shall the abomination that stands in the holy place, be cast out! When shall the captivity of the people be turned back! Oh, when shall Babylon come into remembrance before God; the dragou, beast, and false prophet be cast into the lake! And when shall the law go forth out of Zion, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem! When shall Zion become the joy, and Jerusalem the praise of the whole earth! And when shall the earth be covered with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea!

“ Friends, the Lord of heaven and earth hath heard our cries, and the full time is come, yea, the appointed time is come, and the voice of the eternal Spirit in our hearts hath been heard on this wise many a time — Awake, thou that sleepest, and I will give thee life; arise out of the dust and shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee! And the Lord God hath given us that light, by which we have comprehended the darkness in ourselves and in the

world ; and as we have believed in it, dwelt in it, and walked in it, we have received power to overcome the evil-one in all his appearances in ourselves, and faithfully and boldly to testify against him in the world. And the blood of Jesus, in this holy way of the light, have we felt in our souls, to cleanse us from unrighteousness, and give us to know the mystery of the fellowship of the Gospel one with another, which stands in life and immortality. And here we become an holy household and family unto God, that live in his presence day and night, to do his will, as becometh his children, redeemed and ransomed by the most precious blood of his Son, and no more to return to folly.

“ And, Friends, let it never pass out of our remembrance, what our God hath done for us, since He hath made us a people. Hath any weapon formed against us prospered ? Hath He called us, and not protected us ? Hath He given power to conceive, and not to bring forth ? Hath He not sheltered us in many a storm ? Did He ever leave us under the reproaches and contradictions of men ? Nay, hath He not spoken peace to us ? Were we ever cast out by men, and He forsook us ? No, the Lord hath taken us up. Were we ever in prison, and He visited us not ? hungry, and He fed us not ? naked, and He clothed us not ? or have we been sick, and He came not to see us ? When were the gaols so close that He could not come in ? and the dungeons so dark that He caused not his light to shine upon us ? Oh, nay ! He hath never left us, nor forsaken us ; yea, He hath provided richly for us ; He hath brought us into the wilder-

ness not to starve us, but to try us ; yet not above our measure ; for He fed us with manna from on high, with pure honey and water out of the rock, and given his good Spirit to sustain us ; by night He was a pillar of fire to us, to comfort us ; and by day a pillar of cloud, to hide and shelter us. He was a shadow of a mighty rock that followed us ; and we never wanted a brook by the way to refresh us. Was God good to Israel outward ? Much more hath He abounded to his spiritual Israel, the proper seed and offspring of himself. Oh, the noble deeds and valiant acts that He hath wrought in our day for our deliverance ! He hath caused one to chase ten, and ten a hundred, and a hundred a thousand, many a time. None hath been able to snatch us out of his hands, who abode in his Truth. For though the winds have blown, and the sea hath raged, yet hath He rebuked the winds and the sea for his seed's sake ; He hath said to the winds, ' be still ; ' and to the sea, ' thus far shall thou come, and no further. ' He hath cast up a highway for his ransomed to walk in, so plain, that though a fool he shall not err therein. This is the light in which all nations of them that are saved must walk forever.

“ And therefore, Friends, let us stay our minds in the light of the Lord forever ; and let the awe, fear, and dread of the Almighty dwell in us. And let his Holy Spirit be known to be a covering to us, that from the spirit of this world we may be chastely kept and preserved unto God, in the holy light and self-denying life of Jesus, who hath offered up himself once

for all, leaving us an example that we should also follow his steps; that as He, our dear Lord and Master, so we, his servants and friends and children, might by the eternal Spirit offer up ourselves to God in body, in soul, and in spirit, which are his; that we may be his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, to the praise of Him that hath called us; which calling is a high and holy calling, by the eternal Light and Spirit in our consciences. Oh, that it might forever remain in high estimation with us! And that it may be the daily watch and travail of us all, in the presence of the holy and living God who hath called us, to make our great call and election sure, which many have neglected to do, who have been convinced by the blessed Light and Truth of Christ Jesus revealed in their hearts, and who for a time have walked among us. These have been overcome by the spirit of this world, and turned their hands from the plough, and deserted the camp of the Lord, and gone back again into Egypt; whereby the heathen have blasphemed, and the way and people of the Lord have greatly suffered.

“Therefore, O my dear Friends and brethren! in the sense of that life and power which God from heaven hath so gloriously dispensed among us, and by which He hath given us multiplied assurances of his loving-kindness unto us, and crowned us together with heavenly dominion, in which my spirit is at this time broken before the Lord, do I most earnestly entreat you to watch continually, lest any of you, who have tasted

of the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, fall by temptation; and by carelessness and neglect tempt the living God to withdraw his fatherly visitation from any of you, and finally to desert such; for the Lord our God is a jealous God, and He will not give his glory unto another. He hath given to man all but man himself, and him He hath reserved for his own peculiar service, to build him up a glorious temple to Himself, so that we are bought with a price, and we are not our own.

“Therefore let us continually watch and stand in awe, that we grieve not his Holy Spirit, nor turn his grace into wantonness; but let all of us wait, in a holy travail of spirit, to know ourselves sealed by the Spirit of adoption, unto the day of our complete redemption; when not only all our sins, but all sorrows, sighings, and tears shall be wiped away from our eyes, and everlasting songs of joy and thanksgivings shall melodiously fill our hearts to God, who sits upon the throne, and to his blessed, immaculate Lamb, who by his most precious blood shall have completely redeemed us from the earth, and written our names in the book of life.

“Friends, the Spirit of the Lord hath often brought you into my remembrance, since I have been in this desolate land; and with joy unutterable have I had sweet and precious fellowship with you in the faith of Jesus, that overcometh the world; for, though absent in body, yet am present in Him that is Omnipresent. I can truly say, you are very near and very dear to me, and the love that God hath raised in my heart unto

you, surpasses the love of women. Our testimony, I am well satisfied, is sealed up together, and I am well assured, that all who love the light shall endure to the end throughout all tribulations, and in the end obtain eternal salvation.

“And now, Friends, as I have been travelling in this dark and solitary land, the great work of the Lord in the earth has been often presented to my view, and the day of the Lord hath been deeply upon me, and my soul hath frequently been possessed with a holy and weighty concern for the glory of the name of the Lord, and the spreading of his everlasting Truth, and the prosperity of it through all nations; that the very ends of the earth may look to him, and may know Christ, the light, to be given to them for their salvation. And when the sense of these things hath been deeply upon me, a holy and strong cry God hath raised in my soul to him, that we, who have known this fatherly visitation from on high, and who have beheld the day of the Lord, the rising of the Sun of righteousness, who is full of grace, and full of truth, and have beheld his glory, and confessed it to be the glory of the only begotten Son of God; and who by obedience to his appearance are become the children of light and of the day, and as the first fruits to God after this long night of apostasy,— might forever walk and dwell in his holy covenant, Christ Jesus, the Light of the world; because in him we have always peace, but out of him comes all the trouble.

“And whilst this heavenly sense rested with me, the Lord God that made me and called me by his grace unto salvation, laid it upon me to visit you in a holy exhortation. And it is the exhortation of my life at this time, in the earnest and fervent motion of the power and Spirit of Jesus, to beseech you all, who are turned to the light of Christ, which shineth in your hearts, and believe in it; that you carefully and faithfully walk in it, in the same dread, awe, and fear, in which you began; that that holy poverty of spirit, which is precious in the eyes of the Lord, and was in the days of your first love, may dwell and rest with you; that you may daily feel the same heavenly hunger and thirst, the same lowliness and humility of mind, the same zeal and tenderness, and the same sincerity and love unfeigned; that God may fill you out of his heavenly treasure with the riches of life, and crown you with holy victory and dominion over the god and spirit of this world; that your alpha may be your omega, and your author your finisher, and your first love your last love; that so none may make shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience, nor faint by the way. As in this state we are kept in holy watchfulness to God as in the beginning, the table which our heavenly Father spreads, and the blessings with which He compasseth us about, shall not become a snare unto us, nor shall we turn the grace and mercies of the Lord into wantonness; but we shall eat and drink in a holy fear, apparel ourselves in fear, buy and sell in fear, visit one another in fear, keep meetings, and there

wait upon the Lord in fear; yea, whatsoever we take in hand to do, it shall be in the holy fear of God, and with a holy tenderness of his glory, and regard to the prosperity of his Truth: yea, we shall deny ourselves, not only in the unlawful things, but in the things that are even lawful to us, for the sake of the many millions that are unconverted to God.

“For my Friends and brethren, God hath laid upon us, whom He hath honored with the beginning of his great work in the world, the care both of this age, and of the ages to come; that they may walk as they have us for examples:—yea, the Lord God has chosen you to place his name in you; the Lord hath entrusted you with his glory, that you might hold it forth to all nations; and that the generations unborn may call you blessed.

“Therefore let none be treacherous to the Lord, nor reward him evil for good; nor betray his cause directly by wilful wickedness, nor indirectly by negligence and unfaithfulness, but be zealous and valiant for Truth on earth. Let none be slothful or careless:—Oh! remember the slothful servant’s state. Let the loving-kindness of the Lord overcome every soul to faithfulness; for with Him are riches and honor, and every good thing. And whither should any go? He hath the words of eternal life. Oh! let none lose their testimony, but hold it up for God; let thy gift be ever so small, thy testimony ever so little. Through thy whole conversation bear it for God, and be true to what thou art convinced of. And wait all upon the

Lord, that you may grow in your heavenly testimony ; that life may fill your hearts, your houses, and your meetings ; that you may daily wait to know, and to receive power to do the will of God on earth, as it is in heaven.

“ And, oh ! that the cross of Jesus may be in high and honorable esteem with every one ; that the liberty of all may stand in the cross, which alone preserveth : for it is the power of God that crucifieth us to the world, and the world to us. And through death, way is made unto life and immortality ; which by this blessed cross, the Gospel, the power, is brought to light. So shall the seed of life that God hath sown in our hearts grow ; and in that seed shall we all come to be blessed, unto whom God hath appointed the dominion over us. And it is good for all to live under the holy government of it ; for the ways of it are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace ; and all that are born of it can say, ‘ Thy sceptre is a sceptre of righteousness. And, oh ! that all Friends everywhere may continually bow unto his righteous sceptre, and keep to his holy law, which is written in their hearts ; that it may be a light to their feet, and a lantern to their paths. So shall they come to witness that holy promise made good unto them, ‘ The Spirit which I have given unto Him, the Seed, and the words which I have put into his mouth, shall not depart from Him, nor from his seed, nor from his seed’s seed unto all generations.’

“ Wherefore, Friends, redeem the time, because the

days are evil ;—God hath given you to see they are so ; and be ye separated more and more, yea, perfectly disentangled from the cares of this world. And be ye not cumbered with the many things ; but stand loose from the things that are seen, which are temporal.

“ And you that are poor, murmur not ; but be patient and trust in the Lord, and submit to his providence, and He will provide for you that which is convenient for the days of your appointed time. And you that are rich, keep in the moderation, and strive not to multiply earthly treasure, nor to heap up uncertain riches to yourselves ; but what God hath given you more than is convenient for your own use, wait for his wisdom, to employ it for his glory, that you may be faithful stewards of this world’s mammon ; and the Lord God shall reward you into your bosoms of the riches of that kingdom that shall never have an end.

“ O my Friends and brethren ! whether rich or poor, in bonds or at liberty, in whatsoever state you are, the salutation of the universal life of Jesus is to you. And the exhortation is, to bow to what is made known unto you ; and in the light, by which ye have received in measure the knowledge of God, watch and wait diligently to the further revelation of the mind and will of God unto you ; that ye may be endued from on high with power and might in your inward man, to answer the call and requirings of the Lord ; that ye may be enabled to make known to the nations what is the riches of the glory of this blessed mystery in the Gentiles, which is Christ Jesus, the light of the world,

in you the hope of glory. For this, I have to tell you, in the vision of the Almighty, that the day of the breaking up of the nations about you, and of the sounding of the gospel-trumpet unto the inhabitants of the earth, is just at the door; and they that are worthy, who have kept their habitation from the beginning, and have dwelt in the unity of the faith that overcometh the world, and have kept the bond of peace, the Lord God will empower and spirit you to go forth with his everlasting word and testament, to awaken and gather kindreds, languages, and people to the glory of the rising of the Gentiles' Light; who is God's salvation unto the ends of the earth.

“And I must tell you, that there is a breathing, hungering, seeking people, solitarily scattered up and down this great land of Germany, where the Lord hath sent me; and I believe it is the like in other nations. The Lord hath laid it upon me, with my companions, to seek some of them out, and we have found several in divers places. We have had many blessed opportunities amongst them, wherein our hearts have greatly rejoiced; having been made deeply sensible of the love of God towards them, and of the great openness and tenderness of spirit in them, to receive the testimony of light and life through us. We have a steadfast belief that the Lord will carry on his work in this land effectually, and that He will raise up those that shall be as ministers of his eternal testament amongst them. And our desire is, that God would put it into the hearts of many of his faithful

witnesses to visit the inhabitants of this country, where God hath a great seed of people to be gathered; that his work may go on in the earth, till the whole earth be filled with his glory.

“And it is under the deep and weighty sense of this approaching work, that the Lord God hath laid it upon me to write to you, to wait for the further pourings out of the power and Spirit of the Lord; that nothing which is careless, sleepy, earthly, or exalted may get up, whereby to displease the Lord, and cause him to withdraw his sweet and preserving presence from any that know him. But let all keep the peace of the King of Righteousness, and walk in the steps of the flocks of his companions; for withering and destruction shall come upon all such as desert the camp of the Lord, or with their murmuring spirit disquiet the heritage of God; for they are greater enemies to Zion’s glory and Jerusalem’s peace than the open armies of the aliens.

“And it is a warning to all who make mention of the name of the Lord in this dispensation He hath brought us to, that they have a care how they let out their minds in any wise to please the lusts of the eye, the lusts of the flesh, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of this world; lest any be exalted in a liberty that maketh the cross of Jesus of none effect, and the offence thereof to cease; for such will become as salt that hath lost its savor, and at last will be trodden under the feet of God and men. For the Lord will withdraw his daily presence, and the

fountain will come to be sealed up, and the well of salvation be stopped again.

“Therefore, as all would rejoice in the joy of God’s salvation, let them wait for the saving power, and dwell in it; that, knowing the mystery of the work of regeneration — Christ formed in them the hope of their glory — they may be able in the motion of Him, that hath begotten them through death to life, to go forth and declare the way of life and salvation.

“And all you that are young, convinced of the eternal Truth, come into it, and then you will feel the virtue of it: and so you will be witnesses, otherwise vain talkers, wells without water, clouds without rain; for which state, is reserved the blackness of darkness forever. Wherefore, gird up the loins of your minds, be sober, and tempt not God; but receive the day of your visitation, walk worthy of so great love, and delight to retain God in your knowledge; grieve not his holy Spirit, but join to it, and be led by it, that It may be an earnest to you of an eternal inheritance. Take up your daily cross and follow Christ, and follow not the spirit of this world. He was meek and lowly, He was humble and plain; He was few in words, but mighty in deeds. He loved not his life unto death, even the reproachful death of the cross; but laid down his life, and became of no reputation, and that for the rebellious. Oh, the height and depth, the length and the breadth, yea, the unsearchableness of the love of God in Christ Jesus.

“Wherefore, while it is to-day, hearken to his

voice, and harden not your hearts : and make no bargains for self, neither consult with flesh and blood : but let the Lord be your light, and your salvation ; let Him be the strength of your life, and the length of your days. And this know assuredly, that none ever trusted to the Lord, and were confounded. Wherefore, hold up your testimony for God, as ye would enjoy the increasings of his life and love ; and let your light shine, and confess Him before the whole world. Smother not his appearance, neither hide the candle which God hath lighted in thee under a bushel ; for Christ walketh among his candlesticks of pure and tried gold. Wherefore, set thy light upon a candlestick, and show forth thy good conversation in meekness and godly fear, that thou mayst become a good example, and others beholding thy good works, may glorify God. But, for the rebellious, the fearful, and the unbelieving, the day hastens upon such, in which the things that belong to their peace shall be hid from their eyes forever.

“ And all you, my dear Friends and brethren, who are in sufferings for the testimony of Jesus, and a good conscience, look up to Jesus, the author and finisher of your faith ; who, for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross and despised the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Father in the heavenly place : — into which, if you faint not, you shall all be received, after the days of your pilgrimage shall be at an end, with a ‘ Well done, good and faithful servant.’ And though these afflictions seem not joy-

ous, but grievous, for the present, yet a far more exceeding weight of glory stands at the door. Wherefore, count it all joy when you fall into these trials, and persevere to the end; knowing, He that shall come will come, and will not tarry, and that his reward is with him. Remember the martyrs of Jesus, who loved not their lives to the death, for his namesake, who had called them; and Jesus himself, who made a good confession before Pontius Pilate; who hath consecrated through his blood a new and living way for all that come unto God by him; who is made a High-priest, higher than the heavens,—one that can be touched and moved, and is daily touched and moved, with our weakness and infirmity;—that through Him we may be made strong in the Lord, and more than conquerors through Him that hath loved us.

“Wherefore, let it not seem as if some strange thing had happened to you; for all these things are for the trial of your faith, which is more precious than the gold that perisheth. It is the old quarrel;—children of this world against the children of the Lord; those that are born after the flesh, warring against those that are born after the Spirit; the Jews, under the profession of the letter of the law, against Christ that came to fulfil the law, and all his spiritual followers and disciples; and all the false apostate Christians against the true and spiritual Christians and martyrs of Jesus. So, your conflict is for the spiritual appearance of Christ Jesus against those that profess Him in words, but in works and conversation every day deny him;

doing despite to the Spirit of Grace in themselves, and those that are led by it. But though Gog and Magog shall gather themselves together to lay waste the city of God, yet the Lord hath determined their destruction, and He will bring it to pass.

“Wherefore rejoice, O thou hill of God, and clap thy hands for joy; for He that is faithful and true, just and righteous, and able to deliver thee, dwells in the midst of thee—who will cause thee to grow and increase, till thou become a great mountain, till thou become the praise of the whole earth, and the whole earth be filled with thy glory!

“And to you all, who are the followers of the Lamb of God, who was dead, but is alive, and lives for evermore, — who is risen in your hearts, as a bright shining light, and is leading you out of the nature and spirit of this world, in the path of regeneration, — I have this to say, by way of holy encouragement unto you all: The Lord God that was, and is, and is to come, hath reserved for you the glories of the last days. And if the followers and martyrs of Jesus in ages past, when the church was going into the wilderness and his witnesses into sackcloth, were, notwithstanding, so noble and valiant for the Truth on earth, that they loved not their lives unto the death, and suffered joyfully the spoiling of their goods for the testimony of Jesus, how much more ought you all to be encouraged unto faithfulness, who are come to the resurrection of the day which shall never more be eclipsed; in which the Bridegroom is to come, to fetch

you his spouse out of the wilderness, to give you beauty for ashes, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; who will cover you with his Spirit, and adorn you with his fine linen, the righteousness of the saints. Lean upon His breast forever! and know your joining in an everlasting covenant with Him, that He may lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and delight to do you good; that in blessing He may bless you, increase you, and multiply you in all spiritual blessings now and forever; that to God, through Him, you may live all the days of your appointed time; — to whom be glory and honor, praises and thanksgivings in the church, throughout all ages, and forever!

“I am, in the faith, patience, tribulation, and hope of the kingdom of Jesus, your friend and brother,

WILLIAM PENN.”

“My companions in the labor and travail of the testimony of Jesus, salute you all in the love of our God. We have passed through several cities of Germany, and are now at Frankfort, where the Lord hath given us three blessed opportunities with a serious and seeking people; whereof, as in other places of this country, many are persons of great worldly quality. Blessed be the name of the Lord, to whom be glory forever!

W. P.

“FRANKFORT, the 22nd of the Sixth month, 1677.”

CHAPTER IV.

Krisheim — Epistle to Princess Elizabeth and Countess de Hornes — Mannheim — Letter to the Prince Elector Palatine of Heidelberg — Meetings at Krisheim — Worms — Frankfort — Mentz — Cologne — Duysburg — Countess of Falkenstein — Sent out of his Territory by the Graef.

ON the 23d of sixth month, we arrived by the way of Worms at Krisheim, in the Paltzgrave's country, where we found, to our great joy, a meeting of tender and faithful people.

But it seems the inspector of the Calvinists had enjoined the Vaught, or chief officer, not to suffer any preaching to be among our friends; who, poor man! fearing the indignation of the clergy, came next day to desire Friends not to suffer any preaching to be amongst them, lest he should be turned out of his place. To whom we desired Friends to say that, if he pleased, he might apprehend us, and carry us to the Prince, before whom we should give an account of our testimony.

But, blessed be the Lord! we enjoyed our meeting quietly and comfortably; of which a coachful from Worms made a part, amongst whom was a governor of that country, and one of the chief Lutheran priests.

It came upon me in this place to salute the Princess and Countess with this following epistle:

“A salutation to Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, and Anna Maria de Hornes, Countess of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.

“My worthy friends :

“Such as I have, such I give unto you ; the dear and tender salutation of light, life, peace, and salvation by Jesus Christ, the blessed Lamb of God ; with the unspeakable joy of which, He has replenished my soul at this time, that my cup overfloweth ; which is the reward of those who cheerfully drink his cup of tribulations, love the cross, and triumph in all the shame, reproaches, and contradictions of the world that do attend it. My God take you by the hand, and gently lead you through all the difficulties of regeneration ; and as you have begun to know and love his sweet and tender drawings, so resign the whole conduct of your lives to Him.

“Dispute not away the precious sense that you have of Him, be it as small as a grain of mustard-seed, which is the least of all seeds ; there is power in it, if you do but believe, to remove the greatest mountains of opposition.

“Precious is this faith, yea, more precious than the glory and honor of this world that perisheth : it will give courage to go with Christ before Caiaphas and Pilate ; yea, to bear his cross without the camp, and to be crucified with him, knowing that the Spirit of God and of glory shall rest upon them. To the inheritors of this faith, is reserved the eternal kingdom of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

“Oh! be you of that little flock, unto whom Jesus said, ‘Fear not, for it is my Father’s good pleasure to give you the kingdom;’ and, to be of this flock, you must become as sheep; and to be as sheep, you must become harmless; and to become harmless, you must hear and follow the Lamb of God; as He is that blessed Light which discovereth and condemneth all the unfruitful works of darkness, and maketh harmless as a dove; which word, all, leaveth not one peccadillo or circumstance undiscovered or unjudged; and the word darkness, taketh in the whole night of apostasy; and the word unfruitful, is a plain judgment against all those dark works. Wherefore, out of them all come, and be you separated; and God will give you a crown of life, which shall never fade away.

“Oh! the lowness and meanness of those spirits that despise or neglect the joys and glories of immortality for the sake of the things which are seen, that are but temporal; debasing the nobility of their souls, abandoning the government of the divine Spirit, and embracing with all ardency of affection the sensual pleasures of this life; but such as persevere therein, shall not enter into God’s rest forever.

“But this is not all that hindereth and obstructeth in the holy way of blessedness; for there is the world’s fear as well as the world’s joy that obstructeth many, or else Christ had not said, ‘Fear not,’ to his little flock. The shame of the cross is a yoke too uneasy, and a burden too heavy, for flesh and blood to bear, it is true; but therefore, shall flesh and blood

never enter into the kingdom of God. And not to them that are born of the flesh, but to those that are born of the Spirit through the word of regeneration, is appointed the kingdom, and that throne which shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, and all the world. The Lord perfect what He hath begun in you, and give you dominion over the love and fear of this world.

“And, my friends, if you would profit in the way of God, despise not the day of small things in yourselves: know this, that to desire and sincerely to breathe after the Lord, is a blessed state. You must seek, before you find. Do you believe? make not haste; extinguish not those small beginnings by an over-earnest or impatient desire of victory. God’s time is the best time; be you faithful, and your conflict shall end with glory to God, and the reward of peace to your own souls. Therefore love the judgment, and love the fire; start not aside, neither flinch from the scorplings of it, for it will purify and refine you as gold seven times tried; then cometh the stamp and seal of the Lord upon his own vessel, Holiness to Him forever; which He never gave, nor will give to reprobate silver, the state of the religious worshippers of the world. And herein be comforted, that Zion shall be redeemed through judgment, and her converts through righteousness; and after the appointed time of mourning is over, the Lord will give ‘beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.’ Then shall you be able to say, ‘Who is he that condemneth us? God

hath justified us ; there is no condemnation to us that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.'

"Wherefore, my dear friends, walk not only not after the fleshly lusts, but also not after the fleshly religions and worships of the world ; for that which is not born of the Spirit is flesh, and all flesh shall wither as the grass, and the beauty of it shall fade away as the flower of the field, before God's Sun that is risen, and rising. But the Word of the Lord in which is life, and that life the light of men, shall endure forever, and give life eternal to them that love and walk in the light.

"And I entreat you, by the love you have for Jesus, have a care how you touch with fleshly births, or say Amen, by word or practice, to that which is not born of the Spirit ; for God is not to be found of that, in yourselves or others, which calleth him Father, and He hath never begotten it in them ; that latitude and conformity is not of God, but secretly grieveth his Spirit, and obstructeth the growth of the soul in its acquaintance and intimate communion with the Lord. 'Without me,' saith Jesus, 'you can do nothing ;' and 'all that came before me are thieves and robbers.' If so, what are they that pray, and preach, and sing without Jesus, and follow not him in those duties, but even crucify him in them ? Oh that I may find in you an ear to hear, and a heart to perceive and embrace these truths of Jesus !

"And I can say I have great cause to hope, and

patiently to wait till the salvation of God be further revealed to you, and the whole family; with whom, I must acknowledge, I was abundantly refreshed and comforted, in that God in measure made known the riches of his grace and operation of his celestial power to you; and his witness shall dwell with you, if we never see you more, that God magnified his own strength in our weakness. With Him we leave our travails, affectionately recommending you to his holy Spirit of grace, that you may be conformed to the image of his own dear Son, who is able and ready to preserve you. Oh, stay your minds upon him, and He will keep you in perfect peace, and abide with you forever! The Almighty take you into his holy protection now and forever.

“I am your true friend, ready to serve you with fervent love in the will of God.

“WILLIAM PENN.

“P. S. My dear companions do, with me, give you the dear salutation of unfeigned love, and those in the family that love and desire to follow the Lord Jesus in sincerity and truth without wavering. We are this evening bound towards Manheim, the court of the prince Palatine, and have travelled about twelve English miles on foot.”

That night we lodged at Frankenthal, and got the next morning, being the seventh-day of the week, to Manheim; but were disappointed of our design, which

was to speak with the prince, for he was gone the day before to Heidelberg, his chief city, about fifteen English miles from that place. Considering, that by reason of the meeting next day with Friends at Krisheim, already appointed, we could neither go forward nor stay till he returned; and yet being not clear to come away, as if we had never endeavored to visit him, it was upon me to write him this following letter, to let him know we had been there, and briefly our end in coming.

“ To the Prince Elector Palatine of Heidelberg.

“ Great Prince :

“ It would seem strange that I, both a stranger and a subject, should use this freedom of address to a prince, were he not one whose actions show him to be of a free disposition, and easy access to all: would to God all princes were of that mind! But I have not chosen this way of application; I am driven to it, by the disappointment thy absence from this court gave me, and the necessity I am under to expedite my return. And though I cannot so fully, and consequently not so clearly, express by letter the grounds inducing me to attempt this visit, yet this being all the way that is left me, I shall declare them as well as I can.

“ In the first place, I do with all sincere and Christian respect acknowledge and commend that indulgence thou givest to all people professing religion, dissenting from the national communion: for it is in itself a most natural, prudent, and Christian thing.

“Natural, — because it preserves nature from being made a sacrifice to the savage fury of fallible, yet proud opinions, outlawing men of parts, arts, industry, and honesty, the grand requisites of human society, and exposing them and their families to utter ruin for mere non-conformity, not to religion, but to modes and fashions in religion.

“Christian, — since the contrary expressly contradicts both the precept and example of Christ, who taught us to love enemies, not to abuse our friends, or triumph in the destruction of our harmless neighbors. He rebuked his disciples, when they called for fire from heaven upon dissenters, it may be, opposers: certainly then He never intended that they should kindle fire on earth to devour men for conscience. And if Christ, to whom all power was given, and his holy apostles, refused to employ human force and artifice so much as to preserve themselves, it is an arrogance every way indefensible in those that pretend to be their followers, that they assume an authority to supersede, control, and contradict the precepts and examples of Christ and his apostles, whose kingdom not being of the nature of this ambitious, violent world, was not erected or maintained by those weapons that are carnal, but spiritual and intellectual, adequate to the nature of the soul, and mighty through God to cast down the strongholds of sin, and every vain imagination exalted in man above the lowly, meek fear of God, that ought to have the pre-eminence in the hearts of the sons of men.

“Indulgence is prudent, in that it preserveth concord: no kingdom divided against itself can stand. It encourageth arts, parts, and industry, to show and improve themselves, which indeed are the ornaments, strength, and wealth of a country: it encourageth people to transplant into this land of liberty, where the sweat of the brow is not made the forfeit of the conscience.

“And lastly, it rendereth the prince peculiarly safe and great. Safe, because all interests, for interest sake, are bound to love and court him. Great, in that he is not governed or clogged with the power of his clergy; which in most countries is not only a co-ordinate power, a kind of duumvirateship in government, *imperium in imperio*, at least an eclipse to monarchy; but a superior power, and rideth the prince to their designs, holding the helm of the government, and steering not by the laws of civil freedom, but certain ecclesiastical maxims of their own, to the maintenance and enlargement of their worldly empire in their church. And all this acted under the sacred, peaceable, and alluring name of Christ, his ministry and church; though as remote from their nature as the wolf from the sheep, and the pope from Peter.

“The next thing I should have taken the liberty to have discoursed, would have been this: what encouragement a colony of virtuous and industrious families might hope to receive from thee, in case they should transplant themselves into this country, which certainly in itself is very excellent, respecting taxes, oaths, arms, etc.

“Further, to have represented the condition of some of our Friends, and thy own subjects; who, though they are liable to the same tax as Menists, etc., yet the Vaught of the town where they live, came yesterday to forbid all preaching amongst them, which implies a sort of contradiction to the indulgence given.

“And in the last place, forasmuch as all men owe their being to something greater than themselves, to which it is reasonable to believe they are accountable, from whence follow rewards or punishments,—I had an earnest desire to have spoken of the nature, truth, use, benefit, and reward of religion; and therein to have discoursed, what the Christian religion is in itself, freed from those unreasonable garbs some men make it to wear, so justly offensive to wise and thinking men—thus to have proved the principle and life of the people in scorn called Quakers, to be suitable to the true followers of holy Jesus. But, as the particulars would swell a letter to a book, I shall take the freedom to present thee, upon my return, with some tracts treating upon all these subjects.

“Prince! my soul is filled with love and respect to thee and thy family; I wish you all true and lasting felicity, and earnestly desire that you may never forget your afflictions, and in the remembrance of them be dehorted from those lusts and impieties which draw the vengeance of heaven upon the greatest families on earth; that God may look upon you with the favorable eye of his providence. And blessed is that man, whose God by profession is his Lord in reality; who

is ruled and governed by the Lord, lives in subjection to his grace, and having a Divine sense of God in his heart, delights to retain that sense and knowledge of him, and be meditating in his noble royal law, that converts the soul to God, and redeems man from the sensual pleasures of this world to the true satisfaction of the intellectual and Divine life.

“Oh, the meanness and lowness of their spirits who abandon themselves to the government of sense, the animal life, thereby debasing their natures, rejecting the Divine light, that shineth in their hearts, saying, ‘Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die;’ forgetting whence they are descended, and not considering the peace and joy of the virtuous!

“I desire that the Lord would put it into thy heart to think of thy latter end, and with the light of Christ in thy conscience examine how it stands with thy soul, that thou mayst know, and diligently watch to do those things that belong to thy eternal peace.

“One thing more give me leave to recommend to thee, and that is, to be very careful to inculcate generous, free, and righteous principles into thy son, who is likely to succeed thee; that when thou art gone, the reputation of the country may not sink by contrary practices, nor the people of divers judgments, now thy subjects, be disappointed, distressed, or ruined. Which, with sincere desires for thy temporal and eternal good, conclude this.

“Thy unknown, but sincere friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.

“From Manheim, 25th of Sixth month, 1677.”

This being done, and having refreshed ourselves, we returned that night by the Rhine to Worms; whence, the next morning, being the first-day of the week, we walked on foot to Krisheim, about six English miles from Worms. We had a good meeting from the tenth till the third hour, and the Lord's power was sweetly opened to many of the inhabitants of the town who were at the meeting. The Vaught or chief officer himself stood at the door behind the barn, where he could hear and not be seen; and went to the priest and told him that it was his work, if we were heretics, to discover us to be such, but for his part he heard nothing but what was good, and he would not meddle with us.

In the evening we had a more retired meeting of the Friends only, very weighty and tender; yea, the power rose in a high operation among them, and great was the love of God that was in our hearts at the meeting to visit them; and there is a lovely, sweet, and true sense among them. We were greatly comforted in them, and they were greatly comforted in us. Poor hearts! a little handful surrounded with great and mighty countries of darkness; it is the Lord's great goodness and mercy to them, that they are so finely kept in the Seed of life. Most of them were gathered by dear William Ames.

On the 27th we had another meeting, where we took our leave of them, and, accompanied by several of them, came to Worms; where having refreshed ourselves, we went to visit the Lutheran priest, who was at the

meeting the sixth-day before at Krisheim. He and his wife received us very kindly, not without some sense of our testimony. After we had discoursed about an hour with him of the true and heavenly ministry and worship, and in what they stood, and what all people must come to, if they ever know how to worship God aright, we departed, and immediately sent them several good books of Friends in High Dutch.

We took boat about the third hour in the afternoon, and came down the river Rhine to Mentz, where we arrived about the fifth hour in the morning; and immediately took an open chariot for Frankfort, where we came about the first hour in the afternoon. We presently informed some of those people that had received us the time before, of our return to that city, with desires that we might have a meeting that afternoon; which was readily granted us by the noble women at whose house we met, whither resorted some that we had not seen before. And the Lord did, after a living manner, open our hearts and mouths amongst them, which was received by them as a further confirmation of the coming of the day of the Lord unto them; yea, with much joy and kindness they received us. The meeting held till the ninth hour at night; they constrained us to stay and eat with them, which was also a blessed meeting to them. Before we parted, we desired a select meeting the next morning at the same place, of those that we felt to be more inwardly affected with Truth's testimony, and that were nearest

to the state of a silent meeting; to which they joyfully assented.

We went to our lodging, and on the 29th returned to them, with whom we had a blessed and heavenly opportunity; for we had room for our life amongst them: it was as among faithful Friends; life ran as oil, and was a-top of all.

We recommended a silent meeting to them, that they might grow into a holy silence unto themselves; that the mouth that calls God, Father, and is not of his own birth, may be stopped, and all images confounded; that they may hear the soft voice of Jesus to instruct them, and receive his sweet life to feed them and to build them up.

About the ninth hour we departed from that place, and went to Vanderwalls, where the meeting was the time before; and there we had a more public meeting of all that pleased to come. The Lord did so abundantly appear amongst us, that they were more broken than we had seen them at any time; yea, they were exceedingly tender and low, and the love of God was much raised in their hearts to the testimony. In this sensible frame we left them, and the blessings and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ with and among them.

After having refreshed ourselves at our inn, we took boat down the Main to Mentz, where we arrived about the fifth hour. It is a great city, but a dark and superstitious place, according to the popish way, and is under the government of a popish bishop. We

stayed no longer there than until our boat was ready, which might be more than half an hour. From Mentz we went on our way down the Rhine six German miles, and came that night to Hampack. From thence the next morning by Bacharach, Coblentz, and other places upon the Rhine, to Tressy that night, being about eleven German miles.

Next day, the 31st, we got to Cologne, a great popish city, about the third hour in the afternoon. We gave notice to a sober merchant, a serious seeker after God, that we were arrived, who presently came to us. We sat down, and had a living and precious opportunity with him; opening to him the way of the Lord, as it had been manifested to us; entreating him, if he knew any in that city who had desires after the Lord, or were willing to come to a meeting, that he would please to inform them of our being here, and of our desire to meet with them. He answered, that he would readily do it. This night, when we were in bed, came the Resident of several princes, a serious and tender man, to find us out; we had some discourse with him; but, being late, he promised to see us the next day.

The next morning the aforesaid merchant informed us that it was a busy time, several preparing for the mass or great fair at Frankfort; yet some would come, and he desired it might be at his house about three in the afternoon.

That morning we went to visit the Resident, whom we met coming to see us; but he returned and brought

us to his house. We had a good time with him ; for the man is an ancient seeker, oppressed with the cares of this world, and he may be truly said to mourn under them. His heart was opened to us, and he blessed God that he had lived to see us. We gave him an account how the Lord had appeared in the land of our nativity, and how He had dealt with us ; which was as the cool and gentle showers upon the dry and scorched desert. About noon we returned home, and after we had eaten, we went to the merchant's house to the meeting ; where came four persons, one of whom was the Presbyterian priest, who preached in private to the Protestants of that place, for they are in no ways publicly allowed in that city. Surely, the true day and power of the Lord made itself known to the consciences of those present : yea, they felt that we were such as had been with Jesus, and had obtained our testimony through the sufferings and travails of the cross. They were tender : the Resident and merchant conducted us to our inn, and from thence to the boat, being about seven at night. We set out towards the city of Duysburg, of the Calvinist way, belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg ; in and near to which, we had been informed, there was a retired and seeking people.

We arrived there on the second of seventh month, about noon, being the first-day of the week. The first thing we did, after we came to our inn, was to inquire out one Dr. Mastricht, a civilian, for whom we had a letter to introduce us, from a merchant of Cologne :

whom quickly finding, we informed him what we came about, desiring his assistance ; which he readily promised us. The first thing we offered, was an access to the Countess of Falkenstein and Bruck. He told us she was an extraordinary woman, one in whom we should find things worthy of our love ; that he would write to her, to give us an opportunity with her ; that the fittest time was the present time, in that we might find her at the minister's of Mulheim, on the other side of the river from her father's castle ; for that she used to come out on first-day morning, and not return till night ; that we must be very shy of making ourselves public, not only for our own sakes, but for hers, who was severely treated by her father, for the sake of those religious inclinations that appeared in her, although her father pretended to be of the Protestant religion.

We therefore despatched towards Mulheim, having received his letter, and being also accompanied by him about one-third of the way. But being six English miles, and on foot, we could not compass the place before the meeting was over ; for it was past three before we could get out of Duysburg : and, following that way which led to the back of the Graef's castle and orchard, which was also a common way to the town, (though if we had known the country we might have avoided it,) we met with one Henry Smith, schoolmaster and catechizer of Speldorp, to whom we imparted our business, and gave the letter of Dr. Maastricht of Duysburg to introduce us to the Countess.

He told us he had just left her, being come over the water from worship, but he would carry the letter to her, and bring an answer suddenly; but notwithstanding, stayed nearly an hour. When he came he gave us this answer; namely, that she would be glad to meet us, but she did not know where; but rather inclined that we should go over the water to the minister's house, whither, if she could, she would come to us; but that a strict hand was held over her by her father. After some more serious discourse with him, concerning the witness of God in the conscience, and the discovery, testimony, and judgment of that true light, unto which all must bow that would be heirs of the kingdom of God; recommending him to the same, we parted; he returning homewards, and we advancing to the town. Being necessitated to pass by her father's castle, who is seignior or lord of that country, it so fell out that at that very instant he came forth to walk; and seeing us in the habit of strangers, sent one of his attendants to demand who and from whence we were? and whither we went? calling us afterwards to him, and asking us the same questions. We answered, that we were Englishmen come from Holland, going no further in these parts than his own town of Mulheim. But not showing him, or paying him that worldly homage and respect which was expected from us, some of his gentlemen asked us if we knew whom we were before? and if we did not use to deport ourselves after another manner before noblemen, and in the presence of princes? We answered, we were not conscious to

ourselves of any disrespect or unseemly behavior. One of them sharply replied, "Why do not you pull off your hats, then? Is it respect, to stand covered in the presence of the sovereign of the country?" We told them, it was our practice in the presence of our prince, who is a great king, and that we uncovered not our heads to any, but in our duty to Almighty God. Upon which the Graef called us Quakers, saying to us, "We have no need of Quakers here; get you out of my dominions; you shall not go to my town."

We told him we were an innocent people, that feared God, and had good-will towards all men; that we had true respect in our hearts towards him, and would be glad to do him any real good or service; and that the Lord had made it matter of conscience to us, not to conform ourselves to the vain and fruitless customs of this world, or words to this purpose. However, he commanded some of his soldiers to see us out of his territories; to whom we also declared somewhat of the reason and intention of our coming to that place, in the fear and love of God; and they were civil to us.

We parted with much peace and comfort in our hearts; and as we passed through the village where the schoolmaster dwelt, (yet in the dominions of the Graef,) we called upon him, and in the sense of God's power and kingdom opened to him the message and testimony of Truth, which the man received with a weighty and serious spirit. Under the dominion of the Graef, there is a large congregation of Protestants called Calvinists, of a more religious, inward, and zeal-

ous frame of spirit than any body of people we met with or heard of in Germany.

After we had ended our testimony to him, we took our leave, desiring him not to fear, but to be of good courage, for the day of the Lord was hastening upon all the workers of iniquity: and to them that feared his name, wherever scattered throughout the earth, He would cause the Sun of righteousness to arise and visit them, with healing under his wings. We desired he would remember us with true love and kindness to the Countess, daughter to the Graef; and to desire her not to be offended in us, nor to be dismayed at the displeasure of her father, but eye the Lord who hath visited her soul with his holy light, by which she seeth the vanity of this world, and in some measure the emptiness and deadness of the religions that are in it; and He would preserve her from the fear of the wrath of men, that worketh not the righteousness of God. So we left the peace of Jesus with him and walked on towards Duysburg, being about six English miles from thence, and near the eighth hour at night. The Lord was with us, and comforted our hearts with the joy of his salvation, as we walked, without any outward guide, through a tedious and solitary wood, about three miles long. He gave us to remember, and to speak one unto another of his blessed witnesses in the days past, who wandered up and down like poor pilgrims and strangers on the earth, their eye being to a city in the heavens that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

Between nine and ten o'clock, we reached the walls of Duysburg; but the gates were shut, and there being no houses without the walls, we laid us down together in a field, receiving both natural and spiritual refreshment: blessed be the Lord. About three o'clock in the morning we rose, sanctifying God in our hearts who had kept us that night, and walked till five o'clock, often speaking one to another of the great and notable day of the Lord dawning upon Germany, and of several places in that land that were almost ripe unto harvest.

CHAPTER V.

Epistle to Countess of Falkenstein — Letter to the Graef — Interview with Dr. Mastricht — Meeting at Wesel — Religious Opportunity with a Lady at Cleves.

SOON after the clock had struck five, they opened the gates of the city, and we had not long been at our inn, when it came upon me, with a sweet yet fervent power, to visit this persecuted Countess with a salutation from the love and life of Jesus, and to open unto her more plainly the way of the Lord; which I did in this following epistle:

“To the Countess of Falkenstein and Bruck, at Mulheim.

“My dear friend:

“Jesus, the immaculate Lamb of God, grieved and crucified by all the workers of iniquity, illuminate

thy understanding, bless and be with thy spirit forever!

“ Though unknown, yet art thou much beloved, for the sake of thy desires and breathings of soul after the living God ; the report whereof, from some in the same state, hath made deep impression of true kindness upon my spirit, and raised in me a very singular and fervent inclination to visit thee : and the rather, because of that suffering and tribulation thou hast begun to endure for the sake of thy zeal towards God ; myself having from my childhood been both a seeker after the Lord, and a great sufferer for that cause, from parents, relations, companions, and the magistrates of this world. The remembrance whereof, hath so much the more endeared thy condition unto me ; and my soul hath often, in the sweet sense and feeling of the holy presence of God, and the precious life of his dear Son in my heart, with great tenderness implored his Divine assistance unto thee, that thou mayst both be illuminated to do, and made willing to suffer for his name’s sake ; that the Spirit of God and of glory may rest upon thy soul.

“ And truly I can say, I felt the good-will of God, his holy care and heavenly visitation of love to extend unto thee. But one thing more especially lay upon my spirit to have communicated to thee, which made me the more pressing for an opportunity to speak with thee, and that was this : that thou shouldst have a true, right, and distinct knowledge of thy own state, and what that is which hath visited thee ; in what thy

faith, patience, hope, and salvation stand; where to wait, and how to find the Lord; and to distinguish between that which is born of God and that which is not, both with respect to thyself in all the motions and conceptions of thy heart, and with respect to others in their religious worships and performances; to the end, that thou mayst not be deceived about things relating to God's kingdom, and thy eternal peace: this is of the greatest weight.

“Now, know certainly, that which hath discovered unto thee the vanities of this world, the emptiness and the fading of all earthly glory, the blessedness of the righteous, and the joy of the world that is to come, is the light of Christ Jesus, wherewith He hath enlightened thy soul: for, ‘in Him was life, and that life is the light of mankind.’ Thus God promised by the prophet Isaiah, to give Him ‘for a light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his salvation to the ends of the earth.’ So that Christ the Light is God's gift, and eternal life is hid in Him, yea, all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; who is the light of the Gospel temple, even true believers. And all who receive this light into their hearts, and bring their deeds to it, to see in what ground they are wrought, whether in God or in the evil one, and make this blessed light the guide of their life; fearing, with a holy fear, to do anything that this light manifests to be evil; waiting and watching with a godly care, to be preserved blameless before the Lord;—I say, all such become children of light, and witnesses of the life of Jesus. Oh, blessed wilt thou be forever, if

in the way of this holy light thy mind walks to the end!

“ Let this that hath visited thee lead thee ; this seed of light and life, which is the seed of the kingdom. Yea, it is CHRIST, the true and only seed of God, that visited my soul, even in my young years ; that spread my sins in order before me, reprov'd me, and brought godly sorrow upon me ; making me often to weep in solitary places, and say within my soul, ‘ Oh, that I knew the Lord as I ought to know him ! Oh, that I served him as I ought to serve him ! ’ Yea, often was there a great concern upon my spirit about my eternal state, mournfully desiring that the Lord would give my soul rest in the great day of trouble. Now was all the glory of the world as a bubble ; yea, nothing was dear to me that I might win Christ : for the love, friendship, and pleasure of this world were a burden unto my soul. And in this seeking state, I was directed to the testimony of Jesus in my own conscience, as the true shining light, giving me to discern the thoughts and intents of my own heart. And no sooner was I turned unto it, but I found it to be that which from my childhood had visited me, though I distinctly knew it not. And when I received it in the love of it, it showed me all that ever I had done, and reprov'd all the unfruitful works of darkness ; judging me as a man in the flesh, and laying judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet in me. And as by the brightness of his coming into my soul, He discovered the man of sin there upon his throne, so by the breath of his

mouth, which is the two-edged sword of His Spirit, he destroyeth his power and kingdom. And having made me a witness of the death of the cross, He hath also made me a witness of his resurrection. So that in good measure my soul can now say, I am justified in the Spirit; and though the state of condemnation unto death was glorious, yet justification unto life was and is more glorious.

“In this state of the new man, all is new: behold, new heavens and a new earth! Old things come to be done away; the old man with his deeds put off. Now, new thoughts, new desires, new affections, new love, new friendship, new society, new kindred, new faith; even that which overcometh this world, through many tribulations; and new hope, even that living hope that is founded upon true experience, which holds out all storms, and can see to the glory that is invisible to carnal eyes, in the midst of the greatest tempest.

“It is the same blessed seed of light, life, and grace, which from God the Father is sown in thy heart, and which hath moved and wrought there the change which thou hast witnessed from the spirit of this world. Turn to it, watch in it, that by it thou mayst be kept from all that it discovers to be contrary to God; especially from thyself, from thy own runnings, willings, and strivings. For whatsoever is not born of the Spirit is flesh, and that inherits not the kingdom of God; but all that sow to it shall inherit corruption. By this thou wilt come to feel, not only all sin to be a burden, but all thy own righteousness, yea, all man’s righteous-

ness, to be a burden. Thou wilt see the difference between the duties and prayers which thou begetttest, and the duties and prayers which, in thy true silence from all self-activity of mind, the Lord begets in thee.

“Oh, that thou mightst know the mystery of the new birth, and what that is that can truly call God, Father; even that which is begotten of him, which liveth, and breatheth, and hath its beginning and being in that life which is hid with Christ in God, and by which it hath been quickened to the knowledge and worship of Christ and God. And this thou shalt not fail to know and enjoy, as thou patiently sufferest the Lord to work his own work in thee by his own blessed Spirit. And that which will give thee to savor and discern the right motions and conceptions, duties and performances in thyself, from the false, will give thee to savor and discern that which is right from that which is false in others; that which is of God, from that which is of man.

“Have a care of gathering sticks, and kindling a fire of thy own, and then compassing thyself about with the sparks of the fire which thou hast kindled, for the end of this state is to lie down in sorrow; because the heavenly fire is absent, which maketh the sacrifice acceptable: yea, the Lord may stir in thy heart, but thou mayst bring forth: but He that gives to conceive, He brings to the birth, and He giveth power to bring forth acceptably; for without Christ we can do nothing; and blessed are they that stir not, before the angel moveth the waters, and go not before

Christ, but are led by him, and that awaken not their Beloved till He please ; in whose hands the times and the seasons are. Oh, blessed are they whose eyes are opened to see Him always present, a God always nigh at hand ; whose hearts are stayed upon his holy appearance in them, and are thereby translated into his likeness ; whose faith and hope are in Christ in them, the hope of glory.

“ My dear friend, weigh these things with a serious, retired, sweet, and tender frame of spirit ; and God, who hath called me and thee, by the light of his dear Son, open thy understanding to perceive the Truth as it is in Jesus, and what is the mystery of the fellowship of the saints in light. So to the Lord I recommend thee, the Watchman and Keeper of Israel. The Lord be thy strength and holy comfort, and speak peace to thee, and never leave thee nor forsake thee till He hath conducted thee, through all tribulations, to his everlasting kingdom of rest and glory.

“ O dear heart ! be valiant, and stay thyself upon Christ Jesus, the everlasting rock, and feel him a fountain in thy soul ; feel his blood to cleanse, and his blood to drink, and his flesh to eat : feed upon him, for God hath given Him for the life of the world.

“ I had seen thee, had not thy father’s strange sort of severity hindered. I confess I do not use to be so treated in my own country, where the Lord hath raised up many thousands of witnesses, that He hath gathered, out of all sects and professions, to worship Him, not in their spirits or wills, but in his will, Spirit, and Truth.

And we are generally, after much affliction and suffering, in good esteem, even with the great ones of this world. And this let me add for thy particular comfort, that though I have been a man of great anguish and sorrow, because of the scorn and reproach that hath attended my separation from the world, (having been taught of Jesus to turn my back upon all, for the sake of that glory that shall be revealed;) yet to God's honor I can say it, I have a hundred friends for one, yea, God hath turned the hearts of my enemies towards me; He hath fulfilled his promise, to turn the hearts of the parents unto the children. For my parents, that once disowned me for this blessed testimony's sake, (of the Jew, Christian, circumcision, and baptism inward, against the fleshly Christian,) have come to love me above all, and have left me all; thinking they could never do and leave enough for me. Oh, how good is the Lord! yea, the ways of his mercy are even past finding out.

“Wherefore, my dear friend, trust in the Lord forever; and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of the prophets and of the apostles, the God of all the holy martyrs of Jesus, illuminate, fortify, and preserve thee steadfast; that in the end thou mayst receive the reward of life and eternal salvation: to whom be glory, and to the Lamb that sits upon the throne, one God, and one Lord, blessed and magnified forever and ever, amen!

“Thy great and faithful lover for the blessed and holy Truth's sake,

WILLIAM PENN.

“DUYSBURG, the 13th of the Seventh month, 1677.

“P. S. The enclosed I received from a religious young woman at Frankfort. We have had a blessed opportunity in this town with some that have a desire after the Lord, in which we are abundantly comforted. We have just now received thy message and salutation from H. V., which hath exceedingly refreshed and revived us; for our trouble was not for ourselves, but for thee; and we hope our love will not turn to thy disadvantage, for we mentioned nothing of thy name, nor the name of any other person, only that we desired to speak with the minister of Mulheim, and that was only to the soldier. The Lord made us a good bed in the fields, and we were very well satisfied. We are going this afternoon out of the town towards Wesel, from thence to Cleve, and thence to Herwerden, (the Lord willing;) so farewell in the Lord.”

Here follows a letter to her father, the Graef of Bruck and Falkenstein.

“To the Graef or Earl of Bruck and Falkenstein.

“Friend:

“I wish thy salvation, and the Lord reward thee good for the evil that thou showedst unto me and my friends the last night, if it be His will. But since thou art but a mortal man, one that must give an account, in common with all, to the immortal God, let me a little expostulate with thee.

“By what law are men not scandalous, under no proscription, harmless strangers, about lawful occasions,

and men, not vagabonds, but of good quality in their own country, stopped, menaced, sent back with soldiers, and that at sunset, exposed to the night in an unknown country, and therefore forced to lie in the fields? I say, by what law are we judged, yea, thus punished, before heard? Is this the law of nations, or nature, or Germany, or of Christianity? Oh! where is nature? where is civility? where is hospitality? But where is Christianity all this while? Well, but we are Quakers: Quakers! What is that for a name? Is there a law of the empire against that name? No. Did we own it? No. But if we had, the letters of that name neither make up drunkard, adulterer, thief, murderer, nor traitor: why so odious then? what harm hath it done? why could Jews pass just before us, that have crucified Christ, and not Quakers, that never crucified him? But ignorance is as well the mother of persecution as superstition, and the false Christian and the false Jew have but one father.

“But *argumentum ad hominem* my friend, bear with me a little. Art thou a Christian? How canst thou be rude, uncivil, and persecute then? Thou art to love enemies, not abuse friends, harmless strangers. Well, but this life is dead, this doctrine antiquated, Jesus Christ turned out of doors, I perceive.

“What art thou for a Christian? A Lutheran? Yes. Canst thou so soon forget the practices of the Papists, and with what abhorrence thy ancestors declared against such sort of entertainment? Were not they despised, mocked, and persecuted? And are

their children treading in the steps of their old enemies? Friend, it is not reformed words, but a reformed life that will stand thee instead. It is not to live the life of the unregenerate, worldly-minded, and wicked, under the profession of the saints' words, that will give an entrance into God's rest. Be not deceived; such as thou sowest, such must thou reap in the day of the Lord. Thou art not come to the Berean state that tried all things, and therefore not noble in the Christian sense. The Bereans were noble, for they judged not before examination.

“And for thy saying, ‘We want no Quakers here;’ — I say, under favor, You do: for a true Quaker is one that trembleth at the word of the Lord, that worketh out his salvation with fear and trembling, and all the days of his appointed time waiteth in the light and grace of God, till his great change cometh; one that taketh up the daily cross to his will and lusts, that he might do the will of God manifested to him by the light of Jesus in his conscience, and according to the holy precepts and examples in the Holy Scriptures of Truth, laid down by Jesus and his followers for the ages to come. Yea, he is one that loveth his enemies rather than feareth them; that blesseth those that curse him, and prayeth for those that despitefully treat him; as God knoweth we do for thee. Oh, that thou wert such a Quaker? Then wouldst thou rule for God, and act in all things as one that must give an account to God for the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Then would temperance,

mercy, justice, meekness, and the fear of the Lord dwell in thy heart, and in thy family, and country.

“Repent, I exhort thee, and consider thy latter end, for thy days are not like to be many in this world; therefore mind the things that make for thy eternal peace, lest distress come upon thee as an armed man, and there be none to deliver thee!

“I am thy well-wishing friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.

“DUYSBURG, 3d of the Seventh month, 1677.”

This being done, we went to Dr. Mastricht's to inform him of what had passed, who, though of a kind disposition, and very friendly to us, yet seemed surprised with fear, (the common disease of this country,) crying out, “What will become of this poor Countess? Her father hath called her Quaker a long time, behaving himself very severely to her, but now he will conclude she is one indeed, and he will lead her a lamentable life. I know,” said he, “you care not for suffering, but she is to be pitied.” We told him that we both loved her and pitied her, and could lay down our lives for her, as Christ hath done for us, in the will of God, if we could thereby do her good; but that we had not mentioned her name, neither was the letter, that he gave us to her, so much as seen or known of her father. But still he feared that our carriage would incense the Graef so much the more against both his daughter and all those serious and inquiring people up and down his country. We answered, with

an earnestness of spirit, that they had minded the incensings and wrath of men too much already, and that true religion would never spring or grow under such fears; and that it was time for all, who felt anything of the work of God in their hearts, to cast away the slavish fear of man, and to come forth in the boldness of the true Christian life; yea, that sufferings break and make way for greater liberty, and that God was wiser and stronger than man.

We asked him, if there were any in that city who inquired more diligently after the way of the Lord. He recommended us (as we had already been informed in another place) to the family of the Prætor, or chief governor of the town; whose wife, and sister more especially, were seeking after the best things. So we parted with him in love, and by the help of his daughter, were conducted to this family.

We had not been long there, before a schoolmaster of Dusseldorf, and also a minister, came in, inquiring after us, having heard of us at Mulheim, where he preached the day before to the people, or else by the way of our attempt to visit that place, and the entertainment we received at the hands of the Graef. He sat down with us, and though we had already had a sweet opportunity, yet feeling the power of God to rise, the meeting renewed. And, oh, magnified be the name of the Lord! He witnessed to our testimony abundantly in all their hearts and consciences, who were broken into much tenderness; and certainly there is a blessed power and zeal stirring in that young

man; yea, he is very near the kingdom. So we took our leave of them, leaving the Lord's peace and blessing upon them.

It was now something past the twelfth hour of the day. In the way to our lodging, we met a messenger from the Countess of Falkenstein, a tender young man, near to the kingdom, who saluted us in her name with much love; telling us, that she was much grieved at the entertainment of her father towards us, advising us not to expose ourselves to such difficulties and hardships, for it would grieve her heart, that any who came in the love of God to visit her, should be so severely handled; for at some he set his dogs, upon others he puts his soldiers to beat them:—"But what shall I say?—that itself must not hinder you from doing good," said the Countess.

We answered him, that his message was joyful to us, that she had any regard to us, and that she was not offended with us. We desired the remembrance of our kind love unto her, and that he would let her know that our concern was not for ourselves, but for her. We invited him to eat with us; but he told us he was an inhabitant of Meurs, and was in haste to go home. So we briefly declared our principle and message, recommending him to Christ the true Light in his conscience, and parted. We went home to dinner, having neither eaten nor drank since first-day morning, and having lain out all night in the field.

We had no sooner got to our inn, but the man was constrained to come after us, and sat down with us,

and inquired concerning our Friends, their rise, principles, and progress, and in all things about which he desired satisfaction, he declared himself satisfied. Dinner being done, and all cleared, we departed that city, being about the fourth hour in the afternoon, and for want of accommodation, were forced to walk eight English miles to a town called Holten, where we rested that night.

The next morning, being the 4th of the seventh month, we set out for Wesel, and got thither at noon. The first thing we did, as had been our custom, was to inquire who was worthy ; particularly for two persons, recommended to us by the Countess of Hornes, who lives with the Princess Elizabeth. We found one of them was gone to Amsterdam with his wife, who had formerly been a preacher, and being conscientiously dissatisfied with his own preaching, laid it down, and is now in a seeking state. But in lieu of him, we found out three more, with the person who had been recommended to us. We bespoke a meeting amongst them after dinner, which accordingly we had at a woman's house of good note in the town ; who told us, that she had been long in a solitary estate, dissatisfied with the religions generally professed in that country, waiting for salvation, and she hoped that now the time was come, and that we were the messengers of it.

The Lord was with us in the meeting, and their hearts were opened by the Word of God, to receive our testimony as glad tidings of salvation. Meeting being

done, we immediately returned to our lodging, desiring we might see them together in the same place the next morning, to take our leave of them; to which they readily assented.

Next morning we came, and had a precious meeting with them, and there were some present who were not there the night before. So we left them in much love, and after having refreshed ourselves at our inn, we went to Rees, where we met with a counsellor of Gelderland, with whom we had a good opportunity to declare the testimony of Jesus, who received it, and parted with us in much kindness.

From thence we went to Enrick, and there called upon an eminent Baptist teacher, recommended to us by one of Wesel. We spent some time with him, opening to him the way of life, as in the light it is manifested to all that love and obey the light; and of that more spiritual and pure ministry, which from the living Word of God is received by many true ministers in this day. The man was somewhat full of words; but we felt the living visitation of the love of God reached to him, and so we left him, making all the haste we could to get to Cleve that night; which accordingly we did, though late, being forced to walk one-third part of the way.

That night, notwithstanding, one of us went to a certain lady, to whom we had recommendations from the Princess, and who was particularly known to one of us; informing her we were come to that city, desiring to know what time next day we might give her a visit, she appointed eight o'clock in the morning.

About that time we went to see her; she received us agreeably, considering her quality and courtship, far from showing any appearance of offence at our deportment. We told her, our message and visit was to those of that city who had any inclinations or desires, hunger or thirst, after the true and living knowledge of God: for that end, we had left our own country, and had travelled up and down in several parts of Germany. She told us, that some there were who searched after God; but she feared the name of Quaker would make them shy, because they were called Quakers themselves, by people of the same profession, only for being more serious and retired in their conversation. We replied, that it was an honor to the name, that all sobriety throughout Germany was called by it; this ought to make the name less odious, yea, it will make the way easier for those that are truly called so, or that are Quakers indeed. It will take off much of the wonder, and, it may be, of the severity of the places where we come, that the name is gone before us, and hath received a dwelling-place in their towns and cities. In fine, to all such, God had committed to us the word of life to preach, and such we seek out in all places whither the Lord brings us: and hitherto we can say it, to the praise of our God, He hath vindicated our service and testimony by his own blessed power, shed abroad in their hearts to whom we have been sent.

She told us she would send for an attorney-at-law, one who was more than ordinarily eminent; having

deserted the church, and being therefore reproached with the name of Quaker.

In this interval we had close discourse with her ;— a woman certainly of great wit, high notions, and very ready utterance ; so that it was hard for us to obtain a true silence, a state in which we could reach to her. But, through some travail of spirit more than ordinary, we had a sweet time of refreshment, and the witness was raised in her ; and we really and plainly beheld a true nobility, yea, that which was sensible of our testimony, and did receive it.

By this time the person she sent for came, and a blessed sweet time we had ; for the power and presence of the Lord, our staff and strength, unto whom our eye hath been throughout all our travels, that we might only be acceptable in Him, plenteously appeared amongst us ; both of these individuals confessing to the truth of what had been said, and the attorney especially, to the living sense in which the Truth had been declared. The Lord have the glory of his own work !

We would have returned to our inn to eat, according as we had appointed in the morning, but she laid a kind of violent hands upon us, and necessitated us to stay and eat with her ; which we did. We had no sooner sat down, but her brother-in-law, a man of quality and employment in the court of the Elector of Brandenburg, came in and dined with us. As we sat at meat, we had a good meeting ; for the time was much taken up about the things of God, either in

answering their questions, or ministering to them about the true Christian nature and life; in all which her brother behaved himself with great sweetness and respect. After dinner, we took our Christian leave of them in the fear of God, recommending unto them the light of Christ Jesus, that brings all that receive it into the one spirit, to live in holy peace and concord together; particularly and alone speaking to the lady and the attorney what was upon us as to their states.

CHAPTER VI.

Return to Amsterdam—Letter from Princess Elizabeth—Goes into Friesland—Meets G. Fox—Monthly Meeting settled at Harlingen—Interesting Meeting—Letter to J. Eleonora Malane—Wiewart—Interview with Anna Maria Schurmans and other followers of J. de Labadie—Groningen.

WE departed; and soon after took wagon for Nimwegen, where, arriving about the seventh hour that night, we immediately took wagon for Utrecht, and got thither about the tenth hour next morning. We hear there is a people in that city; but had not now time to visit them, referring it to another opportunity.

About the first hour in the afternoon, George Keith and Benjamin Furly took wagon for Rotterdam, and I took wagon for Amsterdam, where I came safely

that night, about six o'clock in the evening; and I found Friends generally well, though it is a sickly time in this country. The meeting-house is much enlarged, and there is a fresh inquiry among many people after the Truth, and great desires to hear the testimony and declaration of it. I also understand that dear George Fox is returned from Fredericstadt and Hamburg into Friesland, whither T. R. and I. Y. are gone from this city to meet with him. He has had a hard time of travel with respect to the weather, yet I hear is in good health, through the Lord's power that hath kept him.

Here I received a letter from the Princess Elizabeth, in answer to mine of the 25th of the sixth month, from Manheim, alias Fredericsburg.

“The 4th (14th) of September, 1677.

“Dear Friend :

“I have received your greetings, good wishes, and exhortations with much joy, and shall follow the latter as far as it will please our great God to give me light and strength. I can say little for myself, and can do nothing of myself, but I hope the Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end; and shall not shrink from his fire; I do long for it; and when He assures my ways, I hope He will give me power to bear the cross I meet therein. I am also glad to hear the journey hath been prosperous, both in the constitutions of your bodies, to withstand the badness of the weather, and in the reception you had in Cassel, Frank-

fort, and Krisheim. Nothing surprised me there but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect so much ingenuity, having lately written a book, entitled 'Le véritable Chrétien,' which speaks in another way. I wish to know what reception you have had at Fredericksburg, and if this find you at Cleve, I wish you might take an occasion to see the two pastors of Mulheim, who do really seek the Lord, but have some prejudice against your doctrine, as also the Countess there. It would be of much use for my family to have them disabused; yet God's will be done in that, and all things else, concerning

"Your loving friend in the Lord Jesus,

"ELIZABETH."

"P. S. Let both your friends and companions receive my hearty commendations here."

This day, being the 8th, at night came John Hill from Friesland, to the house of Gertrude Diricks in Amsterdam.

The next day, being the first-day of the week, we had a blessed and large meeting, larger than ordinary, because a great addition of room [had been made] since our journey into Germany. Indeed, there was a great appearance of sober, professing people, yea, several of the chief of the Baptists, as Galenus and companions. The Lord's heavenly power was over all, and the meeting ended blessedly about the fourth hour.

That night, after supper, having taken my leave in a sweet little meeting among Friends, I took boat for Horn, P. Hendricks accompanying me, about the seventh hour at night, and got thither about two o'clock in the morning: here, lying down till about six o'clock, we took wagon for Enckhuysen. We came thither a little after eight o'clock in the morning; and having refreshed ourselves, about the ninth hour we took ship for Worcum in Friesland, arriving about one o'clock; and thence immediately took wagon for Harlingen, where we came about six o'clock; there we met with dear George Fox, J. T., I. Y., T. R., John Claus and his wife.

The next day we had two blessed meetings; one amongst Friends, being the first Monthly Meeting that was settled for Friesland, Groningen, and Embden; the other a public meeting, where resorted both Baptists, Collegians, and others, and among the rest, a doctor of physic and a Presbyteriau minister. All sat with great attention and sobriety, but the minister and doctor more especially. The first having a lecture-sermon to preach that evening, went away; but notwithstanding, speedily returned, George Fox still speaking: but, as a man in pain to be gone, yet willing to stay, sat at the door till G. F. had done; and then stood up, and pulling off his hat, looking up to heaven in a solemn manner, and with a loud voice, spake to this purpose; "The Almighty, the all-wise, the omnipotent great God, and his Son Jesus Christ, who is blessed forever and ever, confirm his word that

hath been spoken this day:" apologizing, that he could not longer stay, for that he was a minister of the Reformed religion, and was just now going to preach, where all that would come should be welcome; and so left the meeting.

The physician also was called away, but returned and stayed till the meeting ended. Just as the meeting ended, came the minister again, who said, in the hearing of some Friends, that he had made his sermon much shorter than ordinary, that he might enjoy the rest of the meeting. At night came the physician to see me, who, after a serious and Christian discourse, expressing great satisfaction in most things relating to Friends, left me: withal telling me, that if I had not been going the fourth hour next morning, he would either have stayed longer with me, or come again.

He also remembered the parson's love to us; and told me, that if it had not been for fear of giving offence, or coming too much under the observation of the people, he would have come to see us: adding, that it was great pity this people had not printed their principles to the world: to which the doctor answered, that he had some of our books, and he would lend him them. Blessed be the Lord, his glorious work goeth on, and his power is over all! It being now the tenth hour at night, I took my leave of George Fox and Friends.

This day it came upon me to write a letter to the noble young woman at Frankfort, as follows:

“Dear Friend,

“Joanna Eleonora Malane.

“My dear and tender love, which God hath raised in my heart by his living Word to all mankind, (but more especially unto those in whom He hath begotten a holy hunger and thirst after him,) saluteth thee. And amongst those of that place where thou livest, the remembrance of thee, with thy companions, is most particularly and eminently at this time brought before me. And the sense of your open-heartedness, simplicity, and sincere love to the testimony of Jesus, delivered by us unto you, hath deeply engaged my heart towards you, and often raised in my soul heavenly breathings to the God of my life, that He would keep you in the daily sense of that Divine life which then affected you. For this know, it was the life in yourselves, that so sweetly visited you by the ministry of life through us.

“Wherefore, love the Divine life and light in yourselves: be retired and still; let that holy seed move in all heavenly things before you move. For no one receiveth anything that truly profiteth, but what he receiveth from above. Thus said John to his disciples. Now, *that* that stirreth in your hearts, draweth you out of the world, slayeth you to all the vain glory, and pleasure, and empty worships that are in it, this is from above, the heavenly seed of God, pure and incorruptible, which is come down from heaven to make you heavenly; that in heavenly places you may dwell, and witness,

with the saints of old, this heavenly treasure in earthen vessels.

“Oh, stay your minds upon the appearance of Jesus in you, in whose light you shall see light. It will make you of a weighty, considering spirit, more and more; that you may see how the mystery of iniquity hath wrought, and how mankind is corrupted in all things, and what part you yet have which belongeth not to the paradise of God; that you may lay it all down at the feet of Jesus, and follow him, who is going up and down, doing good to all that believe in his name. So, possess your souls in the sensible feeling of his daily Divine visits, shinings, and breathings upon your spirits; and wait diligently, and watch circumspectly, lest the enemy surprise you, or your Lord come at unawares upon you, and you be unprepared to receive his sweet and precious visitations; that so those holy beginnings, which thou art a witness of with thy companions, may not be lost, or as if they had never been; but that you may, from day to day, feel the growth of his light, life, power, and kingdom in your souls, that you may be able to say, ‘The kingdom of God is come, yea, it is given to the saints.’

“And what I say unto one, I say unto all that received our testimony in that city, to whom thou mayst give, if thou pleasest, the remembrance of my dear love; who travail in the Spirit for their redemption, that they may be brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Particularly salute me the young woman that met with us at thy lodging. The Lord Jesus Christ,

the Prince of peace, dwell amongst you, keep your hearts steadfast in his holy light, without wavering, all the days of your appointed time, until your great and last change shall come; when He will receive his own sheep into his own everlasting kingdom, from the power of the foxes and the wolves, and all the devouring beasts and birds of prey; when He will wipe away all tears from their eyes, and sighing and sorrowing shall be no more; and when it shall be said, there is no more death, no more night, no more time.

“The Lord hath brought us well to Amsterdam, not without good service by the way; for at Cologne we had a precious meeting, and were received with much gladness of heart. We also went to Duysburg, and from thence towards Mulheim, (being the first-day of the week,) hoping to get an opportunity with the Countess of Bruck, and to deliver thy letter: but her father, who is a cruel and severe man, meeting us near his castle, stopped us; and after some little time, finding what we were, said, they wanted no Quakers there, and sent us with some of his soldiers out of his territory. It was about sunset, so that we were forced to return towards Duysburg: but the gates of the city being shut, and there being no houses without it, we were forced to lie in the fields all night, where the Lord made us a good and comfortable bed. We told the Graef, at parting, we were men that feared the Almighty God, we desired the good of all men, and that we came not thither for any evil design; but he would not hear; the Lord, if He pleaseth, forgive him. Nevertheless,

we had a good meeting at Duysburg, where we had our heart's desires ; the blessed power and life of God making its own way in the hearts of those that heard our testimony. I also wrote a large and tender letter to the Countess, and received a sweet and loving message from her ; and I have great hopes that all things will work for the best.

“ From Duysburg we went to Wesel, where we inquired who was worthy, and found four or five separated from all congregations, waiting for the consolation of Israel, with whom we had two precious meetings. Leaving the peace of Jesus with them, we went to Emrick, where we visited the chief Baptist teacher, who confessed to our testimony, and received us lovingly. We directed him to the gift of God in himself, that pure and eternal word in the heart, that he might know the pure ministry of that, from the ministry of man's spirit, which cannot profit or give life to the soul.

“ From thence we went to Cleve, where, at a lady's house belonging to the court, we had a precious meeting : and we found some who had deserted the public ministry, as not being anointed of God to preach, neither knowing by a true experience the way and travail of the new birth, but are made and maintained by men. We sounded the joyful Gospel amongst them, and from thence, by the way of Nineguen and Utrecht, we came the last sixth-day to Amsterdam, which was the 7th of the seventh month.

“ This last first-day I had a great and blessed meeting at Amsterdam, almost of every quality and religion ;

the Lord's heavenly power, which is quickening people into a living sense of Him, that they may say, 'The Lord liveth, and He liveth in me,' reigned that day over all.

"In the evening I took boat for Horn, and from thence came last night to this city of Harlingen, where we met with some of our brethren, who had been at Hamburg and Fredericstadt; and this day we are to have two meetings here, the one among our Friends, the other public for the town. It is upon me to visit J. de Labadie's people, that they may know Him in themselves, in whom their salvation standeth; for these simple people are to be pitied. From thence, I think to visit Leuwarden, Groningen, Embden, Bremen, Herwerden, Wesel, Emrick, Cleve, Utrecht, and so to return to Amsterdam; the Lord enabling me by his power.

"This ariseth in my heart to thee, Give not thy bread to dogs; spend not thy portion; feed not the serpent, neither hearken to him; abide with Jesus, and He will abide with thee, that thou mayst grow in wisdom and in righteousness, through the cross that crucifieth thee to the world, and the world to thee. So, in the love which overcometh the world, that is Divine and from above, and leadeth all thither who receive it into their hearts, I take my leave of thee, with thy companions, and all the rest of that city known to us, remaining

"Thy faithful friend, and the Lord's day-laborer,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"HARLINGEN, 11th of the Seventh month, 1677."

Next morning, the 12th of the seventh month, about the fourth hour, I took boat for Leuwarden; John Claus, who had been at Fredericstadt with George Fox, went with me. G. F., H. T., and T. R., with P. H., returned that day towards Amsterdam.

At Leuwarden we came about nine, and began the meeting about ten o'clock; which we enjoyed with peace and refreshment, several being there as in other places, who were never at a meeting before.

The meeting being done, and having refreshed ourselves with food, we took wágon for Wiewart, the mansion-house of the family of the Somerdykes, where J. de Labadie's company reside; it being strong upon my spirit to give them a visit. We got thither about five o'clock; and as we were walking over a field to the house, we met a young man of that company who conducted us in. I asked for Ivon the pastor, and Anna Maria Schurmans. Ivon presently came, with his co-pastor: they received us very civilly; however, they seemed shy of letting me speak with Anna Maria Schurmans, objecting her weakness, age, taking physic, etc.; but, putting them in mind how unhandsomely I was used at Herwerden six years ago by J. de Labadie, their father, who, though I came a great journey to visit him and his people, suffered me not to speak with them, they presently complied, and went in to let her know that such a person desired to speak with her, and quickly returned, desiring me to come in. But foreseeing my time would be too short for my message, the sun being near setting, and having to go on foot

two English miles of unknown way to our lodging, I desired that they would give me an opportunity the next morning, which they readily complied with. So I took my leave of them, who in a friendly manner brought us a little on our way. That night a great weight was upon my spirit, and especially the next morning; yet my faith was in the power of God, and I had a plain sight, that I should have a good service among them,—however, I should clear my conscience, and my peace should rest with me.

The next morning I returned to them, and John Claus along with me. So soon as we came, we were brought into Anna Maria Schurmans' chamber; where also was with her one of the three Somerdykes.

This Anna Maria Schurmans aforesaid is an ancient maiden, above sixty years of age, of great note and fame for learning in languages and philosophy, and hath obtained a considerable place among the most learned men of this age. The Somerdykes are daughters to a nobleman of the Hague; people of great breeding and inheritances. These, with several other persons, being affected with the zealous declamation of J. de Labadie against the dead and formal churches of the world, and awakened to seek after a more spiritual fellowship and society, separated themselves from the common Calvinistic churches, and followed him in the way of a refined independency.

They are a serious, plain people, and are come nearer to Friends as to silence in meetings, women speaking, preaching by the Spirit, plainness in garb and fur-

niture in their houses. With these two, we had the company of the two pastors and a doctor of physic. After some silence, I proposed this question to them : What was it that induced them to separate from the common way they formerly lived in ? I desired them that they would be pleased to be plain and open with me, as to the ground of their separation ; for I came not to cavil, but in a Christian spirit to be informed.

Upon this Ivon, the chief pastor, gave us the history of J. de Labadie's education ; how he was bred among the Jesuits, and deserted them, and embraced the Protestant religion ; and finally, of his great dissatisfaction with the Protestant churches of France ; and that if God would not give them a purer church, they three would sit down by themselves, resolving never more to mix themselves among the Babylonish assemblies of the world : adding several solemn appeals, concerning the simplicity and integrity of their hearts in these things.

Ivon having done, Anna Maria Schurmans began in this manner : " I find myself constrained to add a short testimony." She told us her former life, of her pleasure in learning, and her love to the religion she was brought up in ; but confessed she knew not God or Christ truly all that while. And though from a child God had visited her at times, yet she never felt such a powerful stroke as by the ministry of J. de Labadie. She saw her learning to be vanity, and her religion like a body of death ; she resolved to despise the shame, desert her former way of living and ac-

quaintance, and to join herself with this little family, that was retired out of the world; among whom she desired to be found a living sacrifice, offered up entirely to the Lord. She spoke in a very serious and broken sense, not without some trembling. These are but short hints of what she said.

After she had done, one of the Somerdykes began, in a very reverent and weighty frame of mind, and in a sense that very well suited her contempt of the world. She told us how often she had mourned from her young years, because she did not know the Lord as she desired; often saying within herself, "If God would make known to me his ways, I would trample upon all the pride and glory of the world." She earnestly expressed the frequent anguish of spirit she had, because of the deadness and formality of the Christians she was bred among; saying to herself, "Oh, the pride, the lusts, the vain pleasures in which Christians live! Can this be the way to heaven? Is this the way to glory? Are these followers of Christ? Oh, no! O God! where is thy little flock? Where is thy little family, that will live entirely to thee—that will follow thee? Make me one of that number. And," continued she, "when the servant of the Lord, J. de Labadie, came into Holland, I, among others, had a curiosity to hear him; and with several, was deeply affected by him. He spoke the very thoughts of my heart: methought my heart was pricked when I heard him; and I resolved, by the grace of God, to abandon all the glory and pride of this world, to be one of

those who should sit down with him in a separation from the vain and dead worships of this world. I count myself happy that I ever met with him, and these pastors, who seek not themselves, but the Lord. And we are a family that live together in love, of one soul and one spirit, entirely given up to serve the Lord; and this is the greatest joy in the world."

After her, du Lignon, the other pastor, gave us also an account of his inducement to embrace J. de Labadie, but not so lively.

After him the doctor of physic, who had been bred for a priest, but voluntarily refused that calling, expressed himself after this manner: "I can also bear my testimony in the presence of God, that though I lived in as much reputation at the university as any of my colleagues or companions, and was well reputed for sobriety and honesty, yet I never felt such a living sense of God as when I heard the servant of the Lord, J. de Labadie:" adding, "The first day I heard him, I was so struck and affected, that I can truly say, through the good grace of God and the conduct of the Holy Spirit, it was to me as the day of my salvation, he did so livingly touch my heart with a sense of the true Christian worship: upon which I forsook the university, and resolved to be one of this family; and this I can say in the fear of the Lord."

P. Ivon concluded, "This is what we have to say concerning the work of God amongst us."

All this while I minded not so much their words, as I felt and had unity with a measure of divine sense

that was upon them. Certainly the Lord hath been amongst them ; yea, I had a living sense in my heart, that somewhat of the breath of life had breathed upon them ; and though they were in great mixtures, yet God's love was towards them.

After some silence, I began on this wise : " I come not to judge you, but to visit you ; not to quarrel or dispute, but to speak of the things of God's kingdom ; and I have no prejudice, but great love and regard in my heart towards you : wherefore hear me with Christian patience and tenderness.

" I do confess and believe that God hath touched your hearts with his divine finger, and that his work is amongst you ; that it was his Spirit that gave you a sight of the vanity and folly of this world, and that hath made you sensible of the dead religions that are in it. It is this sense I love and honor ; and I am so far from undervaluing or opposing this tender sense I feel upon you, that this it is I am come to visit, and you for the love of it. And as for the reproaches that may attend you on the score of your separation, with all the reports that therefore go concerning you, they are what I respect you for, being well acquainted with the nature and practice of this world towards those that retire out of it.

" Now, since I have with patience, and I can truly say with great satisfaction, heard your account of your experiences, give me the like Christian freedom to tell you mine, to the end you may have some sense of the work of God in me ; for those who are come to any

measure of a Divine sense, they are as looking-glasses to each other, seeing themselves in each other, as face answereth face in a glass."

Here I began to let them know how and when the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, anno 1656. How at times, between that and the fifteenth, the Lord visited me, and the Divine impressions he gave me of himself: of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery: of my being banished the college, the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father; whipping, beating, and turning out of doors in 1662: of the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London. In fine, the deep sense He gave me of the vanity of this world, of the irreligiousness of the religions of it. Then of my mournful and bitter cries to him, that He would show me his own way of life and salvation, and my resolutions to follow him, whatever reproaches or sufferings should attend me; and that, with great reverence and brokenness of spirit. How, after all this, the glory of the world overtook me, and I was even ready to give up myself unto it, seeing as yet no such thing as the primitive spirit and church on the earth, and being ready to faint concerning my hope of the restitution of all things. It was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his eternal word, through one of those the world calls a Quaker, namely, Thomas Loe. I related to them the

bitter mockings and scornings that fell upon me, the displeasure of my parents, the invectiveness and cruelty of the priests, the strangeness of all my companions : what a sign and wonder they made of me ; but above all, that great cross of resisting and watching against my own inward vain affections and thoughts.

Here I had a fine opportunity to speak of the mystery of iniquity and ungodliness in the root and ground, and to give them an account of the power and presence of God which attended us in our public testimonies and sufferings—after an indirect manner censuring their weaknesses, by declaring and commending the contrary practices among Friends, too large to be here related. And notwithstanding all my sufferings and trials by magistrates, parents, companions ; and above all, from the priests of the false religions in the world, the Lord hath preserved me to this day, and hath given me an hundred-fold in this world, as well as the assurance of life everlasting ; informing them of the tenderness of my father to me before and at his death ; and how, through patience and long-suffering, all opposition was conquered. Then I began my exhortation unto them, which was on this wise.

That since God had given me and them a Divine sense of him, our eye should be to him, and not to man ; that we might come more into a silence of ourselves, and a growth into that heavenly sense. That this was the work of the true ministry, not to keep people to themselves, ever teaching them, but to turn them to God, the new covenant Teacher, and to Christ,

the great Gospel Minister. Thus John did, and thought it no dishonor, that they left him to go to Christ. "Behold the Lamb of God," said he, "that taketh away the sins of the world!" And even John's disciples left him to follow Christ. Nay, John testifies of himself, that he was to decrease, and Christ was to increase. Wherefore, I pressed them to have their eye to Christ who taketh away the sin; who is from heaven, heavenly; to see that He increase in them. Yea, that henceforward they should know no man after the flesh. That their knowledge of, and regard for, and fellowship one with another, should stand in the revelation of the Son of God in them; who is God's great prophet, by whom God speaketh in these latter days. And if their ministers be true ministers, they will count it their glory to give way to Christ, and that they decrease, and Christ increase; that the instrument giveth way to him that useth it, the servant to the Lord. Which, though it seemeth to detract from the ministers, yet it was and is the glory of a true minister, that God and Christ should be all in all, and that his will should be fulfilled. I told them the day of the Lord God was come, and all people must look to Him for salvation: that all people must now come to keep God's great sabbath, to rest from mere man, and the spirit of man, and all men's thoughts, words, and works; and that if they were true believers, they were at least entering into their rest.

I closely recommended it to them, that they might not be of those who begin in the Spirit, and end in the

flesh; for that those who should do so, and thereby break God's sabbath-day, would be stoned to death, by the stone which is cut out of the mountain without hands; yea, that should fall upon them as a millstone, and grind them to powder. Therefore let Christ have his honor; let him preach and speak among you and in you, and you in him and by him only, to sigh, groan, pray, preach, sing, and not otherwise, lest death come over you: for thereby the apostasy came in, by their going before Christ, instead of Christ going before them.

Wait in the light and spirit of judgment that hath visited you, that all may be wrought out that is not born of God; so will you come to be born of the incorruptible seed and Word of God, that liveth and abideth forever: that you may be a holy priesthood, that offers up a living sacrifice with God's heavenly fire, that God may have his honor in you all, and through you all by Jesus Christ. And turning myself towards the Somerdykes, with a serious and tender spirit, I thus expressed myself: "That you should be pilgrims in the inheritance of your Father, I have a deep and reverent sense of: Oh that you might dwell with Him forever, and exalt Him that hath so visited you, with whom are the rewards of eternal blessedness!"

I left the blessing and peace of Jesus among them, departing in the love and peace of God; and I must needs say they were, beyond expectation, tender and respectful to us; all of them coming with us to the outer door but the ancient Anna Maria Schurmans,

who is not able to walk ; giving us their hands in a friendly manner, expressing their great satisfaction in our visit. And being come to the porch, and meeting several persons of the family, I was moved to turn about and exhort them, in the presence of the rest, To keep to Christ, who had given them a sense of the spirit of this world, and had raised desires in them to be delivered from it ; and to know no man after the flesh, but to have their fellowship in Christ, union and communion with God, and one with another ; that all their worship and performances might stand in Him, that He might be all in all. Desiring that the Lord might keep them in his fear all the days of their appointed time, that so they might serve Him in their generation, in his own universal Spirit, to his glory, who is blessed forever !

The Lord comforted my soul in this service ; yea, all that is within me magnified his holy name, because of his blessed presence that was with us ! Oh, let my soul trust in the Lord, and confide in him forever ! Let me dwell and abide with Him that is faithful and true, and blessed for evermore !

The two pastors and the doctor came with us a field's length, where we took wagon ; and the chiefest of them took occasion to ask me, If the Truth rose not first amongst a poor, illiterate, and simple sort of people ? I told him, Yes, that was our comfort, and that we owed it not to the learning of this world : " Then," said he, " let not the learning of this world be used to defend that which the Spirit of God hath brought forth ;

for scholars now coming among you will be apt to mix school learning amongst your simpler and purer language, and thereby obscure the brightness of the testimony." I told him it was good for us all to have a care of our own spirits, words, and works, confessing what he said had weight in it; telling him, it was our care to write and speak according to the Divine sense, and not human invention. So in a very sober and serious manner we parted, being about the twelfth hour at noon.

This night about ten o'clock we got to Lippenhansen, where there is a little meeting of Friends, being about twenty-five English miles.

The next morning, the 14th, we had a blessed meeting among Friends; many of the world came in, were very serious and well affected; one whereof was a magistrate of the place. The Lord pleads his own cause, and crowns his own testimony with his own power. There is likely to be a fine gathering in that place. After dinner we took wagon for the city of Groningen, where we arrived at eight o'clock at night, being about twenty-five English miles.

The next morning we had a meeting among Friends of that city, whither resorted both collegians and Calvinist students, who behaved themselves soberly: the Lord's power was over all, and his testimony stands. When meeting was ended they went out; and as I was concluding an exhortation to Friends, there came in a flock of students to have had some conference with us: but having set the time of our leaving the city, we recommended them to the universal love of God,

promising them some books of our principles; with which they expressed themselves satisfied, and civilly parted from us. After dinner we took boat for Delfzyl, and came there about six o'clock at night.

CHAPTER VII.

Letter concerning Separatists — Embden — Interview with Dr. Andrews — Bremen — Interesting Interviews with several Persons — Return to Herwerden — Religious Engagements in the Family of the Princess.

THE next morning about seven o'clock, being the 16th of the seventh month, we took boat for Embden, which is about three leagues. On board of that vessel, it came upon me to write a letter to Friends in England concerning the Separatists,* and their spirit of separation, which hath several times been opened unto me, and had remained some days upon my spirit. The letter follows.

“ To Friends everywhere, concerning the present Separatists, and their spirit of separation.

“ Friends and brethren :

“ By a mighty hand and by an outstretched arm, hath the Lord God everlasting gathered us to be a

* This alludes to Wilkinson, Story, Rogers, and their followers, who had raised a schism in the Society on the subject of church discipline.

people, and in his own power and life hath He preserved us a people unto this day : and praises be to his eternal name ! no weapon that hath yet been formed against us, either from without or from within, hath prospered.

“ Now this I say unto you, and that in His counsel who hath visited us ; — whoever goeth out of the unity with their brethren, are first gone out of unity with the power and life of God in themselves, in which the unity of the brethren standeth ; and the least member of the body in the unity, standeth on the top of them, and hath a judgment against them. Unto which judgment, of both great and small amongst the living family that in unity are preserved, they must bow before they can come into the unity again. Yea, this they will readily do, if they are come into unity with the life and power of God in themselves ; which is the holy root, that beareth the tree, the fruit, and the leaves ; all receiving life and virtue from it, and thereby are nourished unto God’s praise.

“ And let all have a care how they weaken that, or bring that under the exaltation and high imagination of those against whom it is revealed. For I feel this unruly spirit is tormented under the stroke and judgment of the power, and in its subtlety is seeking occasion against the instruments by whom the power gave it forth. Let all have a care how they touch with this spirit in those workings ; for by being one with this spirit in judging those who have been faithful, according to the gift of wisdom they have received from God,

they will feed it and fortify it, and in the end come to be one with it against the power itself; and at last run out and become open enemies and despisers, for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever, unless they repent.

“Wherefore, all that labor for the restoration of those who are out of unity with the brethren, let them be such as are of a sound mind themselves: else what will they gather to? or, what will they gather from? And let them labor in the simplicity, integrity, love, and zeal of the power that first gathered us to God. For that which is rightly gotten will endure, but that which is obtained by the contrivance, interest, and persuasions of men, getteth no further than man, and is of the flesh; and what is of flesh is fleshly, and shall never inherit the kingdom of God.

“Therefore let none look out of the Seed for help; for all power is in it, and there the true light and judgment stand forever; and that Seed only hath God ordained to bruise the serpent’s head. They that would save it, and those that would bruise it by any other thing, are breakers of God’s great ordinance, and fly to Egypt for strength. For it is David the strippling, that shall be too hard for Goliath the giant; and that not by Saul’s armor, but with God’s living little stone, cut out of the mountain without hands, without man’s invention and contrivance. This hath wrought all our mighty works in us, and for us to this day! Wherefore let us be still, and trust and confide therein forever. Let none look back, faint, or consult; for if

they do, they will darken their pure eye, and lose their way, and into the eternal rest of the flocks of the companions will never come.

“Brethren, the judgment given forth against this spirit, and against all those who have resisted our love and forbearance that are joined to it, must stand, and all that are out of our unity with the judgment are judged by it. Therefore, as all would stand before the Lord and his people, let not this spirit be reasoned withal; enter not into proposals and articles with it, but feed it with judgment; that is God’s decree: so may the souls that are deceived, come by the right door into the heavenly unity.

“My brethren, look forwards, and lift up your eyes; for the fields are even white unto harvest, up and down the nations. Remember the great name of the Lord, and behold the great work that He is doing before all people; whose saving health is visiting the world, and whose eternal word and testament is going forth to gather the nations. Let that that will be unjust, be unjust still; let the dead bury the dead; let us all who have received the gift from God, wait in deep humility, to be raised up and empowered by him, more and more, to eye and prosecute his universal service in the world; to whose appearance the kings and kingdoms of the Gentiles shall bring their glory. Which noble work, had those who are gone into the separation but laid deeply to heart, they would never have sat at home murmuring, fretting, and quarrelling against the comely and godly order and practice of their brethren:

but love, peace, and joy had filled their hearts, and not the troubler and accuser of the brethren, who hath opened an evil eye in them, and begotten them into a discontented self-separating mind, and this image they bear, and the pure eye sees it.

“Oh, let none tempt the Lord! Let none provoke the eyes of his jealousy: let us all dwell in that Divine sense that He hath begotten in us; where our love, as a fresh and pure stream, will always flow to God and to one another. Here, all his ways are pleasantness, and all his paths are peace; for where He keepeth the house, who is Prince of peace, He will keep all in his heavenly peace. We are but as one family, and therefore we have but one Lord and Master. We are but as one flock, and we have but one heavenly Shepherd to hear, who goeth before us, and giveth us eternal life to follow him. If any are offended in Him or in his, it is their own fault; if they faint and grow weary, we are truly sorry; if, through unwatchfulness, the enemy hath entered, begotten coldness to the brethren, and carelessness of embracing the opportunities by which the unity is renewed and increased, so that what is done by the brethren without them is looked upon, first with a slight eye, and then with an evil eye, which begets distance, and this distance, in time, a separation, and separation continued, bringeth forth enmity, and this enmity, death itself, we are in our spirits truly grieved for them. However, the judgment of God must stand against them and that spirit that leadeth them, in which they gather not to God

but to themselves. Woe to them that strengthen their hands and despise counsel, they will have much to answer for before the Lord. I feel a slighting, scornful, laughing spirit, often flying at me with its venomous sting; but the Seed of life is over it, and the Lord God will destroy it.

“Wherefore, Friends, in all places where this spirit hath had entrance, keep sound judgment upon it, if you will keep your garments clean, and enter not into disputes and contests with it—it is that it seeketh and loveth—but go on in your testimony and business for the Lord, in the Lord’s peaceable power and spirit; and his blessings and presence of life shall be with you; and in multiplying He shall multiply you; for no good thing will He withhold from you. We can say it of a truth, ‘God is good to Israel, and to all that are of an upright heart.’ And let us be of good cheer, for it is God’s determination that the house of David shall grow stronger and stronger, and his branch shall increase and spread, and of his government, kingdom, and dominion there shall be no end.

“Your faithful friend and brother in the service of our dear Lord,

WILLIAM PENN.

“P. S. God’s blessed work increaseth and prospereth in these lands, magnified be his everlasting name.

“From on board the passage-boat }
 between Delfyzl and Embden, the }
 16th of the Seventh month, 1677.” }

We arrived at Embden about the eleventh hour. This is the city where Friends have been so bitterly and barbarously used, the like hath scarcely been known in any place where Truth hath broken forth in our day; they having here been banished some thirty, and some forty times and above. The first family that received Truth in this city was Doctor John William Hasbert, a physician, and his wife; at whose house also the first meeting was set up among Friends, to wait upon the Lord by way of public testimony; they are now both dead, but the memory of their fidelity is as precious ointment among the righteous.

They were with me at a meeting six years ago, in this city; and I remember the power of the Lord had that operation upon them, that I said to B. F. and T. R., then with me, it will not be long before they will publicly own and bear testimony in this place: and about three months after, he came forth, and she about a year after him. And from their fidelity and integrity, notwithstanding all the sore and bitter tempests of persecution, a fine meeting sprang; but at this day they are scattered, being still sent away as fast as they return.*

* After William Penn's first visit to Embden in 1671, he addressed Dr. Hasbert an encouraging letter, earnestly recommending him to persevere in the path of duty cast up before him. Stephen Crisp, who many times visited these parts of the continent of Europe in the character of a minister of the Gospel, gives the following interesting account of Dr. Hasbert and the Friends in Embden: "I had a meeting in his house upon the first-day of the

We visited his mother's family; where we found three of his sisters in the love of Truth, his fourth sister being also a Friend, and is wife of John Claus, living at Amsterdam. We had a little sweet comfort-

week, in the first month, 1673; where many people of divers persuasions heard the Truth declared, in great plainness and simplicity; and after some time, those that were convinced were drawn in love to God to assemble together, to worship God in spirit and in truth, and in the silence of that fleshly wisdom that can speak when it listeth, and say what it listeth. At the first, they sat down about ten persons in Hasbert's house to wait upon the Lord: and when this was noised about the city, the wicked One stirred up the priests and rulers against them; and they stirred up the rude and ignorant people to assault them, mock, reproach, and revile them; and the rulers fell quickly to fining, imprisoning, threatening, and banishing those weak and tender plants, in an almost unheard of manner. They banished some sixteen or twenty times, spoiling all they had, save their clothes, and at last fell upon them also — taking away their coats, boots, gloves, aprons, etc., and driving them through the streets almost naked, aboard the ships that were to carry them away: all which and much more, by the mighty power of the Lord, did these innocent, harmless lambs bear with great patience and quietness, and were not dismayed at all at these cruelties: for the Lord had regard to his name, and to their innocent cry, and supported them, and doth support them; and they have found it true, that those who wait upon the Lord renew their strength. Blessed be the Lord forever!"—*Crisp's Memoirs*, p. 79. Persecution, however, did not cease as regards the Friends in this place for nine years after this visit was paid them by William Penn. It is a singular circumstance, that when the magistrates began to see their true interest, and the error of their cruel policy, they actually came to the resolution of inviting the people called Quakers, both in Holland and in England, to come and settle among them, promising them protection, and that they should be well received. See *Besse's Sufferings of Friends*.

able meeting with them. After it, I returned to my lodging, and as I was writing to Doctor Andrews, president of the council of state, who is reported to have been the author of this cruelty to our Friends, a burden came upon me; my writing would not serve the turn—I must go myself, and in the fear and name of the Lord, plead the innocent and suffering cause of our Friends with him. So away we went to his house. He was at first astonished to see what manner of men we were; but after a little time, he comported himself with more kindness than we expected at his hand. I asked him, if he and the senate had not received a letter in Latin from an Englishman about two years since, concerning their severity towards the people called Quakers? He told me he had: I replied, I was the man, and I was constrained in conscience to visit him on their behalf; and I could not see how he, being a commonwealth's-man and a Protestant, could persecute.

I pleaded the unnaturalness, the unchristianity, and imprudence of such proceedings, and pressed our reasons earnestly, but tenderly, upon him. He assaulted us with several objections; but, blessed be the Lord, they were mostly fictitious, and therefore easily removed and answered. He also promised me, that if I would write to the senate a remonstrance of the case of our friends, and express my request to them, and enclose it to him, he would both present it and get it to be read, and make it appear that he was not so much our enemy as we looked upon him to be. I

promised to send him some books, containing a defence of our principles, which were accordingly put into the hands of Elizabeth Hasbert, to deliver to him in my name.

Having taken our leave of the old woman and her daughters, and a man Friend residing in that city, and left the blessings and peace of our God amongst them, we took ship for Lier, where we arrived the next morning. Thence we took wagon for Bremen, where we came safely, through the Lord's goodness, on the 18th; and met our friends and companions, George Keith and Benjamin Furly, who were come thither some hours before us from Amsterdam. In this city there is a work of the Lord begun, though yet obscurely: we had a travail upon our spirits, that the blessed and precious Truth of our dear Lord and Master might find a place to rest its foot upon.

To that purpose we wrote to two ministers, under some suffering from their brethren, because of their great zeal against the formality and deadness of the so-called reformed churches. This we sent by a merchant, whom we formerly met at Herwerden. With some difficulty we got to them, but the person chiefly struck at was shy to speak with us: his reason was this—it was known that we were in town, and it was one of the accusations against him that he was a fosterer of all the strange religions that came through the town. Also he was then actually under process, and that the people who had heard of the innocency of his cause, conceived a prejudice against our name,

though it might be without cause. Therefore he could not at present confer with us; and said he was sorry for it with all his heart, but what we should say to his brother should be the same as if it had been said to him; to whom he referred us.

However, I took hold of his arm and said, "I have this message to deliver to thee, that I may disburden myself before the Lord," which was this: "Mind that which hath touched thy heart; let that guide thee, and do not thou order that: consult not with flesh and blood, how to maintain that cause which flesh and blood in thy enemies persecuteth thee for." He answered, "Rather than I will betray that cause, or desert Christ, by God's strength, they shall pull my flesh off my bones." So he left us in his house, and truly we had a good time with his companion, the other minister, about three hours, testifying unto him that the day was come, and coming, in which the Lord would gather out of all sects that stand in the oldness of the letter, into his own holy Spirit, life, and power; and that in this the unity of faith and bond of peace should stand. And therefore, that he and all of them should have an eye to the Spirit of God in themselves; that, being turned to it, they might speak from it; and that therein they would glorify God, and be edified. So we parted, leaving the man in a sensible and savory frame. We visited the merchant twice, and had a very good time with him; the man is of a loving and sensible spirit, and the love of God opened our hearts to him.

We also visited Doctor Johannes Sophronius Cozack, an odd compositum of a man. He has had great and strange openings; hath written several scores of tracts; is a great enemy to priests, and in society with none: of a merry, yet of a rough disposition, without any method or decency in his clothes, food, furniture, and entertainment. He wants but three years of fourscore, yet of wonderful vigor and acuteness. We were twice with him, and we have reason to think he was as loving to us as to anybody. And truly, he did show at parting, some serious and hearty kindness: but we could fasten little upon him as to God's power, or any inward sense of us or our testimony; yet we had little to object against what he said, too; nay, some things were very extraordinary.

From him we went to Dr. Belingham, an English physician, a man of lowly and tender spirit, who received us in much love, lamenting, when we left him, that he had no more time with us.

At the inn we had frequent opportunity to declare the way of Truth, and we must needs say, we were heard with patience and sobriety; particularly by a doctor of law, who lodged at the house, and an ancient man of Kiel in Holstein. We left books amongst them all; and in the love and fear of God we took our leave of them on the fifth-day after dinner, and begun our journey towards Herwerden, the court of the Princess, where we arrived on seventh-day the 22nd in the morning, every way well through the mercies of the Lord. We sent to inform her of our arrival, and to

know what hour it would be convenient for us to visit her; who returned us this answer, — that being then employed in the business of her government, it would be the second hour in the afternoon before she could be at leisure.

The time being come, we went to visit her, and found both her and the Countess ready to receive us; which they did with much love and tenderness. I observed them to be much lower in their spirits than ever, and that our former opportunities had had a blessed effect upon them. That afternoon was employed in the narrative of our travels, which they heard with great attention and refreshment. The whole discourse ended with a precious little meeting. The house being clear of strangers, they both earnestly pressed us to sup with them, which being not well able to decline, we submitted to.

At supper, the power of the Lord came upon me, and it was a true supper to us, for the hidden manna was manifested and broken amongst us; yea, a blessed meeting it proved to us. Oh, the reverent tenderness and lowly frame of spirit that appeared this evening, both in the Princess and Countess. The French woman we found greatly improved, both in her love and understanding; yea, she was very zealous and very broken, and was always with us on these occasions. After supper we returned to the Princess's chamber, where we stayed till it was about ten at night. At parting, I desired the Princess would give us such another opportunity next day, being the first-day of the week,

as we had the last time we were with her: she answered me, "With all my heart: but will ye not come in the morning, too?" I replied, "Yes, willingly; what time wilt thou be ready to receive us?" She answered, "At seven o'clock."

About seven o'clock the next morning we came; about eight the meeting began, and held till eleven, several persons of the city, as well as those of her own family, being present. The Lord's power very much affected them, and the Countess was twice much broken while we spoke. After the people were gone out of the chamber, it lay upon me from the Lord to speak to them two, the Princess and the Countess, with respect to their particular conditions, occasioned by these words from the Princess, "I am fully convinced: but oh, my sins are great!"

Whilst I was speaking, the glorious power of the Lord wonderfully rose, yea, after an awful manner, and had a deep entrance upon their spirits; especially the Countess's, so that she was broken to pieces: God hath raised, and I hope fixed, his own testimony in them.

We returned to our inn, and after dinner we came back to the second meeting on that day, which began about the second hour in the afternoon: and truly, the reverent, blessed, sure word of life was divided aright, and a precious sense of Truth was raised in the meeting. There came more of the city than in the morning, and we were much comforted in the Lord's power that was with us. For the Truth had passage, and the

hungry were satisfied, and the simple-hearted deeply affected.

This day at both meetings was one of the Princess's women, who never was at meeting before; and she, though very shy of us the last time, became tender and loving to us;—she was truly reached. Magnified be the name of the Lord, whose presence was with us, and whose arm stood by us! After meeting, the Princess pressed us to stay and sup with her, pleading the quietness of the family, and that they were alone. At supper, as the night before, it was upon me to commemorate the goodness of the Lord, his daily providences, and how precious He is, in the covenant of light, to the dear children and followers of the light. Great was the reverence and tenderness that was upon the spirits of both Princess and Countess at that instant. After supper, we returned to the Princess's chamber, where we spent the rest of our time, in holy silence, or discourse, till about the tenth hour, and then we repaired to our quarters.

CHAPTER VIII.

Further Religious Service in the Family of the Princess — Graef of Donau — Parting Interview — Journey to Wesel — Letter to Countess of Hornes, containing Narrative of Journey — Dusseldorf — Meeting at Wesel — Return to Amsterdam — End of Letter.

NEXT morning about eight o'clock we returned to the court, where the Princess and Countess were ready to receive us. The morning was employed in a very serious relation, concerning the affairs, practice, and sufferings of our Friends in England, with which they seemed greatly affected; when, about the eleventh hour, the rattling of a coach interrupted us. The Countess immediately stepped out to see what was the matter; and returned with a countenance somewhat uneasy, telling us that the young Princes, nephews to the Princess and the Graef of Donau, were come to visit her. Upon which I told them we should withdraw, and return to our lodging; but entreated, that forasmuch as we were to depart that night with the post-wagon, we might not be disappointed of a farewell meeting with them; and the rather, for that I had a great burden upon my spirit: which they readily complied with, telling me, these persons would only dine and be gone. As we went to the door, the Countess stepped before us, and opened it for us; and as I passed by, she looked upon me with a weighty coun-

tenance, and fetched a deep sigh, crying out, "Oh, the cumber and entanglements of this vain world! they hinder all good." Upon which I replied, looking her steadfastly in the face, "Oh, come thou out of them then!"

After we had dined at our lodging, something being upon me to write to the professors of religion of that country, I went up to my chamber, that I might be the more retired. Just as I was about the conclusion of the paper, came the steward of the house of the Princess, with this message, that the Princess entreated us to come to her; for the Graef of Donau had a great desire to see us, and to speak with us. This brought a fresh weight and exercise upon us; but committing all to the Lord, and casting our care upon him, we went.

Being arrived, the Graef approached us in French: at first he took no great notice of our unceremonious behavior, but proceeded to inquire of our success in our journey, and what we found answering our journey and inclinations. Then we fell to points of religion, and the nature and end of true Christianity, and what is the way that leadeth to the eternal rest. After some short debate about complete sanctification in this life, we both agreed that self-denial, mortification, and victory was the duty, and therefore ought to be the endeavor, of every sincere Christian.

From this, I fell to give him some account of my retreat from the world, and the inducements I had thereto, and the necessity of an inward work; with which he seemed much pleased. After this, he fell to

the hat, etc. This choketh, and the rather, because it telleth tales. It telleth what people are; it marketh men for separatists; it is blowing a trumpet, and visibly crossing the world; and this, the fear of man, (greatly prevalent with too many serious people in that land,) cannot abide, starteth at, and runneth away from. Howbeit, the Lord enabled me to open the thing to him: as, that it was no plant of God's planting, but a weed of degeneracy and apostasy; a carnal and earthly honor, the effect, feeder, and pleaser of pride and of a vain mind; and that no advantage redounded to mankind by it;—and how could they, who ought to do all to the glory of God, use that vain and unprofitable custom, which cannot be done to the glory of God? I entreated him seriously to consider with himself the rise and end of it; whence it came, what it pleased, and what that was which was angry if it had it not.

I also told him of the sincere and serviceable respect which Truth substituteth in place thereof, and I exhorted him to simplicity and poverty of spirit, to be like that Jesus whom he professed to be his Saviour, whose outside as well as doctrine pleased not the Jews;—and so we parted. He took his leave of the Princess, and then of us, with great civility.

After he was gone, the Princess desired us to withdraw to her bed-chamber, and there we began our farewell meeting. The thing lay weighty upon me, and that in the deep dread of the Lord; and magnified be the name of the Lord, He overshadowed us with his

glory. His heavenly, breaking, dissolving power richly flowed amongst us, and his ministering angel of life was in the midst of us. Let my soul never forget the divine sense that overwhelmed all. At that blessed farewell I took of them, much opened in me of the hour of Christ's temptation, his watchfulness, perseverance and victory; also about the ten virgins, what the true virgin was, the true oil, and lamp; and what the bridegroom, his door, chamber, and supper; and in the conclusion of that stream of heavenly melting love, with which we were all deeply affected, I fell upon my knees, recommending them unto the Lord, with strong cries to him for their preservation, and besought the Lord's presence with us, and so ended.

After some pause I went to the Princess, and took her by the hand, which she received and embraced with signs of a weighty kindness, being much broken. I spoke a few words apart to her, and left the blessing and peace of Jesus with and upon her. Then I went to the Countess, and left a particular exhortation with her, who fervently besought me to remember her, and to implore the Lord on her behalf. From her, I went to the French woman, and bid her be faithful and constant to that which she knew; she was exceedingly broken, and took an affectionate leave of us.

Then I spoke to the rest, and took leave severally of them; my companions did all the like. They followed us to the outer room; and there it was upon me to step to the Countess, and once more to speak to her, and to take my leave of her; which she received

and returned with great sense, humility, and love. So turning to them all, my heart and eye to the Lord, I prayed that the fear, presence, love and life of God, with all heavenly blessings, might descend and rest upon them, then and forever.

We went to our lodging, cleared the house, exhorted the family, left books, and then took wagon for Wesel, about two hundred English miles from Herwerden. We rode three nights and days, without lying down on a bed, or sleeping, otherwise than in the wagon, which was only covered with an old ragged sheet. The company we had with us made twelve in number, which much straitened us: they were often, if not always, vain, even in their religious songs, which is the fashion of that country, especially by night; they call them Luther's songs, and sometimes psalms. We were forced often to reprove and testify against their hypocrisy; to be full of vain and often profane talk one hour, and sing psalms to God the next, we showed them the deceit and abomination of. We passed through several great towns by the way, Lipstadt, Ham, etc. Many discourses we had of Truth, and the religion and worship that was truly Christian, and all was very well; they bore what we said. But one thing was remarkable, that may not be omitted: I had not been six hours in the wagon, before a heavy weight and unusual oppression fell upon me; yea, it weighed me almost to the grave, that I could almost say, my soul was sad even unto death. I knew not at present the ground of this exercise: it remained about

twenty-four hours upon me. Then it opened in me, that it was a travail for the seed of God, that it might arise over all in them I had left behind, and that nothing might be lost but the son of perdition. Oh, the strong cries, and deep agonies, many tears and sincere bowings and humblings of soul before the Lord, that his holy sense, which was raised in them, might be preserved alive in them, and they forever in it! that they might grow and spread, as heavenly plants of righteousness, to the glory of the name of the Lord.

The narrative, from the 27th of the seventh month to the 9th of the eighth month inclusive, is inserted in the following letter to the Countess of Hornes.

“For Anna Maria de Hornes, styled Countess of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.

“My dear friend!

“Oh, that thou mayst forever dwell in the sweet and tender sense of that Divine love and life which hath visited thy soul, affected and overcome thy heart! Oh, tell me, hath it not sometimes raised thy spirit above the world, and filled thee with fervent and passionate desires, yea, holy resolutions to follow Jesus, thy blessed Saviour, who hath given his most precious blood for thee, that thou shouldst not live to thyself, but to Him that hath so dearly purchased thee.

“Oh, the retired, humble, reverent frame I have beheld thee in, when this blessed life hath drawn thee into itself, and adorned and seasoned thee with its

own heavenly virtue; beautifying thy very countenance, beyond all the vain and foolish ornaments of the wanton daughters of Sodom and Egypt; for therein are charms not known to the children of this world.

“Oh, that this holy and chaste life may be always precious with thee! and that thou mayst be forever chastely kept in the love and fellowship of it! That out of this world’s nature, spirit, and practice, thou mayst be redeemed by Him, who is the way, the truth, and the life; who, as thou watchest with holy vigilance, will not only daily manifest the devices of the enemy to thee, but save thee from him. For Christ’s work in thee is thy sanctification, as it is in him, his Father’s will; as He said of old to his disciples, ‘This is the will of God, even your sanctification.’

“My dear beloved friend, be steadfast, immovable, without wavering; and work out thy great salvation with fear and trembling; and lose not that sweet and precious sense, which the Lord hath begotten in thee: it is soon lost, at least weakened, but hard to recover. Wherefore, let not the spirit of the world in any of its appearances, vain company, unnecessary discourse or words, or worldly affairs, prevail upon the civility of thy nature; for they will oppress the innocent life, and bring grievous weights and burdens upon thy soul, and prolong the coming of the Lord, whom thou lookest for, and put the day of thy redemption afar off. Oh, beware of this compliance! Let me put thee in mind of that sensible resolution, so frequently and

so passionately repeated by thee: 'Il faut que je rompe. Il faut que je rompe.' Ah! this speaketh a weight, this weight a sense, and this sense a strong conviction. Now, be assured, that till obedience be yielded to that present manifestation and conviction, the good things desired and thirsted after can never be enjoyed.

"Wherefore, my dear friend, be faithful, and watch against the workings of the spirit of this world in thyself; that the nature and image of it in all things may be crucified, that thou mayst know an entire translation, with holy Enoch, and walk with God. Jesus, the holy Light, is this power of God, that killeth and maketh alive; and He is the heavenly Vine too—if thou abidest in him, thou wilt bring forth fruit: but if thou abidest not in him, thou wilt not bring forth that fruit, in which his heavenly Father only can be glorified. Oh, see what the mind daily abideth in! My soul is even ravished with the sense of that holy and quiet habitation! 'In the world,' saith He, 'you shall have trouble; however, be of good cheer, I have overcome the world: I am not of the world.' As if He had said: 'I am not of the world's ways, worships, customs, or fashions; for whatever is of the nature and spirit of this world hath no part in me; and as I am not of this world, neither are you of this world; for I have chosen you out of the world; out of the inventions, out of the worships and fashions of the world. You are to leave them all, to come out of them all, and live and walk as pilgrims in the world;' that is, strangers; to what? To the life and practice

of the world; not using, but renouncing the vain customs and ceremonies, yea, the whole conversation of the world; remembering that ‘the friendship of this world is enmity with God.’ And what ‘if the world hate you, it hated me first;’ and ‘the disciple is not greater than his master, nor the servant than his Lord;’ if you were ‘of the world, the world would love you,’ and not reproach and persecute you; for the world loveth its own. Oh, my dear friend, that thou mayst be perfectly sensible what it is not to be of this world.

“But there is yet a further mystery in these words, not discerned of many, in whom some tenderness and inquiry is begotten, much less of the worldly Christians. This world hath a false earth and a false heaven, a false foundation, and a false joy: not only gross wickedness, but iniquity in a mystery, inwardly and outwardly. The false prophet and dragon, and all their offspring, are here concerned. This is their world, that must be burnt with fire, that Christ is not of, nor his true disciples. The light of Jesus discovereth it! He is that spiritual Solomon that giveth true judgment, and saveth the living child, the true birth; giving it to the right mother, and not to the false pretender. All that hear his voice and follow him shall receive true light, discerning, and judgment, to whom all judgment is given; they shall know his voice from man’s.

“There are two trees, of differing natures, that have contrary fruits and leaves. The one is the tree of life,

which is Christ; the other the tree of death, and that is Satan. The fruit of the one giveth life—the fruit of the other bringeth death; the leaves of the first heal—the leaves of the last poison. Many that discern the tree cannot clearly distinguish the branches; and those that see many arms and branches, cannot distinctly behold the leaves, much less the fruit. This cometh by the gradual discoveries and revelations of the light of Jesus, the Word of God, as it is daily received and daily obeyed. Yea, and that Word is the axe and sword of the Almighty, to cut it down: daily feel the strokes of this eternal searching Light and Word at the very root of this corrupt tree, this evil one and his corrupt nature, works, and effects. For which end Jesus Christ is come, and therefore is called a Saviour, which is little known in truth to the Christians of this world.

“Ah! my dear friend, thou knowest this Word, yea, thou hast felt it. Oh, hide it in thy heart! treasure it up in thy soul, and love it, and abide with it forever. Alas! whither shouldst thou go? He hath the words, and is the Word of eternal life: daily, therefore, watch and wait, that thou mayst be grafted more into him; that thou mayst live and grow by his virtue and life; and that He may grow in thy heart, as among the first Christians, the holy followers of the persecuted Jesus. And when He searcheth thy wound, and cutteth away thy dead flesh; yea, when He separateth between the soul and the spirit of this world, and divideth between joints and marrow; when He cutteth

off the right hand, and plucketh out the right eye; watch unto prayer, and pray that thou mayst endure! Keep the holy patience of this pure and living Word; and this very Word will keep thee in the hour of thy sharpest trials and sorest tribulations! All virtue is in him! He is a tried Word, a sure refuge — the staff and strength of the righteous in all ages. He was David's teacher and buckler; a light to his feet, and a lantern to his paths. Walk thou in the light thereof, and thou shalt not stumble: in this Word is life (as in the root), and this life is the light of men. They that receive and love the light of it will therein receive Divine life from it to live to God. This is the bread of God that cometh from God, and feedeth and leadeth up to God: by this only, that which is born of God liveth, and is nourished. This is that carcass to which the wise eagles gather; and see thou gatherest to no other, and feedest on no other. This is that hidden manna that cometh from heaven; that feedeth God's Gospel Israel. The world hath a manna, but it perisheth; but this endureth forever: for it is not of man, nor from man, but immortal, and from God; hid from the knowledge of all the vain Christians in the world; so that the Israel of God can say to the children of this world, and that in truth and righteousness, 'We have bread to eat that you know not of.' For this manna wait daily, that thou mayst be strengthened in thy wilderness travel to the land of eternal rest.

“Wherefore, ‘labor not for the bread that perish-

eth,' that is, the bread of man's inventing and making, which cometh from below, and profiteth not, because it giveth not life eternal. But labor thou, my dear friend, for the bread that never perisheth, that endureth forever, and that giveth life eternal to all that feed upon it. Oh, cast thy care upon this Word, love it and dwell with it; wait daily upon it, hear its voice only, and follow it; for it bringeth the soul to the eternal habitation of rest and glory. Yea, when all flesh shall wither, and the beauty thereof fade away, this Word, and they that are grafted into it, shall abide forever. Oh, that this may be thy choice, and it shall be thy diadem, and thy eternal crown of glory!

“These are the fervent desires, and these the daily prayers of my soul, to the God of my salvation for thee; not only that nothing in thee may be lost, besides the son of perdition, but that thou mayst cast off every weight and burden, and that sin that doth so easily beset thee, that grieveth, boweth, and oppresseth thee, under the heavy weight of which thou groanest and sighest, that thy Redeemer would come from Zion to deliver thee. Give not heed to the enemy, the false accuser, who seeketh to devour that which is begotten of God in thee; neither look upon thine own sins, burdens, or weaknesses; but lift up thy head, and look to Jesus, the author of thy blessed visitation, and wholly hunger and thirst after Him, the spiritual brazen serpent, that healeth and relieveth all who in faith and full assurance look to him. Want of looking to him, hearing and obeying him, and

having true faith in him, is the cause both of all the presumption and despair that are at this day. He did no mighty things of old in those places where they believed not.

“Oh, faint not, look not back, remember the holy ancients, the holy pilgrims of faith, the royal generation of heaven! Heb. xi. Thou believest in God, believe also in Him for the work’s sake that He has already wrought in thee: He will minister to thee, as He was ministered unto by his Father’s angels, in the hour of his abasement and great temptation. Watch, and be faithful, and thou shalt be a noble witness for the Lord.

“Once more let me expostulate with thee. Wouldst thou overcome the enemies of thy soul’s peace, and enjoy the delightful presence of the Lord with thee? Then keep nothing back; let nothing be withheld that He calleth for; remember that Saul of old lost his kingdom for keeping that alive which he should have slain; and thou knowest what befell Ananias and Sapphira outwardly. But be thou like the poor widow of old, that gave more into the treasury than all the rest, because they reserved the greatest part to themselves; but she gave all she had. Oh, blessed are they that make no bargains for themselves; that have no reserves for self, neither consult with flesh and blood, nor in any sense conform to the least ceremony, which is born of them; but that submit their wills, in all things, to the Lord’s, that they may be made perfect through sufferings.

“Read me in the mystery of life: I speak not of deserting or flinging away all outward substance; but that thy heart may reign above all visibles, and make God its treasure, and never stick in anything of this lower world, or rest short of Christ, the eternal rest of all the seed of faith.”

Here beginneth the narrative.

“The Lord brought us well to Wesel on the fifth-day after we left Herwerden, having some service by the way. At Wesel we had a good time with Dr. Schuler, and Rosendale, and the woman we mentioned to thee; but the tailor was shy and fearful of coming to us at the doctor’s.

“The next day, the 28th, we went towards Duysburg, and visited the Schult or chief governor that night, whom we found at home; he received us with much kindness. His wife and sister, we fear, have been shaken in their good belief of our testimony since we were last there; some fowls of the air have devoured the seed that was sown. Oh, that sweet and tender frame, in which we left them the time before! However, the entrance we had upon the spirit of the Schult, a little consoled us. Hence we sent Maria Martha’s friend a letter; desiring him to let us have his answer the next night at Dusseldorf, enclosed to Neander, when and where we might see him, either at Dusseldorf, Mulheim, or Duysburg; and if it were possible, we would gladly visit the Countess of Bruck.

“We got early to Dusseldorf next day, being the

last day of the week : but Neander was gone to Mulheim, in order to preach on the morrow ; so that we were disappointed of our intelligence.

“ Next morning, the 30th, we went towards Cologne, and there arrived that evening. The day after, we had a good opportunity with Van Dinando and Docemius, at the house of the latter ; and that afternoon took boat back for Dusseldorf ; where arriving next morning, we presently sent for Neander, who came to us, and three more in company. We had a blessed meeting with them, and with one of the three that came with him, our souls were exceedingly affected.

“ The meeting done, they went away, but Neander returned. And first, of our letter to Mullheim. We found by him, as also at our return to Duysburg, that Kuper was so far from endeavoring our visit to the Countess, that he would not meet us himself, either at Dusseldorf, Mulheim, or Duysburg : nay, it did not please him to send us an answer, much less any the least salutation. I confess it grieved us now for Neander : the young man hath a zeal for God, and there is a visitation upon him, my soul desireth that it may not be ineffectual : but I have a great fear upon me. For this I know certainly, from the Lord God that liveth forever, and I have a cloud of witnesses in my brethren, that retirement and silence before God is the alone way for him to feel the heavenly gift to arise, and come forth pure and unmix'd. This only can aright preach for God, pray to God, and beget people to God, and nothing else. But alas ! his office in that

family is quite another thing; namely, to perform set duties at fixed times; pray, preach, and sing, and that in the way of the world's appointments. His very office is Babylonish, namely, a chaplain; for it is a popish invention.

“In the good old times, godly Abraham, who was a prince, and Joshua a great general, and David a king, with many more, instructed their families in the knowledge and fear of God: but now people are too idle or too great to pray for themselves, and so they worship God by proxy. How can a minister of the Gospel be at the beck of any mortal living, or give his soul and conscience to the time and appointment of another? The thing in itself is utterly wrong, and against the very nature and worship of the new and everlasting covenant. You had better meet to read the Scriptures, the Book of Martyrs, etc., if you cannot sit and wait in silence upon the Lord till his angel move upon your hearts, than to uphold such a formal, limited, and ceremonious worship. This is not the way out of Babylon. And I have a deep sense upon my soul, that if the young man strive, beyond the talent God hath given him, to answer his office, and fill up his place, and wait not for the pure and living Word of God in his heart to open his mouth, but either studieth for his sermons, or speaketh his own words, he will be utterly ruined.

“Wherefore, dear friend, have a care thou art no snare to him, nor he to thee! Man's works smother and stifle the true life of Christ. What have you now

to do, but to look to Jesus, the author of the holy desires that are in you, who himself hath visited you. Tempt not the Lord, provoke not God. What should any man preach from but Christ? And what should he preach people to but Christ in them, the hope of glory? Consider, nothing feedeth that which is born of God but that which cometh down from God, even the bread of God, which is the Son of God, who giveth his life for the world. Feed it, and feed on it; let none mock God, or grieve his Eternal Spirit, who is come to seal them up from the mouth of man, who hath deceived them, that Jesus the anointing may teach them and abide with them forever.

“Be steadfast and immovable; and this will draw the young man nearer to the Lord, and empty him of himself, and purge away mixtures; and then you will all come to the Divine silence. And when all flesh is silent before the Lord, then is it the Lord’s time to speak; and if you will hear, your souls shall live. Oh! my soul is in great pain, that you may be all chastely preserved in that divine sense, begotten in your hearts by the eternal Word of God, that abideth forever; that nothing may ever be able to extinguish it. But more especially that thou, my dear friend, mayst be kept in faithfulness: for the Lord is come very near to thee, and thou must begin the work; the Lord God expecteth it at thy hand. If one sheep break through, the rest will follow. Wherefore watch; oh, watch! that thou mayst be strengthened and confirmed; and strengthen all that is begotten of God in that family

by thy weighty, savory, and circumspect life. Oh, how is my soul affected with thy present condition! It is the fervent supplication of my heart that thou mayst, through the daily obedience of the cross of Jesus, conquer and shine as a bright and glorious star in the firmament of God's eternal kingdom. So let it be, Lord Jesus! Amen.

“We tenderly, yet freely, spoke our hearts to him, before we parted; which done, in God's love we took our leave of him at Dusseldorf, and got that night to Duysburg, being the third-day of the week. We first visited Dr. Maastricht, a man of a good natural temper, but a rigid Calvinist. I perceived by him that they held a consultation about seeing us at Bruck; but they all concluded it was best to decline meeting with us, because of the Graef, he being ready to fling our name in reproach upon them, in his displeasure; and this would confirm him in his jealousies of them. This might excuse the Countess, but by no means Kuper; and if I had any sense, Maastricht was there with them upon design, to frustrate the hopes we had conceived of meeting with her. We, from that, descended to other things of weight, and in love and peace parted.

“From his house we returned to our inn; and after supper we visited the Schult, who with much civility and some tenderness received us. His sister also came to us, and we had a good little meeting with them, and our God was with us; and his pure and tender life appeared for our justification, and pleaded our in-

nocent cause in their consciences: and so we parted with them, leaving our Master's peace amongst them.

“The next day we came to Wesel, being the 3rd of the eighth month; where we understood by Dr. Schuler, that thy sister desired we would be so kind as to see her when we returned. Upon that we went and visited her; she received us very kindly. Thy brother-in-law's two sisters were present; we stayed with her at least two hours. Many questions she put to me, which I was glad to have an opportunity of answering, for it made way for a meeting. She entreated us to come again if we stayed, and told us our visit was very grateful to her: adding, that because we passed her by the last time, she concluded with herself we had no hopes of her; with more to that effect. From thence we went to Dr. Schuler's, who freely offered us his house for a meeting next day: and indeed, the man is bold, after his manner.

“The next day about seven o'clock I wrote a billet in French to thy sister, to inform her of the meeting, to begin about eight: she came, and her two sisters with her. There were Rosendale, Colonel Copius and his wife, and about three or four more; and to our great joy the Lord Almighty was with us, and his holy power reached their hearts, and the Doctor and Copius thereby confessed to our testimony.

“The meeting lasted about four hours: being ended, we took our leave of them in the spirit of Jesus, and so returned to our inn. The tailor was all this while afraid of coming to our inn, or to the Doctor's to the

meeting: great fears have overtaken him, and the poor man liveth but in a dry land. After dinner we visited Copius and Rosendale; and at Copius's we had a blessed broken meeting, he and his wife, Rosendale and his wife, with another woman, wife to one Dr. Willick's brother, being present; they were extremely affected and overcome by the power of the Lord — it was like one of our Herwerden meetings; indeed much tenderness was upon all their spirits.

“This done, and having left books both there and with thy sister, we left Wesel with hearts full of joy and peace: and let me say this, that more kindness and openness we have scarcely found in all our travels. Oh, that this blessed sense may dwell with them! A seed there is in that place, that God will gather, yea, a noble people He will find out; and I doubt not but there will be a good meeting of Friends in that city, before many years go about: my love is great to that place. Oh, how good is our dear Lord to us, who helpeth our infirmities, and carrieth through all opposition, and feedeth us with his Divine presence, in which is life! His candle hath hitherto rested on our tabernacle, and He hath made us glad in his own salvation: eternal glory be to his excellent name.

“We immediately took a post-car and came next day, about two in the afternoon, to Cleve, where we had a very precious meeting at an honest procurator's house, who received us with much love: four or five more were present, all grave and tender: our hearts were greatly affected with their love and simplicity.

We also visited the Lady Hubner, who was kind to us.

“The following morning, the 6th, we set out for Nimeguen, and thence immediately to Utrecht, where we arrived that night, and took the night boat for Amsterdam; because of a pressure upon my spirit to be next day at the meeting, and the rather, having intimated as much from Cologne.

“We arrived in the morning at Amsterdam, where we found our dear friends generally well, the city much alarmed, and great curiosity in some, and desires in others, to come to the meeting. We had a very great meeting, and many people of note resorted: God’s Gospel bell was rung, the great day of the great God sounded, and the dead were raised, so that much tenderness appeared in several. Oh, blessed be the name of the Lord, whose work and testimony prosper!

“The next day was spent in divers affairs relating to the Truth. The day following, the 9th, we had a meeting with Galenus Abrahams, the great father of the Socinian Menists in these parts, accompanied by several preachers, and others of his congregation: divers of our friends were also present. It continued about five hours; he affirmed, in opposition to us, that there was no Christian church, ministry, or commission apostolical now in the world; but the Lord assisted us with his wisdom and strength to confound his attempts.

“I intend a visit at the Hague to the Lady Overkirk, sister of the Somerdykes, and some others who

have sober characters of Truth and Friends; and thence to Rotterdam, where I have much to do, both with respect to meetings and the press.

“Thus, my dear friend, have I given thee a tedious narrative, yet I hope not altogether unpleasant. Perhaps the brevity of my letters hereafter may best apologize for the length of this: however, I consider two things — one is, that thou hast time enough, one time or other, to look over it; and next, that I have plentifully answered thy requests, and demonstrated I have not forgotten thee.

“Dear friend! let us live and remember one another, now absent, in that Divine sense in which the Lord God dissolved our spirits when together. Oh, the unity of this faith, the purity of this love, and the bond of this peace! The Lord Jesus be with thy spirit, and keep thee in this the hour of thy temptation, that thou mayst come forth as gold seven times tried: so shall thy testimony shine for the God that hath called thee, and He will reward thee with honor, glory, and eternal life. Amen.

“‘Thus saith the Lord, I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown.’ Dear friend, consider this. Yet again: ‘The way of the just is uprightness; thou, most upright, dost weigh the paths of the just. Yea, in the way of thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee; the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With my soul have I de-

sired thee in the night ; yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early ; for when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness. Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us ; for thou also hast wrought all our works in us. O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us ; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name. Lord, in trouble have they visited thee ; they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them. Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Come my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee ; hide thyself, as it were, for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast. For, behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquities ; the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.’

“ So come, dear Lord Jesus, who was dead, and is alive, and liveth forever. Amen. Very dearly farewell.

“ Thy friend, that faithfully travaileth for thy redemption,
WILLIAM PENN.

“ AMSTERDAM, the 10th of the Eighth month, 1677.”

CHAPTER IX.

Meeting with G. Abrahams — Interviews with different Persons — Has an interesting Interview with a retired great man at Wonderwick — Delft — Public Meetings — Letter to Princess Elizabeth — Letter to Countess of Hornes — Embarks for Home — Arrives at Harwich — Salutation to Friends of Holland and Germany — Epistle to those under Suffering in Holland and Germany.

ON the 10th of eighth month, at Amsterdam, we had a blessed public meeting, never to be forgotten. Oh, the majesty, glory and life, with which the Lord attended us! Our hearts were deeply affected with his presence; great reverence and brokenness was over the meeting, more than I had seen. The meeting done, we were opposed by a preacher, who was closely encountered and pursued by several merchants, etc., (not of us,) who cried, he was rude and ignorant, and that they had a testimony for us; and offered to dispute in our defence, but the priest ran away; they followed him till they housed him; but what followed I know not.

It was upon me this day to engage Galenus Abrahams to a second conference, that we might more fully debate and confute his grand objections against the present dispensation of Truth, and the heavenly ministry, witnessed among Friends. He refused not my offer of a second meeting; but sent me word, his business would not give him leave to let it be any time this

day. Upon which, the next morning was fixed for the conference, to begin at eight o'clock; which accordingly it did, and held till one. The account of both the conferences is not yet found, but with the latter some of his own friends seemed better satisfied, and it ended very comfortably to us, because to a general satisfaction.

The meeting thus ended, and having refreshed ourselves, after a solemn leave taken of our dear friends at Amsterdam, George Fox and myself went that night to Leyden, accompanied by Benjamin Furly; coming there late at night, we forbore to inquire after any worthy in that place.

But the next morning we found out two, one a German of or near Darmstadt, who not only expressed much love to the principle of Truth, and unto us the friends thereof, but also informed us of a retired person of great quality, that liveth about two hours back again towards Amsterdam, at a village called Wonderwick. Our resolution of being that night at Rotterdam, and having the Hague to visit by the way, made our return at that time impracticable: however, the relation of the German concerning the good inclinations of the great man and his wife, their disdain of the world, and voluntary retreat from the greatness and glory of it, rested strongly upon our spirits. This person presently conducted us to the house of one who had formerly been a professor in the university; and there left us.

To this person both George Fox and myself were

more than ordinarily open: he was of a sweet, yet quick, of a wise, yet very loving and tender spirit: there were few strangers towards whom we felt greater love. He assented to everything we said: and truly his understanding was very clear and open to the things that lay upon us to declare. He expressed his firm belief of great revolutions at hand, and that they should terminate in the setting up of the glorious kingdom of Christ in the world.

What shall I say? The man felt our spirits, and therefore loved us, and in the fresh sense of that love, wrote a letter by us to a retired person at the Hague, like himself: which, in several places of Germany, was the way whereby we found out most of the retired people we visited. After nearly two hours, time with him, we took wagon for the Hague, leaving the peace of God upon him.

The first thing we did there, was to inquire out the Lady Overkirk, a person of a retired and religious character, separated from the public worship of that country: she was at home, but her husband with her; and being a great man of the army, of another disposition and way of living, hindered our access at that time.

The next person we went to was a judge of the chief court of justice in that republic. He received us with great respect, and a more than ordinary desire to know the truth of our faith and principles. We declared of the things most surely believed amongst us, in the power and love of God. He made his ob-

servations, objections, and queries upon several things we spake; to whom we replied, and explained all matters in question; insomuch that he declared himself satisfied in our confessions, and his good belief of us and our principles. We took a solemn and sensible leave of him, and we felt the witness of God reached in him, and his spirit tendered; which filled our hearts with dear love to him: he brought us to his street door, and there we parted.

From him we went to visit that person for whom we had a letter from the doctor at Leyden; but he was not at home. We immediately took wagon for Delft, and from thence an express boat for Rotterdam, where we arrived about eight o'clock at night.

The 13th of the month was mostly spent in visiting Friends, and the friendly people in that place, who consisted of several persons of worldly note.

The next day, being the first-day of the week, we had a large and blessed meeting; wherein the deep mysteries of the kingdom of Christ and antichrist were declared, in the power of an endless life. Several of divers religions were there, but no disturbance or contradiction; a profound silence and reverent attention were over the meeting.*

That night I had a blessed meeting at my lodging, with those persons of note, who at some times had visited our public meetings, as on that day; and they

* A person then convinced, [says W. P.,] though the world prevailed, died lately, acknowledging it, and cried out, "How happy had I been, if I had then obeyed!"

have a convincement upon them: the Lord's love, Truth, and life preciousy reached towards them, and they were very sweetly affected.

Next day I bestowed in perfecting and correcting several public letters, which I was moved to write both in my first and second journey in Germany, and after my return to these Low Countries. The titles of them follow: — 1. "A Summons or Call to Christendom, in an earnest expostulation with her, to preparè for the great and notable day of the Lord, that is at the door." — 2. "Tender Counsel and Advice, by way of Epistle, to all those who are sensible of the day of their visitation, and who have received the call of the Lord by the light and spirit of his Son in their hearts, to partake of the great salvation, wherever scattered throughout the world; but more especially in the High and Low Dutch nations: faith, hope, and charity, which overcome the world, be multiplied among you." — 3. "To all those Professors of Christianity, that are externally separated from the visible sects and fellowships in the Christian world, so called, wherever hidden or scattered: true knowledge, which is life eternal, from God the Father, by Christ Jesus." — 4. "A tender Visitation, in the love of God that overcometh the world, to all people in the High and Low Dutch nations, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and desire to know and worship God in truth and in sincerity; containing a plain testimony to the ancient and apostolical life, way and worship that God is reviving and exalting in the earth, in his Spirit and Truth."

The sense of the serious retreat of the great man we heard of at Leyden was so strong upon me, that I could not see myself clear to leave the country before I had given him a visit. I purposed therefore the next morning, the 16th, to set forward to the Hague, from thence to Leyden, and so to Wonderwick.

I arrived there in the evening with Benjamin Furly, A. Sonnemans, and M. Sonnemans; and immediately made known our coming, and the end of it, to him and his wife by means of the young German, who was got thither before us, to visit them. An invitation came to us all at our inn; and immediately we repaired to his house, which was very stately, and yet plain. He presently came to us, took us by the hand, and bid us heartily welcome. We immediately sat down; and after some time of retirement, I spoke something of what was upon me, yet not before he had given us a sober and pathetic account of his life, and of the present frame and disposition of his spirit.

All this was in the absence of his wife: but so soon as I had finished what was then upon me to speak of the witness of God, and of its work in man, upon the occasion of the history he gave us of his life, he led us into another room where his wife was. He told her, here were some Christian Friends come to visit her: she saluted us very kindly.

We all sat down; and after some silence, the heavenly power of God did in a living and tender manner open their states and conditions to me, and open my mouth to them. The substance of my testimony was to this

purpose, that death reigned from Adam to Moses; Moses was till the prophets, the prophets till John, and John till Christ: what Christ's day was, how few see this day; and whilst people are talking of being in Christ under grace, and not under the law, death reigneth over them, and they are not come to Moses, nor the shaking or quaking mountain, the thunders, lightnings, and whirlwinds: and what was that way which led to Christ; and what it was to be in Him, and under the government of his grace; directing them to the blessed light of Christ, Spirit of Truth, and grace, which God had shed abroad in their hearts. I declared the nature and manner of the appearing and operating of this Spirit, and appealed to their own consciences for the truth of what was said: and I can truly say, the holy life of Jesus was revealed amongst us, and, like oil, swam on the top of all. In this sense I was moved to kneel down and pray; great brokenness fell upon all; and He who was before the world began, was richly manifested in and amongst us.

The meeting being done, the great man and his wife blessed us, and the work of God in our hands; saying, with tears in his eyes, "My house is blessed for your sakes, and blessed be God that I ever lived to see you." And thus we left them, though with much difficulty; for they pressed us with great earnestness, both to eat and to lodge with them; and it was hard for them to bear our refusal. They said it was a scandal to their house that they should let such good people as we were go out of it, or suffer us to lodge at any other place:

but we declared our pre-engagement elsewhere, and that it was not for want of true kindness towards them.

One passage I had almost forgotten to mention: "I was," said he, "once at a table with the Duke of Holstein at Fredericstadt, when the magistrates came to complain against a people called Quakers in that city. The Duke was ready to be prejudiced against them; but at the very naming of them, I conceived a more than ordinary kindness in my mind towards them. I asked the magistrate, What they were for a people? He told me that they would not pull off their hats to their superiors. I asked him, Whether they would pull off their hats to God? He said, 'Yes.' Said I, 'That may be the reason why they will not pull them off to man. Do they live peaceably?' 'Yes.' 'Do they pay their taxes?' 'Yes.' 'Do they rub their hats in your eyes?' 'No.' 'Do they do any harm with them?' 'No.' 'Why, what is your quarrel then?' 'They meet in silence, and they will not speak or pray, unless they be moved by the Spirit.' 'Why that is according to the doctrine of Scripture: if this be to be a Quaker, I would I were a Quaker too.' But," said he, "I never saw one before, but I bless God I see you now." He very much inveighed against the false Christianity that is in the world, and greatly magnified a tender, mortified and retired estate. I have great hopes he and his wife will die in the Truth. We returned to our inn to supper and to bed.

Next morning we took wagon for the Hague, where

we met with Docemius, the King of Denmark's Resident at Cologne, who had been at Rotterdam to see^k us, and came back thither, with hopes to meet us. We had some service there with a lawyer; but were again disappointed of visiting the Lady Overkirk, because of her husband's presence; and the other retired man before mentioned was again from home: the judge would gladly have received us, but a great cause then depending commanded his attendance. That afternoon we took boat for Delft, and so to Rotterdam, where we all arrived well.

It was my desire to have been the day following at a meeting at Dort; but it seems, the way that we hoped had been open for us, was shut; insomuch that we were prevented of that service. However, I applied myself to the perfecting of what yet wanted to be completed in those writings I left behind me to be printed.

The next day, being the 19th of the eighth month, we had a very blessed public meeting, therein taking our leave of the country. And after that was done, we had another amongst Friends, recommending to them the peaceable, tender, righteous Truth; desiring that they might live and grow in it, and be a people to the Lord's praise; so should his work prosper, his dominion be enlarged and increased among them. In the evening, I had also a meeting at my lodging, among the great people of that place, of which I have before made mention. And magnified be the name of the Lord, his power did so sweetly visit them, and

effectually reach them, that at their departure some of them fell upon our necks, and with tears of love prayed that they might be remembered by us, and that they might have strength to answer our great travail for them. We recommended them unto the Lord, and the pure word of his grace in their hearts.

The next day the generality of Friends of that place met at Simon Johnson's house early in the morning; where we took our leave of one another, in the love and power of the Lord, feeling his living presence with them that stayed, and with us who went.

Several accompanied us to the Briel, where we arrived about noon. There accompanied us the King of Denmark's Resident at Cologne, who had been with us at those meetings at Rotterdam, P. Hendricks and C. Rocloffs of Amsterdam, and A. Sonnemans, Benjamin Furly, M. S. and S. J., with several others of Rotterdam. The packet-boat not being come, we were necessitated to lie there that night.

That night it was upon me, in the earnest love of God, to salute the Princess and Countess with a few farewell lines, as followeth :

*“ To the Princess Elizabeth. Salvation in the cross :
Amen.*

“ Dear and truly respected friend :

“ My soul most earnestly desireth thy temporal and eternal felicity ; which standeth in thy doing the will of God now on earth as it is done in heaven. Oh, dear

Princess, do it! Say the word once in truth and righteousness, 'Not my will, but thine be done, O God!' Thy days are few; and then thou must go to judgment;* then an account of thy talent, God will require from thee. What improvement hast thou made? Let it prove and show its own excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeth all that love it to God. Oh, that thou mayst be able to give an account with joy!

"I could not leave this country, and not testify the resentments I bear in my mind of that humble and tender entertainment thou gavest us at thy court: the Lord Jesus reward thee! And surely He hath a blessing in store for thee. Go on: be steadfast, overcome and thou shalt inherit. Do not despond; One who is mighty is near thee—a present help in the needful time of trouble. Let the desire of thy soul be to his name, and to the remembrance of him! Wait upon the Lord, and thou shalt renew thy strength! the youths shall faint, and the young men shall fail, but they that trust in the Lord shall never be confounded.

"I wish thee all true and solid felicity, with my whole soul. The Lord God of heaven and earth have thee in his keeping; that thou mayst not lose, but keep in that Divine sense, which by his eternal Word He hath begotten in thee. Receive, dear Princess, my sincere and Christian salutation. Grace, mercy and peace be multiplied among you all that love the Lord Jesus.

"Thy business I shall follow with all the diligence

* "She died about four years after," adds W. P. in a note.

and discretion I can, and by the first opportunity give thee an account, after it shall please the Lord to bring me safe to London. All my brethren are well, and present their dear love to thee and the rest in thy family that love Jesus, the Light of the world. Thou hast taught me to forget thou art a Princess, and therefore I use this freedom; and to that of God in thee am I manifest; and I know my integrity. Give, if thou please, the salutation of my dear love to Anna Maria de Hornes, with the enclosed. Dear Princess, do not hinder, but help her. That may be required of her which, considering thy circumstances, may not yet be required of thee. Let her stand free, and her freedom will make the passage easier unto thee. Accept what I say, I entreat thee, in that pure and heavenly love and respect in which I write so plainly to thee. Farewell, my dear friend, and the Lord be with thee!

“I am, more than I can say, thy great lover and respectful friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.

“P. S. I refer thee to the enclosed for passages. We visited Giftall and Hooftman, and they us. They were at one or two of the meetings at Amsterdam. *Vale in æternum!*”

“*For Anna Maria de Hornes, styled Countess of Hornes.*

“Jesus be with thy spirit: Amen.

“Beloved, and much esteemed for the sake of that love which is raised in thy heart to the eternal Truth of

God, the increase of which I earnestly desire, that thou mayst be more than conqueror, through the powerful workings of that Divine love in thy soul, which casteth out all false fear and overcometh the world. In this eternal love it is that I love thee, and would be loved of thee: blessed are they that hold their fellowship in it. It is pure, harmless, patient, fervent and constant: in fine, it cometh from God, and leadeth all that receive it to God. Indeed, it is God; and they that live in love, live in God. If we keep and abide in Him who hath visited us, we shall always feel this love as a fountain; and wonderful are the effects of it. It can lay down its life for its friend! It will break through all difficulty, and hath power to conquer death and the grave. This transcendeth the friendship of the world, and the vainglorious honor of the courts of this world. This kindness is inviolable: our purest faith worketh by this love. Oh, the tenderness of that soul in which this love liveth and hath place! the humility and compassion that always keep it company!

“And who can lively enough describe the lovely image it giveth, the attracting and engaging conversation it hath! But it is discerned and greatly valued by the children of love, who are born of it, which all the children of light are. What shall I say? It is the great command, and it keepeth all the commands; love, pure and undefiled, fulfilleth the law and Gospel too: blessed are they that feel any of this love shed abroad in their hearts.

“With this love it is that God hath loved us; and by the power of this love, Christ Jesus hath died for us. Yea, it is this love that quickeneth us to Jesus, that inflameth our souls with pure and ardent love to him, and zeal for him: yea, it is this holy love that [engages to] forsake father and mother, sister and brother, husband, wife and children, house and land, liberty and life for the sake of Jesus; that leaveth the dead to bury the dead, and followeth Jesus in the narrow way of regeneration; that can trust Him in the winds and in the earthquakes, in the fire and in the waters, yea, when the floods come in even unto the soul, this despondeth not, neither murmureth.

“And as it cannot despair, so it never presumeth; yea, it can triumphantly say, What shall be able to separate me from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus? Shall principalities or powers, things present or things to come, shall life or death? Oh, no, neither time nor mortality!

“My dear friend, let this noble plant of paradise grow in thy heart. Wait upon the Lord, that He would water it, and shine upon it, and make an hedge about it; that thy whole heart may be replenished with the heavenly increase and fruits of it. Oh! that thou mayst grow in thy inner man, in wisdom, strength and a pure understanding; in favor with God, and with all people that are in the same nature and image: for the world only loveth its own.

“I hoped not to have been so quick upon my last long letter; but God’s pure love, which hath redeemed

me from the earth, and the earthly nature and spirit, moved fervently upon my spirit to visit thee once more before I leave this land. I deferred it to this extremity ; and being not clear to go hence, I send thee my Christian salutation, in this pure love that many waters cannot quench, distance cannot make it forget, nor can time wear it out. My soul reverently boweth before the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it would please Him to preserve thee. Fear him, and thou needest not fear ; for the angel of the Lord encampeth about those that trust in his name. The angel of his eternal presence guard thee, that none of the enemies of thy soul's peace may ever prevail against thee ! Perseverance and victory be thy portion in this world, and a crown of endless glory be thy reward in that which is to come. Amen !

“ Since my last (being the next day after the date thereof) we had a meeting with Galenus Abrahams and his company : the success thou mayst perhaps see suddenly in print ; and therefore I shall defer the narrative : only in general, our dear Lord, our staff and strength, was with us, and Truth reigned over all.

“ That night we went to Leyden, where we visited some retired persons. Thence, next day, to the Hague, where also we had a little meeting. Oh, the lust and pride of that place ! Thou camest into my mind as I walked in the streets ; and I said in myself, ‘ Well, she hath chosen the better part.’ Be faithful, and the Lord will give thee an eternal recompense !

“ Thence we came to Rotterdam, where the Lord

hath given us several heavenly opportunities in private and public. We are now come to the Briel, and wait our passage. The Lord Jesus be with you that stay, and with us that go, that in Him we may live and abide forever.

“Salute me to my French friend; bid her be constant. I wish thy servants, felicity; but thine as mine own: God Almighty overshadow thee, hide thee under his pavilion, be thy shield, rock and sanctuary forever. Farewell, farewell!

“Thy friend and the Lord’s servant,

“WILLIAM PENN.

“BRIEL, 20th (30th) Eighth month, 1677.”

Next morning, the 21st, the packet boat arrived; and about ten o’clock we went on board, having first taken our solemn leave of those Friends that accompanied us thither. We immediately set sail with a great number of passengers: but by reason of contrary and tempestuous weather, we arrived not at Harwich till the 24th about the sixth hour. Whence next morning, I wrote this following salutation and account to the Friends of Holland and Germany to return with the boat.

“My soul magnifieth the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour, who hath rebuked the winds and the seas, and made us to drink of his salvation upon the great deeps. Yea, we could not but praise Him in the tempest, for all things are full of

his majesty. Blessed is the eye that seeth, and the heart that dependeth upon Him at all times! There is not another God; He is the Lord alone, whom the holy ancients trusted in, and were not confounded. What shall my soul render unto the Lord? We are full of his mercy; He hath made us witnesses of his care. We can say in righteousness, they are blessed whose God is the Lord, and that serve all the day long no other master than our God.

“Friends, this is an endeared salutation to you all in High and Low Dutchland, in the deep and fresh sense of the Lord’s preserving power. Oh! that you may abide in that sense of Him, which he hath begotten in you, and in the reverent knowledge of him, according to the manifestation which you have received of him, in the light of his dear Son; that you may be faithful and fervent for the Lord; that his glorious life and power may break through you; and these lands, long dry and barren as the wilderness, may spring and blossom as the rose. For what have we to do here, but to exalt Him who hath visited and loved us, yea, saved us in great measure? Ah, He is worthy! my spirit reverenceth him, my heart and soul do bow before him: eternal blessings dwell forever with him.

“Dear Friends, my love floweth to you as a fountain. God, even my God and your God, hath made you dear to me; yea, dearer than all natural kindred. You are flesh of my flesh indeed. Nor sea nor land, nor time nor place, can ever separate our joy, divide our communion, or wipe out the remembrance that I have of you.

Yea, the living remembrance, which my God often giveth me of you, in the life of his Son, abideth ; which breaketh my heart to pieces ; and I can say, I left much of my heart behind me, and the Lord alone could have outwardly separated me so soon from you. This love is stronger than death, more excellent than the love of women ; for it endureth forever : this privilege have all the saints. Jesus, the Light of the world, who saveth from the world, be with you. Amen.

“ We got well last night at about seven o'clock to Harwich, being three days and two nights at sea : most part of the time there was a great storm of wind, and rain, and hail ; the weather was against us, and the vessel so leaky, that two pumps went night and day, or we had perished. It is believed that they pumped twice more water out than the vessel could contain ; but our peace was as a river, and our joy full. The seas had like to have washed some of the seamen overboard, but the great God preserved all well. Frights were among the people, and despondencies in some ; but the Lord wrought deliverance for all. We were mightily thronged, which made it the more troublesome.

“ But it is observable, that though the Lord so wonderfully delivered us, yet some vain people soon forgot it, and returned quickly to their wanton talk and conversation, not abiding in the sense of that hand which delivered them : nor can any do it as they should, but those who are turned to his appearance in their hearts ; who know Him to be a God nigh at hand ; which, oh, may it be your experience and portion forever !

“And the Lord be with you, and refresh and sustain you, and in all your temptations never leave you nor forsake you; that conquerors you may be, and in the end of days and times, stand in your lot among the spirits of the just made perfect. Amen, amen.

“Yours in that which is eternal!

“WILLIAM PENN.

“P. S. Let this be sent to Friends in High and Low Dutchland.

“HARWICH, 24th of the Eighth month, 1677.”

At Harwich, I left dear George Fox and Gertrude Diricks and her children, who came over with us, to follow me in a coach: but having a desire to be that day at Colchester meeting, I went early away on horseback, George Keith accompanying me. We got to the meeting, and were well refreshed in Friends.

That evening we had a mighty meeting at J. Furly's house, where we lay; many of the town being there, who would not come to a public meeting. And indeed the Lord's Divine power and presence were in the assembly.

Next day, the 26th, we had a great meeting at a marriage, where we had good service for the Lord. That afternoon about four o'clock we took horse for London; George Fox and the others, through the miscarriage of a letter about the coach, not being come to Colchester. That night we lay at I. Ravens, eight miles on our way. There we met Giles Barnardiston and William Bennet;

with whom, and some other Friends thereabout, we were comforted in the life and power of the Lord.

The day following, we took our journey for London, and came there in good time that evening; where I found all things relating to Friends in a good condition: blessed be the name of the Lord. I stayed about a week in town; both to visit Friends at meetings, and to be serviceable in the more general affairs of the Truth.

The fifth-day of the next week I went to Worminghurst, my house in Sussex, where I found my dear wife, child and family all well: blessed be the name of the Lord God of all the families of the earth. I had that evening a sweet meeting amongst them, in which God's blessed power made us truly glad together; and I can say, truly blessed are they who cheerfully give up to serve the Lord; great shall be the increase and growth of their treasure, which shall never end.

To Him that was, and is, and is to come; the eternal, holy, blessed, righteous, powerful, and faithful One, be glory, honor and praises, dominion and a kingdom, forever and ever! Amen. WILLIAM PENN.

At London, the following letter from the Princess Elizabeth came to hand.

“HERFORD, the 29th of October, 1677.

“Dear friend:

“Your tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your

counsel to follow as much as lies in me ; but God's grace must be assistant; as you say yourself, He accepts nothing that does not come from him. If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what He requires most, (I mean, to do all in and by his Son,) I shall be in no better condition than this present. Let me feel him first governing in my heart, then do what He requires of me ; but I am not able to teach others, being not taught of God myself.

“Remember my love to George Fox, Benjamin Furly, George Keith, and dear Gertrude.* If you write no worse than your postscript, I can make a shift to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last evening ; I only stay to do it in a way that is answerable before God and man. I can say no more now, but recommend to your prayers,

“Your true friend,

ELIZABETH.

“P. S. I almost forgot to tell you that my sister writes me word, she had been glad you had taken your journey by Osnaburg to return to Amsterdam. There is also a drossard of Limburg near this place, (to whom I gave an exemplar of Robert Barclay's Apology,) very desirous to speak with some of the Friends.”

Another letter was received some time after, in answer to one which he had written to her while in Holland, being as follows.

* This was Gertrude Diricks, who had visited the Princess. She afterwards came to live in England, and was married to Stephen Crisp.

“This 17th of November, 1677.

“Dear friend :

“I have received a letter from you, that seemeth to have been written at your passage into England, which I wish may be prosperous, without date, but not without virtue to spur me on, to do and suffer the will of our God. I can say in sincerity and truth, ‘Thy will be done, O God!’ because I wish it heartily; but I cannot speak in righteousness, until I possess that righteousness which is acceptable unto Him. My house and my heart shall be always open to those that love Him. Gichtel has been well satisfied with the conferences between you. As for my business, it will go as the Lord pleaseth, and remain in him,

“Your affectionate friend, ELIZABETH.”

The following short Epistle, written to Friends in Germany, etc., who were under severe persecution, is a beautiful specimen of the Christian sympathy of our author, and the religious consolation which he was capable of imparting, viz.

“*To all suffering Friends in Holland or Germany, particularly in Fredericstadt and in or near Dantzic.*

“RICKMANSWORTH, 1st of Seventh month, 1673.

“My dear friends :

“In God’s everlasting Truth, and that heavenly power, strength, and dominion that stand therein, doth my soul very dearly salute you all, who have tasted of the invisible and heavenly life, that is made known

unto those who have been begotten into the living way of light and righteousness. Oh! pleasant are the outgoings of the Lord to and in his children, whose minds are truly stayed upon Him, and are freely resigned up to his all-wise disposal; — such shall abound in the joy of God's salvation, even in sufferings, persecutions, tribulations, yea, deaths, and every peril that may attend your most holy faith. Therefore, hold up your heads, and be ye comforted, little flock! your Shepherd will not fly, though the wolf come. Know your Shepherd, and dwell with him, and He will bring you into sweet and green pastures, in the midst of your enemies. Consult not with flesh and blood, to know what may be the cause of your trials, how you may shun them, or which way you may keep mammon and a good conscience too; but eye the Lord, without whose providence a sparrow falls not to the ground. No new or strange thing can happen unto you: dwell in the faith that works by love, and that will cast out all fear which begets any staggering from your holy testimony. Remember that many eyes are upon you, and as you acquit yourselves in this exercise that may quickly be suffered to come upon you, so will God's Truth be well or illy spoken of; for people will measure your most holy way by you. The way they see not — you they will behold; what know ye, but the Lord is now preparing and brightening you for further service, both where you live and in other places. In the light of Jesus, the just man's path, live and walk, that to the end you may endure; so shall you glorify God, answer their labors who have travailed among you, and obtain unto

yourselves eternal salvation. So, dear hearts! be still, quiet, and given up in life and death. God's great work is going on: He comes upon the world in a storm, and sometimes to his children, that they may be the more weaned from the world, that people may be the more stirred up to mind them, and that Truth may be more effectually manifested through their self-denial, patience, and resolution. Stand then, be valiant, and keep your minds to the invisible life, which is felt in the light; and then, I am persuaded, neither principalities, nor powers, nor life, nor death, nor any other thing, shall be able to separate you from the love of God, that hath been and daily is revealed to you in Christ Jesus, the Lamb of God, and Light of the world.

“The God of all peace keep your minds and spirits in perfect peace, amidst the greatest trials and disquiets from without, that you may finish your testimonies with us, to His eternal praise who hath called us, who is over every name worthy, even God, blessed forever. Amen, amen!

“Your fellow-feeling brother in the unchangeable Truth,
WILLIAM PENN.

“P. S. Truth greatly prevails in these islands, and grows daily famous over the heads of its peevish opposers: and Friends, who have heard lately of you, travail and sympathize with you; you are not alone, and He that is in you, is greater than he that is in the world. Farewell.”

